



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>





Universal
Digitized by Google
SA

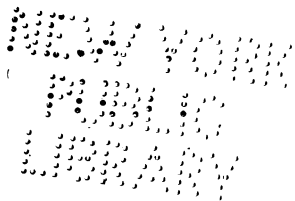
BN

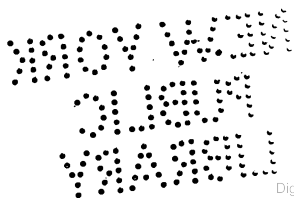
~~1155 B~~

THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,

FROM THE
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

VOL. XL.





THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,
FROM THE
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL WRITERS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANTIENT PART.

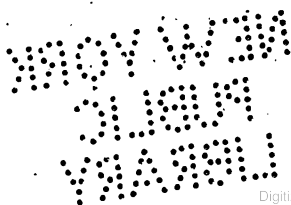
VOL. XL.



L O N D O N :

Printed for T. OSBORNE, C. HITCH, A. MILLAR,
JOHN RIVINGTON, S. CROWDER, B. LAW and
Co. T. LONGMAN, and C. WARE.

M.DCC.LXIII.



Modern History:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Universal History.

The HISTORY of AMERICA.

CANADA, [Continued.]

IN the year 1668, so great was the attention of the court of *France* to the prosperity of *Canada*, that the affairs of that colony had a most promising aspect. Gentlemen of ancient families and small fortunes in *Old France* transported themselves to the *New*, where they had lands and lordships assigned them; and, with a very moderate share of industry, they were soon enabled to live like men of quality. The soldiers of the regiment of *Carignan Salieres* were now become planters and colonists, and every officer amongst them was a great landholder; a policy that cannot be sufficiently admired in the court of *France*, as every man thereby had an interest and a property in what he fought for. New troops were sent over, which still added not only to the strength, but the tranquillity of the colony; and the habits of industry, application, and labour, became now to be fashionable. Happily for their neighbours, the subjects of *Great Britain*, those habits were forced, and of no long continuance. The moment the *French* planter found means to subsist himself with a little outward shew and splendour, all toil and application was laid aside; which always gave the *English* an important superiority in the solid possessions of life. The tranquillity, however, which the colony enjoyed

MOD. HIST. VOL. XL.

B

was

was a proof of its prosperity; so that, towards the end of this year, even the *Tsonnonthouans* applied to M. *Courcelles* for a missionary to instruct them, and he sent them father *Fremin*. The *Agniers*, who had hitherto appeared the most determined enemies of the missionaries, and who had so often embued their hands in their blood, became now reconciled to their doctrines; and vast numbers of converts were made about the falls of *St. Lewis*, and the mountain; but the *Onneyouths* and *Goyogouins* were less tractable. By this time, the *Iroquois*, remaining in perfect peace, the *Algonquins*, whom they had dislodged and driven away, returned to their former habitations, all of them converts to christianity, or rather to popery, though *Charlevoix* ingenuously confesses^a, that most of those conversions were the effect of interest and convenience only, and seldom sincere. About this time, father *Nicholas*, who was labouring with *Allouez* at *Chagouamigon*, conducted to *Quebec* savages who are known by the name of *Pierced-noses*, from their practice of piercing their noses, and hanging beads and plates to them. After disposing of their merchandizes they returned to *Chagouamigon*.

Differences between Courcelles and Talon. ABOUT the year 1668, or 1669, a misunderstanding grew up between *Courcelles* the governor-general, and *Talon*, the intendant general of *New France*. Both of them were men of great and acknowledged abilities. *Talon* understood the interests of the colony, and had done it great services; but being an accomplished courtier, he espoused on all occasions the interests of the jesuits, whom *Courcelles* disliked. The latter had fine parts, and would have been a most excellent governor, had he been a little more active; or, if he could have suffered *Talon* to have supplied his place. *Talon* saw this weakness, and often ventured to dispatch business without consulting the governor general, so that they lived uneasily together, and *Talon* going over to *France* was succeeded by M. *Bouteroue*. This minister brought along with him a letter from M. *Colbert* to *Courcelles*, which politely gave him to understand that he ought to live upon better terms than he did with the bishop of *Petrée* and the jesuits, and that M. *Bouteroue* was preferred to the intendency of the province, chiefly on account of the great regard he had for that order.

Quebec made a bishoprick. FOR some years past a negotiation had been on foot between the courts of *France* and *Rome* about erecting *Quebec* into a bishopric. As there was at this time but a very indifferent understanding between the two courts, his holiness

^a CHARLEVOIX, Vol. II. p. 187.

made great difficulties on account of the independency, which a bishop of *Québec* might affect in so distant a country. At last, all difficulties were got over; his most christian majesty, to make suitable provision for the new bishopric, gave to it, and the chapter of the cathedral, the rents of the abbey of *Maubec*, which was afterwards encreased with those of the abbey of *Benevent*. So miserably poor, however, was the new bishop of *Quebec*, and so griping the papal court, that the bulls of his creation lay for four years at *Rome* for want of money to defray the expence of passing them. About this time, *Maisonneuve*, who had so long and so worthily governed *Montreal*, resigned his post, and *M. Bretonvilliers*, as superior general of the seminary of *St. Sulpice*, named *M. Perrot* to succeed him. The latter, who had married a niece of *Talon*, thought it beneath his character to act under a commission from a private subject, and, therefore, had interest enough to obtain commission from the king, which, however, expressly mentioned that it was granted upon the nomination of *M. Bretonvilliers*.

NOTWITHSTANDING the natural inactivity of *Courcelles*, *Conduitt* yet he was extremely alert in every thing relating to the interest of *New France*, especially with regard to the savages. *celles*. Understanding that the *Iroquois*, who lay towards the lake *Ontario*, had sent presents to the *Outaouais* to engage them to bring their furs to them that they might dispose of them to the *English* of *New York*, he resolved to check them. For that purpose he embarked with a body of troops on the river *St. Lawrence*, and notwithstanding the great number of falls and rapids he met with between *Montreal* and lake *Ontario*, he shewed the savages that it would always be in the power of the *French* to invade them by boats; which had all the effect he could have wished for, by their breaking off their commerce with the *Outaouais*, and the other northern savages. This voyage, however, did so much prejudice to his health, that he soon after desired to be recalled. The remaining term of his government was chiefly taken up in replacing the *French* settlements of *Acadia* and *Newfoundland*, which had been ceded to the crown of *France*, by the treaty of *Breda*. In the year 1670, *M. Talon*, who had retired from the intendency of *New France*, only that he might resume it with greater advantages, returned to *Canada*. That able minister, notwithstanding all his attachment to the jesuits, was convinced that their ministry was prejudicial to the temporal affairs of the colony; and, during his absence in *France*, he had obtained the re-establishment of the fathers recollects, who the reader may remember, were the first missionaries in *Can-*

1670.

da, before the conquest of *Quebec* by the *English*, and whose successors were extremely desirous of resuming their functions in that colony. *Talon's* views in this re-establishment was to moderate the influence and power of the *Jesuits* over the natives, whom they absolutely governed, not only by the sway they had over their consciences, but by debarring them from, or indulging them in, the use of spirituous liquors. He obtained at the same time a recruit of five hundred families from his most christian majesty for peopling *Canada*; but after setting sail with part of them, the ship they were in was wrecked and many of them lost. *Talon*, however, soon raised fresh recruits both of recollects and inhabitants, with whom he arrived at *Quebec*, where he found that the same storm, which had wrecked his ship had done damage to the amount of 100,000 francs.

Irregularities of the French soldiers.

TALON's zeal for peopling *Canada*, though founded on right maxims of policy, was not without its inconveniences; for his colonists imported, into the country, vices, till then unknown to the inhabitants. Three *French* soldiers meeting with an *Iroquois* chief, who had with him a valuable cargo of furs, first made him drunk and then murdered him; but notwithstanding all the precautions they took, they were discovered and thrown into prison. While their process was preparing, six *Mahingan Indians*, who were possessed of furs to the amount of 1000 crowns, after being made drunk, were murdered and robbed by three other *French* soldiers, who sold the furs as their own property, and had so little precaution, that they did not even bury the dead bodies, which were discovered by their countrymen. The latter, imagining the *Iroquois* were the perpetrators of the murders, flew to arms, and demanded satisfaction; but one of the *French* soldiers, quarrelling with his confederates, discovered the truth, and then both the *Mahingans* and *Iroquois* united in a war against the *French*. Four of the *Mahingans* burnt the house of a *French* lady with herself in it; and the *Iroquois* were equally exasperated by the impeaching murderer accusing his two confederates of designing to poison all the savages they met with. Matters, however, were but just coming to extremities, when *Courcelles* arrived at *Montreal*, and, in the presence both of the *Mahingans* and *Iroquois* who were there, put to death the *French* soldiers, who had murdered the *Iroquois* chief, promising that the assassins of the three *Mahingans* should meet with the same fate, as soon as they could be discovered. This example of speedy justice charmed the savages, and disarmed them of their wrath; and, upon *Courcelles* promising to make good all the damages that had been done,

done, they laid aside all farther resentment. *Courcelles*, having thus established his authority by his justice, applied himself to compose the differences between the *Iroquois* and the *Ouataouais*, which had broken out into hostilities; and so highly was he respected, that both sides sent deputies to *Quebec*, where, chiefly by the prudence of *Garakonthie*, all interests were reconciled. *Garakonthie*, who, no doubt, had a secret understanding with the *French* before the departure of the deputies to their own country, publicly professed his having been long a christian in his heart, and his detesting the errors in which he had been educated, and earnestly desiring the bishop to baptize him, which he accordingly performed with great state and ceremony. The name he received at the font was *Daniel*; and the ceremony was attended with a noble entertainment given to the savage deputies, which had a most excellent effect upon the unconverted natives in general.

WHILE the province of *Canada* was in this desirable situation, a most dreadful mortality broke out amongst the northern natives, which carried off whole tribes, particularly that of the *Attikamegues*, who never have been since heard of under that name. About the same time, *Tadoussac*, which had hitherto been the chief mart of the *Indian* savages in the fur trade with the *French*, began to be entirely deserted, as likewise did *Trois Rivières*, by means of the small pox breaking out, which carried off 1500 savages at once. The *French*, however, maintained their settlement at *Trois Rivières*, though they could not do that at *Tadoussac*. The same loathsome distemper made likewise great havock at *Sylleri*, where all the converts died. It was at this time that the *Huron* christian settlement of *Loretto*, which we have already mentioned, was instituted by father *Chaumonot*; and that the *English* subjects of *New York*, in the neighbourhood of the canton of *Agnier*^b, began to tamper with the natives, and to endeavour to bring them over to protestantism; but, according to *Charlevoix*, without effect. They then endeavoured to intimidate the women, by telling them that the government of *New York* would not suffer them to appear with beads and other marks of popery in their province; but all was to no purpose, for the ladies, on the head of religion, proved still more intractable than the men. Notwithstanding this, many of the *Agniers* continued to insult the missionaries. A chief of one of their cantons turned father *Perron*, out of the assembly of the natives, and imposed silence upon

Mortality
amongst the
savages.

Zeal of
their women.

^b Id. *ibid.* p. 223.

them ; upon which *Perron* threatened them with the resentment of the great *Onnontbio*, and to complain of the affront to the governor-general. We are told that this shew of resolution in the missionary so greatly daunted the *Iroquois* chief, that he came and asked pardon of the father, who reproached him soundly for his insolence and impiety, and would not even hear what the savage had to urge in behalf of himself. The haughtiness of the father produced an effect very contrary to what might have been naturally expected, for the chief immediately undertook to bring all his canton into the pale of christianity. For this purpose, he went round all its elders, and persuaded them to agree to a general assembly, which being accordingly held, was opened by a speech from the chief, which might have proceeded from the most zealous missionary. He was seconded by father *Perron*, and *Garakonthie* happening providentially to be there, he harangued in his turn, on the same subject with so much energy, that the assembly unanimously came to the following resolutions. First, no longer to acknowledge *Agreskoue*, (which it seems was the name of the supreme deity of those savages,) as the author of life, and that he should be no longer worshipped, Secondly, that their jugglers or empirics should no longer be called to visit their sick ; and, thirdly, that they abolish all indecent and superstitious dances,

*Ill success
of the mis-
sionaries.*

WE have mentioned these particulars, rather to give our countrymen, now that they are become possessed of *New France*, some idea of the manners and dispositions of the savages and the true method of treating them, than for any material information they contain. *Charlevoix* acknowledges that the event was far from answering those promising appearances. In the canton of *Onneyouth*, father *Bruyas*, the missionary there, had very indifferent success, though he was seconded by the indefatigable zeal of *Garakonthie*. The missionaries attributed the aversion of the natives for them to the neighbourhood of *New York*, from which they were furnished with spirituous liquors. All the zeal of *Garakonthie*, and his assistant-missionary, could not prevail with a single savage of either sex to declare for them, or to hear their instructions. They comforted themselves, however, by peopling heaven with a great number of children, whom they baptized in the last stages of their lives. They had better success with the other cantons of the *Upper Iroquois*, who were farther removed from the *English*, and had been greatly mortified by the late wars. They had still greater success with

* Ibid. p. 226.

the

the *Upper Algonquins*, in whose conversion not only the missionaries, but the government of *New France* took great concern. A large quantity of ground was cleared and sown with grain of all kind, near the fall of *St. Mary*, which was in the heart of their settlements, and was the center of a considerable commerce. But after all, there is reason for believing that their success in propagating their religion, even there, was nothing equal to what they gave it out to be, as appeared on every occasion.

COURCELLES, ever since the *French* expeditions against the *Agniers*, had affected to treat all the savage nations in the neighbourhood of *New France*, as his master's subjects, and had been at great pains in prescribing them the terms of their pacifications with one another; of which he gave them to understand he was to be the guarantee. This haughtiness had a considerable effect upon the savages lying in the neighbourhood of the *French*, who found their account in the same; but was by no means relished by the *Tsonnonthouans*, who fell upon the *Pauteoutamis*; notwithstanding *Courcelles* had but very lately concluded a peace between them. He immediately sent a threatening message to the assailants, and charged them to keep the peace on pain of his high displeasure. The *Tsonnonthouans* resented this haughtiness in a manner worthy a free people, and told the governor-general, that they neither were, nor ever would be, subjects to *France*. *Courcelles* had ordered them to give up the *Pouteoutamis* prisoners. This, at first, they refused to do; but, after some deliberation, the great chief of the *Goyogouins*, who has been already mentioned, and who was next in credit with all the *Iroquois* to *Garakontie*, persuaded them to put into his hands eight prisoners, out of thirty-five of the *Pouteoutamis*. He then delivered them up to *Courcelles*, who received them as the whole, being glad of getting off with some shew of credit in so ticklish an affair. The *Goyogouin* chief, in presenting the captives, acquainted *Courcelles*, that he had undertaken that commission only with a view of being baptized by the hands of the bishop. This gave great pleasure to all the *French*. *M. Talon*, who was by this time returned to *Canada*, was his godfather, and gave him the name of *Lewis*, together with a grand entertainment to all the christian savages at *Quebec*, *Loretto*, and *Sylleri*, in the name of the new convert. About this time, most of the christian *Agniers*, amongst whom were some eminent female converts, removed to the *Huron* settlement of *Loretto*, where they were encouraged by *Courcelles* to reside, in hopes, that they would in time prove a barrier against their savage countrymen, if

they should renew their inroads. As their numbers considerably encreased, he formed a settlement for the christian *Iroquois* almost opposite to *Montreal*, in a place called *Magdalen's Meadow*, from whence it was removed soon after two leagues farther to the south; and it is now called the mission of the fall of *St. Lewis*. In the mean while, *Talon* began to carry into execution a project he had formed when he was last in *France*, which was to send a proper messenger through the most distant parts of *Canada*, to engage all the different nations of the savages to send deputies to a certain place to treat with them about putting themselves under the protection of *France*. Having communicated his project to *Courcelles*, the latter recommended as a proper person for this negotiation, one *Nicholas Perrot*, who was in the service of the jesuits, and, being a man of address, had been employed by them in different parts of *Canada*.

A grand
congress be-
tween the
French
and the
savages.

TALON having approved of this choice, *Perrot* received his instructions, and visited all the northern tribes, who were known to the *French*, and invited them to send their deputies, by a certain time, to the falls of *St. Mary*, there to meet one of the great *Ouentio's* commanders. From thence he went towards the west, and edging to the south, he fell down to *Chicagau*, which is situated at the bottom of *Lake Michigan*, then the residence of the *Miamis*, being escorted all the way by a party of *Pouteouatamis* to prevent them from insults; the savages being then at war with each other. *Perrot* found the chief of the *Miamis*, as well as his subjects, to be very different from the other savages. He could raise four or five hundred warriors, and was always attended by forty of them as his body-guard. He lived in some kind of state, and had his ministers, to whom he issued his orders, without communicating them to any other. *Tetinchoua*, for that was his name, being apprized of *Perrot's* approach, who travelled under the title of envoy-general of *France*, received him and his escort in a warlike manner, and ordered him a splendid apartment with a guard of fifty men. In short, nothing could be wanting to testify their high esteem for the *French* nation; and, when *Perrot* set out for *St. Mary's* fall, *Tetinchoua* would have attended him; but was dissuaded by his subjects, on account of his great age and infirmities. *Perrot* then would have visited a great many nations lying towards the *Mississippi*, particularly the *Mascoutins*, the *Kicapous*, and the *Illinois*, but had not time. In *May*, 1671, the grand assembly was held at *St. Mary's* fall, and savages resorted to the meeting even from the southern part of *Hudson's Bay*. The reader, however, is to judge for himself of the

the credibility of the *French* relations of this congress, as even *Charlevoix* himself seems to be somewhat scrupulous of *Perrot's* strict adherence to veracity in his relations. He certainly had an interest in magnifying his services with his employers, whose professed purpose on this occasion was to intimidate, or trick the ignorant inhabitants out of their country.

ON the day appointed for the great congress at *St. Mary's* *Its event,* fall, the sieur *Luffon*, a subdelegate for the intendant of *New France* acted under a special commission to take possession of all the country held by those people, and to receive them under the *French* king's protection. The assembly was opened by father *Allouez* pronouncing a speech in the *Algonquin* tongue, magnifying the power of *France*, and explaining to the deputies the infinite advantages they would receive by their becoming slaves to his most christian majesty, or, as he expressed it, by their acknowledging him for their great head. *Luffon* then asked in *French*, which was interpreted by *Allouez* into *Algonquin*, whether all of them agreed to what was proposed, which all having done, with loud acclamations of "long live the king," a cross and the arms of *France* were immediately erected, and his most christian majesty was, by the sieur *Luffon*, graciously pleased to take possession of all the countries from which the said deputies came, and to receive the inhabitants into his protection. After this the assembly was concluded with great civilities and caresses, that passed on both sides, and by a grand entertainment given by the subdelegate, the expectation of which, more than probably, was the great inducement to their submissions. *Luffon*, after this, by *Talon's* order, paid a visit to the southern part of *Canada*, where he found many well-built *English* settlements on the banks of *Kennebeck* river; but he acquainted the owners, that, by the transactions of the late congress, the lands, on which they had been built, had been ceded to his most christian majesty; and that they were now his subjects. *Luffon* most absurdly pretended, in the memoirs he sent on this occasion to his superiors, that they willingly promised obedience and fidelity to his most christian majesty; notwithstanding which, they still remained the subjects of *England*, even by the acknowledgment of the *French* court.

THE year, viz. 1671, the *Tionnontatez Hurons* established themselves near *Michillimakinac*, upon a spot lying on the strait that divides lake *Michigan* from lake *Huron*, and in the center of those two lakes and the upper lake. This situation was chosen for them by father *Marquette*, though extremely incommodious on account of the bitter cold occasioned by the

the neighbourhood of those immense lakes. This year is distinguished in the annals of the jesuits by many supernatural appearances of mock suns, and other phenomena in those savage countries, which are of little consequence to our history, though, no doubt, the fathers improved them to their own ends amongst the ignorant inhabitants.

and small
success.

ALL this while, the savages seem to have purchased no repose by their pretended subjection to his most christian majesty. It appears, even from the *French* accounts, that some of the most powerful cantons had refused or neglected to send deputies to the congress at *St. Mary's* fall; and the *Iroquois*, in the mean while, continued a most cruel war with the *Andastes* and the *Chaouanons*, two nations whom they almost exterminated. The few who remained unbutchered were incorporated into the cantons of the victors, especially those of the *Tsonnonthouans*, to repopulate their country. *Courcelles* soon became sensible that the pretended submission of the *Indians* was a most precarious dependance, and that the *Iroquois* paid very little regard to his authority. He therefore resolved, as he could not subdue them, to endeavour to outwit them. For this purpose he sent messages through their cantons, informing them that he had something of great consequence to propose, and desiring them to meet him at *Cataracuoy*, as soon as possible. The savages, curious to know what this important business was, resorted thither in great numbers, and were met by the governor. After the usual introduction of some presents, and a vast number of caresses, he informed them that he had their welfare so much at heart, that he intended to erect near that spot a commodious building, to serve as a place of trade and resort in their dealings with the *French*. The savages, little suspecting that *Courcelles* intended to erect a strong fort for bridling them, highly approved of his intention, and pressed him to set about it immediately; but this was incompatible with his private views of returning to *France*.

Courcelles
recalled.

HE had already solicited his recall at that court, and upon his return from *Cataracuoy* to *Quebec*, he there found count *Frontenac*, who had been appointed to succeed him. After conferring together about the design of the fort, the new governor highly approved of the same, and early in the spring set out for *Cataracuoy*, where he built it, and gave it his own name; by which it was afterwards so greatly distinguished; but as that fort was thus fraudulently erected upon the lands belonging to the allies, if not the subjects, of *England*, we mean the northern *Iroquois*, the legality of the *French* title to it was, even then, very doubtful. This important
fort

fort stands upon the bay of *Cataracuy*, at the place where the river *St. Laurence* discharges itself into lake *Ontario*, and thereby commands the passages between *Montreal* and that lake; so that, while in the hands of the *French*, it served to connect that dangerous chain of forts, which they had raised for 3000 miles, along the frontiers of the *British* colonies. As to the new general, it is agreed on all hands that he was a man of capacity and courage; that he had studied and understood the true interests of *New France*; that he was most indefatigable in promoting them; and that he had a remarkable talent of making himself respected by the *French Canadians*, and their *Indian* subjects, or, as they are called, their allies. At the same time, the general faults of almost all *American* governors entered into his composition. He was positive, haughty, overbearing, susceptible of prepossessions which he could never shake off, and stuck at no means, had they been ever so violent, to remove all who opposed, or disputed, his pleasure. But all his faults were counterbalanced, in the eye of his court, by his zeal for the honour of the crown, and the prosperity of *Canada*.

TALON soon understood the true character of *Frontenac*, and *Discovery* soon after the latter's arrival he applied to the *French* court of the *Miss* for his recall. It was owing to this great minister, that about *Missippi*, this time the famous river of *Mississippi* was discovered. It was known, in general, from the accounts of the savages, that there was such a river towards the southern parts of *New France*; but the public were ignorant where it discharged itself, whether in the gulph of *Mexico*, or in the *South Sea*. *Talon* thought that the prosecution of this discovery was a matter of so great importance, that he employed father *Marquette*, and an inhabitant of *Quebec*, one *Joliet*; a spirited able adventurer, and well acquainted with those countries, in the attempt (A). Before they set out they drew a map of the

(A) The reader is to observe, that father *Hennepin*, who has wrote an account of the discoveries we are now to mention, was a kind of a renegade from the *Romish* religion, and therefore his relation is much discredited by *Charlevoix*, and other jesuits, in their accounts of *New France*. Notwithstanding this, and some immaterial inaccuracies he has fallen into, his accounts agree in the main, and

in their material substance with what they have themselves related, and it is evident, that in many important particulars relating to the savages, and their situations, as well as in their subsequent discoveries and travels they were greatly indebted to *Hennepin's* work, in which we find *Marquette's* journal of the voyage mentioned in the text.

countries

countries, through which they supposed they were to pass, from the information of the savages, and laid in their provisions, which consisted of boiled flesh and *Indian* corn. They then set out for the bay of *Puantes*, or lake *Michigan*^d, but found all the people, through which they passed extremely, ignorant and superstitious. Embarking on the river *des Renards*, they sailed up it, notwithstanding its rapids, and after travelling some days by land they re embarked upon the river *Ouisconsin*, or *Misconsin*. The particulars of their voyages and travels, though curious and entertaining, are foreign to this work. It is sufficient to say, that on the 17th of June, 1673, they entered the great river *Mississippi*, which answered all the high ideas they had conceived of it from the relations of the savages. Having sailed down it a great way, they met with the *Illinois*, who lived in three townships three leagues below the place where the river *Missouri* discharges itself into the *Mississippi*. Those *Indians* entertained the travellers with great marks of savage politeness, and afterwards, to the number of about eight hundred, conducted them to their canoes. During their stay with the *Illinois*, they understood that the latter were apprehensive of being invaded by the *Iroquois*, for whom their nation was no match; and they implored the good offices of the governor-general of *Canada* in their favour. *Marquette* and *Joliet*, then re embarking, fell down the river till they came to the mouth of the river *Ouaboskigou*, where they found a numerous, harmless, nation, who inhabited thirty-eight villages, called the *Chouanous*, who were greatly harrassed by the *Iroquois*. Soon after they met with a nation of savages, who had fire-arms, who informed them that they purchased them, and their working utensils from *Europeans*, who lived to the eastward, and that they were only ten days journey from the sea. Before they reached the great village of *Akamsea* they met with another race of savages, not so polished but friendly. The natives of *Akamsea* received them with great civility; but some of them were for murdering the father and his companions, from which they were diverted by the authority of their chief. *Marquette* and *Joliet* here held a consultation with their companions, who were five *Frenchmen*, concerning their future proceedings, and observing by their reckoning, that they were within three days journey of the gulph of *Mexico*, where they could expect nothing but death from the *Spaniards*, and considering their provisions were now almost spent, they turned back towards *Canada*. Arriving at *Chicagou* on the lake *Michigan*, *Marquette* remained with the *Miamis*, and *Joliet* went to *Quebec*, where he found *Talon* preparing to return to *France*. *Marquette* was

Account of
farther
discoveries.

* Relation de pere MARQUETTE.

received

received with great civility by the grand chief of the *Miamis*. About the same time, the fathers *Allouez* and *Dablon* went up the river *des Renards*, and preached, but without much success, to the *Indians*, that inhabited to the south of lake *Michigan*. In their travels, they met with the fragment of a rock, which, at a certain distance, bore some resemblance to a human head; and was worshipped by the savages as an idol. The two fathers had the courage not only to preach against this idolatry, but to tumble the idol from its station; so that neither it, nor its worship was ever heard of again. In the course of those voyages it appeared, that the river *des Renards* or *Foxes*, after the falls are past, rolls through a most delightful country, where woods and meadows are agreeably interpersed, while the borders of the river itself, and those of several smaller streams, which fall into it, produce a kind of wild oats, that, in the winter time, attracts a vast quantity of game. In short, nothing but cultivation is wanting to render it one of the most agreeable countries on the globe; for vines producing large grapes grow spontaneously in its woods, as do plumbs, apples, and other fruits; which, though wild, are not disagreeable to the taste, but, if cultivated, would become delicious.

TOWARDS the south, the missionaries entered the country *Fronte* of the *Mascoutins*, which, by the similitude of its name to *nac's* an *Indian* word, signifying fire, is, by some geographers called *haughty* the country of fire; though its real etymology imports, that *behaviour*. it is an open country; the land there being more free from wood than any in *North America*. The *Kicapous* are the neighbours, and constant allies, of the *Mascoutins*. Here the two missionaries found the *Miamis* chief at the head of 3000 of his own subjects, *Mascoutins* and *Kicapous*, whom the fear of the *Iroquois* and the *Sioux* had brought to the field. The missionaries were disappointed in their labours to convert those people. They were indeed received and treated by them with great civility; but all the fruit they gained from their exhortations, was, that the savages hearing them talk so well, took them for divinities, and inviting them to a great war-feast, petitioned them to grant them the victory over their enemies. Soon after *Dablon*, to his great regret, was recalled to *Quebec*, and father *Allouez* went to reside with the *Outagamis*; who, at that time, consisted of about 1000 families. As there was no good understanding between them and the *French*, the *Miamis* and the *Mascoutins*, were earnest to dissuade him from venturing himself amongst those savages; but he was deaf to their remonstrances, and proceeded in his mission with much greater success than he had reason to expect.

IN

IN the mean while, every thing was in confusion in the government of *Canada*. *Frontenac*, as we have already seen, was violent and arbitrary, and had imprisoned the abbot of *Salignac Fenelon*, who belonged to the seminary of *St. Sulpice*, as well as monf. *Perrot*, late governor of *Montreal*. In short, he not only quarrelled with all the clergy and missionaries, but with monf. *du Chesneau*, who had succeeded *Talon* as intendant of *New France*. He likewise garbled the upper council, so that it consisted entirely of his own friends and creatures, and he issued more warrants in one year, than had been for sixty before, so that the whole colony was in the utmost confusion. We have already mentioned the settlements of the savage *Iroquois* at *Magdalen's meadow*; but experience soon convinced them, that the soil there could not produce that kind of corn that was proper for their subsistence; so that the settlement was in danger of being entirely abandoned. The missionaries, to prevent this, applied to the governor for leave to remove to the fall of *St. Lewis*, and he taking no notice of their request, *Chesneau*, as intendant-general, granted them the spot they petitioned for; and notwithstanding the resentment of *Frontenac*, which he discovered in a most violent manner, they kept possession of it. About this time the missionaries were driven by the *Dutch* out of the canton of *Agniers*, and *Canada* was threatened by the *Iroquois* savages with a fresh invasion. *Frontenac*, to encrease his credit at the *French* court, wrote to that ministry, in such terms, as if he had by his address in gaining over the heads of the *Iroquois*, saved *New France* from entire destruction. His intelligence, however, only served to confirm the opinion of the necessity of maintaining the *Iroquois* settlement at the fall of *St. Lewis*.

*Difference
between
the gover-
nor and the
clergy.*

THE breach now grew every day wider between the governor-general on one part, and the bishop and intendant on the other. Both parties had great friends at court, and those of *Frontenac* had credit enough to prevent his being recalled, and perhaps punished for his injustice and violences. He engrossed to himself the whole power of the upper council, by acting as its president. By his own authority he banished the procurator-general, and two counsellors, and even disregarded the orders that came from *France*. That king, had in *June* 1675, emitted an ordonnance, by which the governor-general was to have the first seat in the council, the bishop the second, and the intendant the third, but that the latter should collect the voices and pronounce the sentences. *Frontenac* paid no regard to this ordonnance, and even threatened to throw the intendant into prison. His interest, how-
ver,

ven, at the *French* court prevented his most Christian majesty from knowing the whole of his behaviour, and both he and the intendant received reprimands, though that of *Frontenac* was the most severe, because he had expressly disobeyed the king's ordonnance. The letters, which brought over those reprimands, established several other regulations, particularly, against a set of men called *coureurs des bois*, or rangers, who carried on an illicit trade, both with the *English* and the natives, whom they furnished with strong liquors. *Frontenac*, on the other hand, and his friends, with some justice perhaps, pretended, that the strong liquor trade was absolutely necessary for preserving the interest of the *French* amongst the savages; that the bishop and the jesuits greatly exaggerated the evils attending it; and that their real design was by getting that trade into their own hands, to engross the management of the colony, and the affections of the natives. *Colbert* himself became at last so much of the same opinion, that he checked *Chefsneau* for opposing the strong liquor-traffic. At last, the matter began to be very serious; but the jesuits carried their point. The opinions of twenty of the principal inhabitants of *New France* were taken as to the commerce in question, and the whole matter was referred by the king to the archbishop of *Paris*, and the famous father *la Chaise*, the king's confessor, and himself a jesuit, who pronounced sentence entirely in favour of the bishop and the missionaries; and the most express orders were given against the traffic, under the most heavy penalties.

ALL this while, by the absence of *Talon*, and the death of father *Marquette*, the discovery of the great river *Mississippi* remained unprosecuted; but it was now resumed by the Sieur *la Sale*, one of the most extraordinary adventurers of that age. He was a native of *Rouen*, and, having lived for some years with the Jesuits, he forfeited his patrimony. Throwing himself upon fortune, he resolved to do something that might distinguish him in the world. His first scheme was to discover a passage by the north, or the west, of *Canada*, to *Japan*, or *China*. It was with this view that he came from *France* to *Canada*, though unprovided with money, and every requisite that could promote his undertaking. Being, however, possessed of great presence of mind, invincible resolution, and a good address, he found friends and protectors, and amongst them the count de *Frontenac* himself. He was at *Montreal* at the time when *Joliet* returned from his discoveries of the *Mississippi*, *la Sale*, and after discoursing with him, he resolved to prosecute the discovery, and to sail northward up the same river. Being furnished with all necessary informations, and

Arrival of
La Sale
and Tonti.

arguments, to make good his point, he artfully applied himself to *Frontenac*, on a subject which he knew was his ruling passion, the improving and fortifying his post at *Cataracouy*, which, at this time, was surrounded only with stakes, palisadoes, and earthen ramparts. His reasons for making this fort a barrier against the *Iroquois*, and all the hostile *Indians*, were so flattering to *Frontenac's* views, that he agreed *le Sale* should return to *France*, where he was to lay before the court his plans, not only for sailing up the *Mississippi*, but for building, peopling, and garrisoning the fort at *Cataracouy*, and rendering its neighbourhood a populous and thriving plantation; so as to produce all the necessaries of life, and docks, and materials for building vessels proper for the navigation of lake *Ontario*. Being furnished with proper credentials from *Frontenac*, he immediately repaired to *France*, where he found *Colbert* dead; but his post of the marine department, occupied by his son, the *marquis de Seignelay*. After conferring with that minister, *le Sale* obtained, to the full, all he wanted. Letters of nobility were expedited in his favour. The lordship of *Cataracouy* was granted him, together with the government of the fort, provided he would build it with stones, and he likewise received full powers for the extension of commerce and prosecuting his intended discoveries. In the course of his solicitations, the prince of *Conti* became his patron with the *French* king, and was of vast service to him; while all the acknowledgement he required, was *la Sale* receiving the chevalier *Tonti*, an officer of courage and experience, into a command under him. On the 14th of *July*, 1678, *la Sale* and *Tonti*, with thirty other persons, some of whom were pilots, and others workmen, embarked at *Rochelle* for *Quebec*, where they arrived on the 15th of *September* following. After a very short stay there, they repaired to *Cataracouy*, carrying with them father *Hennepin*, whom we have already mentioned, and who was a *Flemish* recollect. This expedition, in which *la Sale* worked at the fort, and at building a vessel, gave very promising appearances of his future government. As soon as the vessel was ready, he repaired to *Niagara*; where he formed the design of another fort at the entrance of lake *Erie*, above the famous fall of *Niagara*. After that he travelled on foot throughout all the canton of *Tsonnonthouan*, lying to the east of *Niagara*, and returned by land to *Cataracouy*; all the while carrying on a trade by means of his bark, which was, soon after, wrecked through the negligence of the pilot.

• HENNEPIN'S Travels, page 17.

LA

LA SALE applied himself with great spirit and diligence, as did *Tonti* likewise, in repairing this loss; and in the mean while both of them visited the different savages in the neighbourhood, with whom they settled a commerce; and about the middle of *August*, 1679, the vessel being now ready, *la Sale* embarked on board of it, with forty persons, of whom three were fathers recollects for *Michillimakinac*. In his voyage he met with so severe a storm, that most part of his attendants left him; but happening to fall in with the chevalier *Tonti*, who had taken another route, he persuaded them to return. His vessel then sailed to the bay of *Puantes*, from whence it returned to *Niagara*, loaded with furs, while he himself went in a canoe to the river *St. Joseph*, where *Tonti* joined him. After remaining there a short while, *Tonti* went to the country of the *Illinois*, while *la Sale* returned to *Catarocouy*, where he received undoubted intelligence, that his new vessel, which was called the *Griphon*, was lost or destroyed. It is certain that *la Sale*, who, with all his good qualities, was opinionated and overbearing, did not consult the true rules of policy in launching so large a vessel upon the lakes of *Canada*. The barbarians considered it as big with their destruction, and his attempts as tending to engross the whole fur trade, and to bring them into a state of entire dependence upon the *French*. It is thought, not without great probability, that this induced a party of the *Iroquois* to surprise the bark when it lay at anchor, and had no more than five men on board, and, after plundering it of all its cargo, to set it on fire. Whatever may be in this, it is certain, that the savages, in general, were, at this time, extremely averse to the *French* interest; and the *Iroquois* defeated the *Illinois*, whom *la Sale* chiefly depended on, while *Tonti* was amongst them. The *Algonquin* nations, the *Outaouais* particularly, were now shaken in their allegiance to the *French*; and even the *French* themselves at *Catarocouy*, where *la Sale* then was, entered into practices against his life, and gave his savage allies very bad impressions of his designs.

It required all *la Sale's* firmness and vivacity to withstand so many shocks. He immediately repaired to the country of the *Illinois*, who, he perceived, received him with a coldness very different from the sentiments in which he had left them. But this, far from discouraging him, determined him to act with an impolitic vigour, that might overawe the barbarians. All he gained, was, that the more some of them admired, the more they hated, him. His *French* attendants, seeing matters in this situation, conspired to poison him; but, being discovered, they fled. All he could then

*Distress of
la Sale.*

do, was, to replace the fugitives by an equal number of young *Illinois*, who were charmed with his intrepidity under his sufferings. He then dispatched father *Hennepin* with one *Dacan*, to sail up the *Mississippi*, if possible, to its source. The missionary and his companion accordingly embarked at fort *Crevecoeur* (which had been built by *la Sale*) on the 28th of *February*, and advanced up the *Mississippi* as far as the 46th degree of north latitude. Here they were stopt all of a sudden by a fall extending the whole breadth of the river, which prevented their going farther, and which *Hennepin* called the fall of *St. Anthony of Padua*. According to *Hennepin*, they found means to be delivered by some *French Canadians* from the hands of the *Sioux*, who had made them prisoners; and afterwards they went down the river as far as the sea, from whence they returned to fort *Crevecoeur*. *Charlevoix*, however, treats all the remaining part of this voyage, which is related by that collector, as a mere fiction, and tells us, that he returned to *Crevecoeur* by the same course he held when he went up to *St. Anthony's* fall.

at fort
Creve-
coeur.

THIS fort *Crevecoeur*, or heart-break, had been built by monk *la Sale* in a very uncomfortable country, and under a very miserable situation. After the departure of *Hennepin* and his companion, he was obliged, by various accidents, to remain at this fort to the month of *November*. In journeying from thence to *Cataracouy*, he perceived, upon the river of the *Illinois*, a spot very proper for a fort. He accordingly planned one there, and leaving the care of building it to his friend *Tonti*, he proceeded in his journey, or rather voyage; for most travels in *North America* are performed, partly by land, and partly by water. While *Tonti* was intent upon building this fort, he received intelligence that the *French*, whom *la Sale* had left at fort *Crevecoeur*, had mutinied, and run off. *Tonti* repaired, with great dispatch, thither, and found the news to be true; all of them, excepting seven or eight, having abandoned the fort, and taken with them whatever they could carry. Soon after, the *Iroquois*, to the number of six hundred warriors, appeared in sight of the *Illinois* villages; and this increased the suspicions of the *Illinois* against the *French*. All that *Tonti* could do in so disagreeable a situation, was, to employ two missionaries, who mediated a peace between the two nations; but in such a manner, that it gave the *Iroquois* very high ideas of their own power and superiority, so that the peace was of very short duration, and hostilities soon recommenced.

His impru-
dence,

THE court of *France* appears at this time to have given too much into the romantic projects of *la Sale*, who had made him-

himself a great number of enemies in *New France*, by obtaining exclusive privileges of trade; but the *English* are chiefly blamed by *Frontenac* for this irruption of the *Iroquois*. The flourishing state of the colonies of *New England* and *New York* enabled them to be very troublesome neighbours to the *French*, after they had obtained the restitution of *Acadia* by the treaty of *Breda*; and the *French* had neglected that country so much, that it again fell into the hands of the *English*, whose distance from *London* encouraged them to pay no great regard to the negotiations of that court. As the acquisition of *Acadia* and the intermediate country was of the utmost consequence to both nations, the *American English*, more than probably, had encouraged the *Iroquois* in invading the *Illinois*. *Tonti*, who was then at fort *Crevecoeur*, with no more than five men, and two recollect fathers, saw it was in vain to resist the *Iroquois*, who were determined to drive the *French* from all their posts on the river *Illinois*; and abandoning the fort, made the best retreat he could (B), but not without losing one of the recollects, who was murdered by the savages. *La Sale* had heard nothing of this retreat, and was surprised when, in the spring of the following year, on his return to fort *Crevecoeur*, he found it abandoned. He soon reinforced it with a new garrison, and sent workmen to complete the fort he had marked out the year before, and which he named fort *St. Lewis*. He then marched to *Michillimakinac*, where he joined *Tonti*; and about the end of *August*, after rambling backwards and forwards for three months, they, once more, set out for *Cataracouy*, to procure fresh supplies of adventurers and provisions. In his way thither he visited his two forts in the county of the *Illinois*. Every thing was now prepared for *la Sale*'s grand expedition to the *Mississippi*, which he entered the 2d of *February*, 1682-3, by the river *Illinois*. On the 4th of *March* he formally took possession of the country of the *Akansas*, and, according to the *French* accounts, on the 9th of *April* he came to the mouth of the river, where he took possession anew; and this, according to *Charlevoix* himself, is all we know of certainty with regard to this famous voyage; he giving no credit to the accounts published of it by *Tonti*. It is certain, however, that not only *la Sale*, but the whole *French* nation, looked upon the discovery and possession of the *Mississippi* as very great acquisitions, though it is evident that it was known long before by

1680.

(B) *Charlevoix* says, that *Tonti* was not wounded on this occasion. *Hennepin* says that he was; *Frontenac*, in his dispatch to the *French* court, says the same.

the name of *Cutagua* by *Ferdinand de Soto*, whose body was thrown into it after his death, and had even been settled by some *English* adventurers.

and ad-
ventures:

ON the 11th of *April*, *la Sale* re embarked on his return; but falling ill on the 15th of *May*, he dispatched the chevalier *de Tonfi* before him, to *Michillimakinac*. Notwithstanding all that is here related, the honour of discovering the *Mississippi* is vigorously contested with *la Sale* by *Hennepin*; who says, that his being the first discoverer, excited *la Sale*'s hatred towards him so much, that he was very ill treated by the *French* court, and obliged to throw himself on the protection of *England*. As to *la Sale* himself, after wintering in the bay of *Puantes*, he arrived at *Quebec* in the spring of the year 1683, from whence he set sail for *France*, carrying with him *de la Forest*, the major of his fort at *Catarocouy*.

Numbers
of French
in Canada.

IN the mean while, the government of *New France* had undergone some revolutions; for the misunderstanding between *Frontenac* and the intendant grew to such a height, that the *French* court recalled them both. *Le Fevre de la Barre* succeeded as governor-general of *New France*, and *de Meules* as intendant. By their instructions, which are dated in *May* 1682, they were ordered to correspond in the most cordial manner with *Blenac*, the governor of the *French American* islands, as the opening a commerce between them and *New France*, would be productive of the greatest advantages to both. They were likewise instructed to live in the greatest harmony with one another, but the intendant was always to submit to the governor. It appears that, for some years, *New France* had been in a declining state; for in 1697 all the *French* in the colony, exclusive of those in *Acadia*, whose numbers were very inconsiderable, amounted to no more than 8515 persons. The *Iroquois*, notwithstanding their barbarity, were now almost as good soldiers as the *French Canadians* themselves, and well knew the weakness of the colony: they therefore incessantly applied themselves to bring off the other savages from their connections with the *French*.

Practices
of the Eng-
lish,

In this they were greatly assisted by colonel *Dongan*, the *English* governor of *New York*, who gave to the *Iroquois* much greater prices for their furs and commodities than the *French Canadians* could afford, on account of the exactions of the new *French* company. Other accidents contributed to the misunderstanding. *Du Luth*, a *French* trader and officer, had put to death some savages, who had murdered two *Frenchmen* near the upper lake, which exasperated their countrymen to the highest degree. In the month of *September* 1681, while *Frontenac* was yet governor of *New France*, a *Tjonnonthouan*

thouan chief had been killed by an *Illinois* at *Michillimakinac*, which belonged to the *Kiskacons*, from whom the *Tsonnonthouan Iroquois* demanded satisfaction for the murder. As the *Kiskacons* were part of the *Illinois*, and lived in good correspondence with *France*, the *French* governor sent a message to persuade the *Tsonnonthouans* to suspend their resentment till he could have a meeting with them at *Catarocouy*, to which he invited them, that all differences might be settled between the two nations. The *Tsonnonthouans*, instigated, probably, by colonel *Dongan*, required the governor to give them the meeting in their own country, at the mouth of the river *Onnontague*. The haughty *Frenchman* ridiculously looked upon this demand as an insult upon his own and his master's dignity; but though he received it with the utmost indignation, he knew not how to better himself. In vain he practised all arts to retrieve his authority amongst those savages; and he even received intimations, that if he went to their place of rendezvous, he would be murdered. The governor, however, abated nothing of his haughty behaviour towards the savages; and not only took all the *Illinois* under his protection, but permitted the *Kiskacons* to build forts for their defence.

THE missionaries, in the mean while, were not idle for and of the they had credit enough to bring some of the *Iroquois*, to con- missiona- sent to meet the governor-general at *Catarocouy*. The go- ries. vernor imagining this condescension, to be the effect of fear in the savages, answered, that he would come no farther than *Montreal*, and that if they did not meet him there by *June*, he would return to *Quebec*. This haughtiness exasperated the *Iroquois* so much, that they returned to their first proposition of meeting him at the mouth of the river *Onnontague*. The intendant endeavoured to persuade him to go thither, and proposed a method by which he could do it without derogating from his dignity; but it was obstinately rejected by *Frontenac*, who declared that he would not quit his government to his successor, till he had reduced the savages to a sense of their duty. Soon after, in the neighbourhood of *Montreal*, he met *la Forest*, who had not yet set out for *France*, and five *Iroquois* deputies from the five cantons, headed by an *Onnontague* captain, one *Teganissorens*, a great partizan of the *French*. Their purpose was to profess a great friendship to the governor and his allies. On the 11th of *September*, *Frontenac* gave them audience, but understanding that the *Illinois* were to be excepted out of the number of the *French* allies, he loaded *Teganissorens* with presents, to induce him, which he promised to do, to prevent the war be-

tween the *Iroquois* and the *Illinois*. It appeared, however, afterwards that *Teganissorens* was not in the secret of his countrymen's real designs.

Fresh negotiations.

UPON the governor's leaving *Montreal*, other deputies arrived from the *Kiskacons*, the *Hurons* of *Michillimakinac*, and the *Miamis*. The governor took this opportunity of pressing the *Kiskacons* to give the *Iroquois* the satisfaction they demanded on account of the abovementioned murder, but all in vain. The *Kiskacons* alledged, that they had sent *Hurons* with belts of wampum to the *Iroquois*, which was all the atonement the custom of the country required for a murder that was not committed by themselves; nor could *Frontenac's* authority or persuasions bring them to any farther concession, though they said they would act only upon the defensive. While matters were in this situation, the new governor and intendant of *Canada* arrived; and it was discovered, that all the negotiation of *Teganissorens* was intended only as a blind to the *French*, till the *Iroquois* could make dispositions for a vigorous war, which had actually begun.

Difference between le Barre and de Sale.

LA BARRE arrived in *New France* with great prepossession against the friends of *Frontenac*, and *la Sale* in particular, whom he accused as being the author of the war that was ready to break out between the *Iroquois* and the *French*, before the latter were prepared. He likewise complained of father *Zensbe*, who had accompanied *la Sale* in his discoveries, which he treated as impostures, or matters of very little consequence. He alledged, that all had been transacted by a dozen or two of vagabond *French* and savages, who had prostituted his most Christian majesty's authority, and endeavoured to engross to themselves the commerce of *New France*. Notwithstanding the evident partiality of *Charlevoix* in favour of *la Sale*, *La Barre's* allegations were far from being groundless. It seems pretty certain, from the testimonies of *Tonti* and *Clerqz*, a *Frenchman* in *Canada*, that in all either he or *Hennepin* had done, they had been directed by the *English*, who were no strangers to the countries which they pretended to have discovered. Add to this, that *la Sale*, in the prosecution of his project, had already run himself 30,000 crowns in debt, which he had no other means of discharging than by feeding his creditors up with great expectations from his discoveries.

THE vanity of the *French*, however, took the part of *la Sale*. He had, by his letters, prepossession that ministry, particularly *M. de Seignelay*, greatly in favour of his discoveries,

See contest in *America* between *Great Britain* and *France*, p. 90.
which

which he had magnified above those of *Pern* and *Mexico*; and when he came to be heard at court he met with a very small reprimand, but great encouragement. *La Barre* was all this while struggling under infinite difficulties. He saw the poverty of the colony, and the impending war with the *Iroquois*, without knowing how to remedy the one, or to prevent the other. He followed the wisest course. Being a stranger, he summoned a general assembly of all the principal inhabitants, ecclesiastical, civil, and military, and demanded their advice. Here we have an opportunity of reflecting on the mistaken policy of the *French* court, which was the true reason why they availed themselves so little as they did of their possession of *Canada*, and the other fine countries comprehended in *New France*.

IN the first place, intoxicated with the glory of their march in *Europe*, they too much despised the savages, and appointed none for their governors in *North America*, but men of haughty behaviour and arbitrary principles, who wanted to rule with a rod of iron. This manner might have succeeded; but they did not sufficiently reflect, that the savages were better instructed by the *English* and *Dutch*, who taught them to despise the assuming airs of the *French* and their governors; while the latter, depending upon the connexions formed between *France* and *England*, every day expected that the *English Americans* would be checked by their government; but in this they were deceived. In the next place, though the court of *France* was zealous for the prosperity of *New France*, yet the whole of its government was a system of rapacity. Above one-fourth of the clear product of the fur trade went from the native into the pockets of the *New France* company; so that the former were under inexpressible disadvantages, of which the *English Americans* were entirely rid.

THE assembly of *New France* was sensible of all this, and laid before their governor a full state of the province. They represented that the colony could not arm above a thousand men; that, even to do that, they must neglect their agriculture; that they were destitute of provisions; in short, that it was impossible to enter, with any prospect of success, upon the war, without assistance from *France*. That two or three hundred men, at least, sent from thence would be necessary for their frontier garrisons, particularly that of *Cataracuy*; that the cultivation of their lands, during the absence of the inhabitants in the war, would require 1000 or 1500 additional hands; that they must be furnished with funds to raise magazines, and to build vessels. All those heads, with rea-

sons, shewing that, if they were not complied with, the colony must be utterly ruined, were transmitted to *France* in a memorial from *la Barre*, and were highly approved of by his most Christian majesty. Orders were given for the immediate embarkation of two hundred regulars for *Canada*, and letters were sent to the governor, informing him that *Dongan* (whose character we have already given) had received express orders from the court of *England* to alter his conduct with regard to the government of *New France*. The same letters enjoined *la Barre* to do all he could to prevent the *English* from settling in *Hudson's Bay*, the history of which will be found in another part of this work.

Negotia-
tion with
the
savages.

THOSE letters from *Europe* served only to encrease the presumption and delusion of the *French* at *Canada*. In 1683, *la Barre* had undoubted intelligence, that no fewer than 1500 *Iroquois* were assembled at the chief village of the *Onnontaguèse*, and that they intended to march from thence against the *Miamis*, the *Outaouais*, and the other allies of the *French*. *La Barre* had, as usual, recourse in this danger to the arts of negotiation. He dispatched a messenger, who arrived at the place of rendezvous, to dissuade the savages from entering upon their expedition, and to prevail with them to send deputies to *Montreal* to treat of an accommodation. They seemed to agree to both propositions; but before the end of *June*, *la Barre* had advice that seven or eight hundred of the cantons of *Onnontagué*, *Goyogouin*, and *Onneyouth*, had marched to attack the savage allies of *France*, while the *Tsonnonthouans*, and another body of the *Goyogouins*, were to fall upon the colony itself. *Le Barre*, upon this, dispatched another express to the *French* ministry, with heavy complaints of the practices of the *English*, in exciting this cruel war; and requesting that the duke of *York* should be applied to, to send orders to his governor of *New York* not to support the *Iroquois* against the *French*.

LA BARRE, while he waited for the result of those dispatches, sent a fresh message to the *Iroquois*, in hopes of amusing them, desiring to know how soon they would fulfil their promise in sending deputies to *Montreal* to treat of a peace. The savages answered the messenger with great contempt, that they did not remember their having made any such promise; and that if the governor had any thing to propose, he must repair to them. It appeared, however, that the savages, tho' resolved upon a war with the *French Indians*, were not so forward, as they pretended, in coming to a rupture with the colony; for in *August*, the five cantons sent deputies to *Montreal*. The *French* missionaries and traders, who were
best

best acquainted with the character of those nations, endeavoured to put *la Barre* upon his guard against their practices, ^{Insolence of the} which they said were only to gain time, that they might be ^{savages,} more sure of their blow. *La Barre*, prest perhaps by necessity, received the deputies with great civility, and accepted of all their protestations; at the same time, he took possession of fort *Cataracouy*, which in fact was the private property of *la Sale*, or his creditors, and likewise of fort *Lewis*, in the country of the *Illinois*; all which proceedings created great dissatisfaction in the colony, where he was treated as an old credulous dotard. In the mean while, the *Iroquois* were making dispositions for possessing themselves of both those forts. While a body of them was on their march, they met fourteen *French* traders, whom they robbed of goods to the value of 15,000 francs. The savages afterwards excused themselves for this robbery, by pretending that they thought the traders belonged to *la Sale*, whom they were at liberty, by permission of the governor, to plunder.

DE BAUGY, an officer under *la Barre*, was then com- ^{who are} mandant at fort *Lewis*, where *Tonti* likewise served; and ^{repulsed.} having intelligence of the approach of the barbarians, they were so well prepared to receive them, that they killed a considerable number of them at the first onset, after which they raised the siege. Upon this attempt of the savages, and another against the fort *Cataracouy*, which likewise failed, *la Barre* resolved in good earnest upon an offensive war. This being settled, *la Durantaye*, a captain of the regiment of *Carignan*, who commanded at *Michillimakinac*, and *Du Luth*, who acted as his lieutenant, received orders to raise all the *French Indians* in those parts to arms, and to invite them to meet him at *Niagara*, where he was to be with all the force of *New France*, on the 15th of *August*; and from thence to proceed to make a vigorous war upon all the *Iroquois* nations, particularly the *Tsonnonthouans*. This summons, however, had very little effect, though these savages were more interested, than the *French* were, in opposing the *Iroquois*, so low was the reputation of that government sunk in their eyes. Those about the bay of *St. Lewis* were the most backward, on account of some discouragements they met with in their trade; by order from the governor, who wanted to engross it to himself. *Du Luth*, before he could succeed in his commission, was obliged to call to his assistance *Perrot*, whom we have already mentioned, who managed the barbarians sodeexterously, that *la Durantaye* was soon at the head of five hundred *French Indians*, besides two hundred *Canadians*. His chief difficulty still remained, which was how to march them to *Niagara*.

While

While he was deliberating on surmounting this obstacle, and when the savages had actually begun their march, they were filled with unaccountable prepossessions, suggested by their superstitious notions, that their expedition would be unsuccessful; and after *Durantaye* and his officers had, with infinite difficulty, brought them to *Niagara*, their worst suspicions were confirmed by their not finding the governor there, and their afterwards understanding that a peace had been made between him and the *Iroquois*. The three *French* officers expected to be sacrificed to their resentment; but the savages contented themselves with coolly reproaching them and the governor for having deceived them, and promising that they never should be again at *Onnonthio's* call. The officers, however, found means to appease them, by pretending that their interest had been consulted in the peace, which the dread of them had prevailed upon the *Iroquois* to sue for; and thus the savages departed peaceably home.

Expedition
of La
Barre.

IN the mean while, *la Barre* had ordered the rendezvous of his troops to be held at *Montreal*. Before he put them in motion, he sent a message to colonel *Dongan*, requiring him, according to the promise he had made in consequence of the duke of *York's* orders, not to oppose his expedition against a bloody perfidious nation, who would massacre the *English* if they had nothing to fear from the *French*, and inviting him to join him in revenging the death of twenty-six *English* subjects, who had the preceding winter been murdered by the *Tsonnonthouans*. After this, *la Barre* applied to the cantons of *Onnontague*, *Agniers*, and *Onneyouth*, to all whom he sent belts of wampum, informing them that his expedition was only designed against the *Tsonnonthouans*. He then detached *du Tast*, one of his captains, at the head of fifty-six picked men, with a grand convoy of provisions, to *Cataracouy*, and to reinforce the garrison of that fort, where *M. D'Orvilliers*, a very able officer, was commandant. He had, by *la Sale's* orders, in the spring reconnoitered the enemy's country upon lake *Ontario*, and marked out the spot most proper for making the descent. The army then begun its march. It consisted of seven hundred *Canadians*, a hundred and thirty regulars, and two hundred savages. It was the 9th of *July* when this army set out in three divisions from *Quebec*, and on the 21st it reached *Montreal*, where they were joined by some other troops under *D'Orvilliers*. The whole body embarked the 26th and 27th; and on the 1st of *August*, *la Barre* had undoubted intelligence, that the cantons of *Onnontague*, *Onneyouth*, and *Goyogouin*; had obliged the *Tsonnonthouans* to accept of their mediation between the *French* and them, and that

that they required *Le Moyne* to manage the negotiation. At the same time, the general received other intelligence, that in the war he was about to wage with the *Tsonnonthouans*, he could do them very little damage, as they had already retired with all their effects and provisions into their fastnesses, and that the prosecution of the war would serve only to unite all the different tribes of the nation against the *French*. It was added, that the heads of the *Tsonnonthouans* had given assurances, that all they required was an indemnity for what had passed; in which case they would perform even more than was required of them, and abstain from all hostilities against the allies of *France*; but that, if those offers were rejected, colonel *Dongan*, the governor of *New York*, had offered to support them in the war with four hundred horse, and as many men. *Charlevoix* himself is of opinion, that had *Dongan's* offer been accepted, *la Barre* must have been in a very indifferent situation; but he seems to think that *Dongan's* zeal for the duke of *York*, and his hatred of the *French*, got the better of his prudence on this occasion. He treated the *Iroquois* as the subjects of his master the duke of *York*, and even ordered them to set up his arms throughout all their cantons. He likewise, at the same time, required them not to treat with the *French* without his participation, and sent a messenger to the five cantons, exhorting them to avail themselves of the assistance he offered them, and all at once to get rid of the *French*. One *Arnold* was his messenger on this occasion, and went in the quality of his envoy to the *Onnontague*, who, in the quarrel, considered themselves only as mediators, but, as such, in an independent capacity.

ARNOLD, seeing them startled on delivering his commission, very foolishly asked them, whether they refused to obey their lawful prince, the duke of *York*? This discourse shocked the *Onnontague*, who called Heaven to witness, that *Arnold* came only to trouble their land. One of their chiefs then addressed the envoy in the following remarkable strain of savage, yet powerful and rational, eloquence. "Know, said he, that the *Onnontague* places himself between his father *Ononthio*, and his brother *Tsonnonthouan* to keep them from fighting with each other. I thought that *Corlar* (for so the savages called the governor of *New York*) would have stood behind me, and cried, Well done, *Onnontague*, let not the father and the son come to blows together! I am greatly surprized that his envoy, should speak a very different language, and oppose my disarming both of them. *Arnold*, I cannot think *Corlar's* disposition to be so bad as thou representest it. *Ononthio* did me great honour in being willing to treat of peace

Bad policy
of an
English
envoy.

in

in my cabin. Should the son dishonour the father? *Corlar* attend to my voice, *Ononthis* has adopted me for a son; he treated and apparelled me, as such, at *Montreal*. There have we planted the tree of peace. We have likewise planted it at *Onnontague*, whither my father commonly sends his ambassadors, because the *Tsonnonthouans* are dull of apprehension; his predecessors did the same, and both parties found their account in it. I have two arms; I extend the one towards *Montreal*, there to support the tree of peace, and the other towards *Corlar*, who has been long my brother. *Ononthis* has been for these ten years my father, *Corlar* has been long my brother, with my own good will; but neither the one nor the other is my master. He who made the world gave me the land I possess. I am free; I respect them both, but no man has a right to command me; and none ought to take amiss my endeavouring, all that I can, that this land shall not be troubled. To conclude, I can no longer delay repairing to my father, who has taken the pains to come to my very gate, and who has no terms to propose, but what are reasonable."

The savages
treat with

Le Barre.

THIS discourse probably was dictated by *le Moyne*, who had got the start of *Arnold* in that canton, and who had the merit of conducting thither a *Tsonnonthouan*, who had been long a prisoner, and had been put into his hands by *la Barre*. This interview was followed by a letter sent from the savages to the governor of *New York*, representing *Arnold's* behaviour, and that they did not believe he had faithfully executed his commission. It is certain, that the good fortune of the *French Canadians*, and the imprudence of the *English* governor, saved *New France* on this occasion. *La Barre's* army, which was now on its march, during this negotiation had been reduced to the most deplorable condition; and, through the mismanagement of their general, the troops were so destitute of provisions, and so sickly at the same time, that they were preparing to return, when the welcome news of the treaty arrived. *La Barre's* joy at this was so great, that the savages easily perceived to what difficulties he had been reduced; and the deputies of their cantons, who came to mediate, treated him with an air of superiority. They found him encamped upon a tongue of land near lake *Ontario*, but in such distress for provisions, that the spot has since been called *Famine*. *Garakonthie* and *Oureouati*, the two chiefs so friendly to the *French*, were two of the deputies; but the *Tsonnonthouan* deputy behaved with as great insolence as *la Barre* did with meanness; for, upon the *Tsonnonthouan's* declaring that his nation would hear of no peace with the *Illinois*, *la Barre* said, that

that he hoped the hatchet lifted up against the *Illinois* would not fall upon the *French* in their country. When the *Tsonnonthouan* had agreed to this, the peace was made. The *Onnontague* deputies engaged that the *Tsonnonthouans* should make good the losses of the *Frenchmen* who had been robbed; but *la Barre*, at the same time, was obliged to decamp next day.

THIS dishonourable peace, though better by far than the *The* *sa-* governor had a right to expect, sunk the credit of the *French* *wages* *de-* lower than ever in the eyes of the *Iroquois*. The court of *Spain* the *France* appears all this time to have continued under its delu- *French*, sion; as if the affairs of *Canada* would in the end terminate in the glory of his most Christian majesty, provided his governor there was supplied with as many soldiers as he could afford to throw away in a morning skirmish in *Germany* or *Flanders*. Scarcely was *la Barre* returned to *Quebec* from his inglorious expedition, when he received a reinforcement of troops under two officers, *Montortier* and *Desnos*. Together with this reinforcement, he received a royal mandate, giving those gentlemen a kind of power independent of himself, and appointing them to command in the most advanced and important posts in the colony; a sufficient intimation that the *French* court thought that *la Barre's* great age disqualified him from, at least, the more active parts of his government. Another letter arrived about the same time, which shews the haughty unchristian spirit of the *French* court, in that age; for *la Barre* was there ordered to make as many of the *Iroquois* as he could prisoners; because, being strong and robust, they were very proper to serve on board the *French* gallies.

ABOUT this time, *Perrot*, who was now governor of *Mon-* and *pre-* *treal*, having some differences with the fraternity of *St. Sul-* *pare* *for* *pice*, who were his superiors, as being proprietors of the island, *war*. the *French* king gave him the government of *Acadia*, and he was succeeded in that of *Montreal* by the chevalier *de Callieres*, the boundary of whose government was marked at lake *St. Peter*, in the river *St. Laurence*. All this while, the *Iroquois*, probably over-awed by the reinforcement lately come from *France*, remained quiet: though it was apprehended they would not long continue so. They never had agreed to comprehend the *French* savage allies, especially the *Illinois*, in the peace; and it was of the utmost importance for the *French*, to protect those people. Towards the end of *July*, 1685, *la Barre* received letters from *Lamberville*, missionary at *Onnontague*, informing him that the *Tsonnonthouans* had, during all the preceding winter, abstained from hunting, fearing

1685.

fearing lest the *French* should invade their canton in their absence; that they complained of the *Mascontins* and the *Miamis*, who, encouraged by the protection of *Onontio*, had taken and killed, and even burnt, some of their nation; and that the *Mascontins* alledged in their justification, the instructions they had received from the governor of *New France*. It was added, that the five cantons of the *Iroquois* had lately renewed their confederacy; that the *Mahingans* were to assist them with 1200 men, and the *English* with more arms and ammunition of all kinds; that the *Iroquois* were actually in motion against the *Miamis*; and the *Tsonnonthouans*, though they were known lately to have carried 10,000 beaver skins to *New York*, refused, on pretence of poverty, to pay the thousand beaver skins they had promised for indemnifying the *Frenchmen* who had been robbed. As to their not repairing to *Quebec* to consult with the governor-general, they excused themselves on account of the badness of the roads; and because a young *Iroquois*, on his return from *Quebec*, had, for fear of his life, run into the woods, where he died of famine; but the *French*, who were the occasion of his death, had neither mourned for him, nor covered him; that is, they had made no presents to his family upon his death.

A new governor of New France.

It appears that the *Onontagues* were, at this time, so well disposed towards the *French*, as to do all they could to prevent a rupture; but could receive no other answer from the *Iroquois*, than that they were at liberty to do as they pleased. The news of the late dishonourable peace being carried to *France*, it was easily foreseen there, that it could be of no long continuance; and his most Christian majesty named *Denonville* to be governor of *New France*. He arrived with a fresh reinforcement of troops at *Quebec*, soon after *la Barre* had received *Lamerville's* letter, after a very fatiguing passage, and his first step was to visit *Catarocouy*. *La Forest* had, by order from the court, been replaced in the command of that fort; but understanding that his principal, *M. la Sale*, was amongst the *Illinois*, he repaired thither, and *D'Orville's* commanded in his absence. During *Denonville's* residence at *Catarocouy*, he easily saw the necessity of checking the *Iroquois*; but he found the affairs of the colony in general in a deplorable situation, and that the government of *Old France* had formed very false ideas with regard to *New France*. They had, above all things, recommended to their governors, that they should frenchify (for that was the term) the savages; but *Denonville* found that their savages continued savages still, and that the *French* affected to be savages; tho' he owned that it was not so with the savages, who held townships

ships in the heart of the colony, which he complained was quite open. By this he meant, that the inhabitants continued for their private purposes to build their houses at such a distance from one another, that they could not, upon any sudden attack from the *Indians*, assemble in a body to defend themselves. The more the governor knew of the state of the colony, and the nature of the *Iroquois*, he was the more convinced, that those savages never could be reconciled to the colony; and that, let the consequence be what it would, it was necessary to attempt their reduction by force of arms. *Denonville* was perhaps not a little encouraged in this resolution by his being a bigot to popery; the progress of which, amongst the *Indians*, he attributed entirely to the opposition it met with from the *Iroquois*. All *Acadia* and its neighbourhood were exposed to the incursions of the *English*, and the northern commerce was, in a manner, shut up from the *French*. In the west, the *Tsonnonthouans* had drawn the *English* towards *Niagara*, from whence they were enabled through the lakes, the communication of which they secured, to make inroads to *Michillimakinac*. They had even established there an interest amongst the *Indians*, and had greatly prejudiced the fur trade of the *French*.

IN this situation of affairs, it was easy to perceive there could be no safety for the *French*, but by cutting off from the *English* all communication by the lakes, and particularly to secure that of *Ontario* on the west, as well as the east, by building a strong fort of stone, capable to contain five or six hundred men at *Niagara*. This the *French* government thought was a certain and infallible method to prevent the *Iroquois* from trading with the *English*, who, they computed, gained above 30,000*l.* a year by furs. All this was represented to the *French* court by *Denonville*, who pressed the building such a fort with the greatest assiduity, in which he was seconded by the merchants of *New France*; and he even laid down the proper funds to defray the expences, by establishing an exclusive commerce at that post, in which it was easy to foresee all the trade of *Canada* must soon center. For this privilege the *Quebec* traders offered 30,000 *livres* a year. This project was not so secretly carried on as not to come to the knowledge of colonel *Dongan*, who remonstrated strongly against the building any fort at *Niagara*, which, he said, was the duke of *York*'s property, and likewise against the vast magazines of provisions and arms that were amassing at *Cataracouy*, and gave great umbrage to the *Iroquois*. *Denonville* answered *Dongan*'s remonstrances, by recriminating upon the *Iroquois*; and endeavoured to shew, that there was no

real ground for their suspicions, and that *Niagara* and its neighbourhood had been taken possession of by the *French*, long before the *English* were settled in *New York*.

As the *English* had succeeded to all the rights of the *Dutch* in those parts of *North America*, *Dongan's* reasoning was certainly just, though, at this time, a discussion of it is immaterial. All his attachment by religion and principle to his master, who was now on the throne of *England*, did not divert him from acting the part of a vigilant and honest governor. He saw that *James* was, in a manner, the slave of *France*, and he treated all the orders he received in favour of the *French* in *North America*, and which generally were communicated to him by the governor-general of *New France*, as having been extorted from his master, and therefore he paid them very little, or no, regard. He even summoned a meeting of the *Iroquois* cantons; and laid before them their danger from the *French*, and that their best course would be to prevent the blow meditated against them, by being the aggressors. This assembly, and the purpose of it, came to the knowledge of *Lamberville*, the *French* missionary, by means of certain *Iroquois* papists, with whom he had great interest; and he prevailed with the chief heads of the *Onnontaguèse* to promise, that they would take no step in the war, till he should return from *Quebec*, and report the opinion of the *French* governor-general. *Dongan* had some suspicion of *Lamberville's* intention, and demanded that *James Lamberville*, brother to the missionary, who had been left at *Onnontague* by way of hostage, should be put into his hands. He then applied to the popish *Iroquois*, who had been seated near the fall of *St. Lewis*, and in the high lands, to whom he offered a far more desirable situation than what they enjoyed under the *French* government, together with full liberty of conscience in the profession of the *Roman catholic* religion; his master, the king of *England*, as he told them, being of the same faith. All he could do made no impression either upon the converted or unconverted *Iroquois*, and the *Onnontague* canton refused to deliver up *Lamberville*.

DONGAN then addressed himself to the savages of *Michillimakinac*, by means of certain traders, who convinced them of the superior advantages they might have by dealing with the *English*, instead of the *French*; and, in this he had all the success he could desire. *Durantay* was then absent from *Michillimakinac*; but returning thither just as the *English* traders had left it, he set out in pursuit of them. The *English*, however, had foreseen this, and had prevailed with the *Hurons* settled at *St. Mary's* fall, to give them a

large escort, who convoyed them to the country of the *Tsonnonthouans*. *Denonville* saw the danger of the *Tsonnonthouans* joining with the *English*, and was confirmed in his resolution to make war upon them. For that purpose, he found it necessary to throw a strong garrison into fort *Cataracouy*, and to send a considerable detachment by *Sorel* river, to overawe the *Agniers*, and to alarm colonel *Dongan*. He likewise erected large magazines of provisions all over the country. Upon a review of the forces of the province, he found he could muster no more than eight hundred men, and that he could have very little dependence on the regulars, who were entire strangers to the *Indian* way of making war. All he could do was to gain time by amusing the *English*, and their allies, till he could receive the reinforcements which he daily expected from *France*; but, in the mean time, he found it absolutely necessary to send back the missionary *Lamberville* to the *Onnontague* canton. *Dongan*, during the absence of that father, had succeeded in persuading the savages that the *French* were ready to fall upon them; for which reason *Lamberville* never would again trust himself in their hands, and some of their warriors, had in that belief, taken the field. The appearance of *Lamberville* with a number of valuable presents, sent by him from *Denonville*, to the chief of the *Onnontague*, entirely altered the situation of affairs. The warriors, who had taken the field, were recalled; negotiations were entered into for an exchange of prisoners, and the *Hurons*, with the *Outaouais* of *Michillimakinac*, were prevailed on to give the *French* governor-general a meeting at *Cataracouy*. Towards the end of *September*, *Lamberville* returned to *Quebec* to inform *Denonville* of his proceedings with the *Iroquois*, particularly with the canton of the *Onnontague*, who had returned their prisoners; but the *Tsonnonthouans* had refused to follow their example, pretending that their captives chose to continue where they were. *Lamberville* was strongly prepossessed in favour of the savages of all denominations, whom he thought to be reclaimable by humouring and using them well; which made *Denonville*, who saw his weak side, resolve to conceal from him his intention of taking the first opportunity to push the war against the *Tsonnonthouans*, who had actually entered into hostilities against the *Illinois*, and a very brisk war was carried on between the two people.

In the mean while, colonel *Dongan*, who acted as governor-general of *New England* as well as *New York*, had found means to dispossess the *French* of their settlement at *St. Therese*, upon *Hudson's Bay*. The court of *Versailles* ordered *Barrillon*, their ambassador at *London*, to make a strong remonstrance

Hostilities
upon Hud-
son's Bay.

monstrance upon this dispossession; but it is remarkable that neither *Charles II.* nor *James II.* had authority enough over their *American* subjects to oblige them to make restitution, which they were most sincerely disposed to do. The *French* were amazed to the last degree that subjects should dispute the will of their sovereign; but the northern company, who were the proprietors of fort *St. Therese*, perceiving they could not succeed by applying to the court, resolved to do themselves justice, and demanded assistance from *Denonville* to repossess themselves of the fort. He granted eighty soldiers, with the chevalier *de Troye* at their head, and on the 20th of *June*, 1686, they arrived at the bottom of *Hudson's Bay*. They first stormed the fort *Monsepi* upon the river *Monsoni*, and made the garrison, consisting of sixty men, prisoners of war, seizing at the same time a considerable quantity of ammunition and provisions. *Iberville*, one of the *French* officers, then took a small vessel, in which was the governor of the bay; and at last fort *Rupert* upon the river *Nemiscan*, which had been lately rebuilt, but remained still unfortified, fell into their hands. They then, with the prizes they had made, proceeded against *Quitcheboun*, where the *English* had their principal magazines, which they likewise made themselves masters of. Here they found furs to the value only of 50,000 crowns, which made the *French* conclude that the *English* did not carry on a great traffic with the savages of those parts, and the garrison was sent in a vessel to *Port Nelson*. This invasion of the *English* settlements in *Hudson's Bay* was certainly a most infamous proceeding, and was far from being justified by the *English* having dispossessed the *French* of fort *St. Therese*, which was built on ground belonging to *British* subjects. Such, however, was the influence of *French* counsels at the court of *England*, that it was agreed *Port Nelson* should be common for both nations to trade at. But the spirit of the *English* could not submit to the meanness of their court; and *Denonville* sent strong remonstrances upon the danger of suffering the *French* malecontents to have an asylum at *Port Nelson*, where they could carry on a trade not only independent of their mother-country, but prejudicial to her interests. He represented that the *English*, by giving much greater prices than the *French* could afford, were masters of the fur trade; and that *Port Nelson* was of more consequence to the *French* than all the forts they had taken from the *English* upon that bay.

1687.

IN the beginning of the year 1687, the *French* court, by the ascendancy they had over that of *England*, aimed a blow that bade fair to destroy all the *British* interest in *North America*.

America. Barrillon had prevailed with king *James* to agree to *Treaty* to a neutrality between the subjects of *France* and *England* in the *disadvantage* *North America*, which left the *French* in possession of all their *vantage* *of the Eng-* *lish.* usurped claims. The fourteenth and fifteenth articles of the *treaty* impowered the governors of both nations to treat as pirates all privateers who were not commissioned by proper authority. This had a direct tendency to the ruin of the *English* subjects, as their court agreed to every claim which the *French* were pleased to set up. The unsettled state of affairs in *England*, and the manifest strides which her court was then making towards popery, defeated the intention of this treaty. The *English* paid so little regard to it, that they attacked fort *Quitichouen* in *Hudson's Bay*; but they were repulsed with some loss by *Iberville*; and in *September* *Denonville* declared war against the *Iroquois*, or rather against the *English*. This was in the year 1686, but the warlike operations did not commence till *June*, 1687, when *Denonville*, having received all the reinforcements he expected from *France*, took the field with 2000 *French* and 600 savages. He was, however, on this occasion guilty of a treachery, at which barbarians themselves would have blushed; for, under pretext of the orders his predecessor had received to send all the *Iroquois* he could make prisoners to the *French* gallies, before he declared war, he decoyed their chiefs to a conference at *Cataracouy*, where he most perfidiously put them in irons, and sent them to *Quebec* to be transported from thence to *Europe*. This infamous step did no service to the *French* interest. It sunk the credit of *Lamberville* and *Milet*, the two missionaries, in the eyes of the savages. Many of the natives, who had repaired to *Cataracouy*, were the best friends the *French* had upon that continent, but were now rendered their irreconcilable enemies; as indeed was the whole nation of the *Iroquois*. *Denonville* perceived the injustice of the step he had taken, and disavowed it, which only served to render him more odious and despicable to the natives, and to unite them more closely with the *English*.

MILET fell into the hands of the *Onneyouths*, who immediately condemned him to the flames, and obliged him to suffer all the preliminary torments of that fiery trial; but when he was on the point of being executed, an *Indian* matron adopted him, and saved his life by carrying him into her cabin. As to *Lamberville*, who remained in the canton of *Onnontague*, no sooner had *Denonville's* treachery appeared, than the chiefs of the canton, with a moderation that would have done honour to the most polished people, sent for him to their assembly, and expostulated with him in the warmest terms upon what had happened. He had, however, the good

fortune to be greatly in the graces of the savages, who acquitted him entirely of having any share in the perfidious proceedings of *Denonville*, but acquainted him that it was utterly improper he should remain any longer amongst them; not on their, but his own account; because if the war-song was once begun, he might be sacrificed by their young warriors without their elders having it in their power to save him.

*The war
continues.*

IT is reasonable, with *Charlevoix*, to suppose, that the favour shewn on this occasion to *Lamberville* was, in a great measure, owing to *Garakonthie*, who still preserved his credit in his nation. Notwithstanding the sentence of this missionary, the savages were generous enough to assign him a guard, who escorted him out of all danger; and the father himself always afterwards acknowledged *Garakonthie* to be his deliverer. *Denonville* was more a barbarian, than the savages he was about to fight with. Knowing that matters were now brought to extremities between him and the *Indians*, he omitted nothing that could make the campaign prosperous on his side. *De Tonti*, who had travelled as far as the mouth of the *Mississippi* to obtain some tidings of *la Sale*, and who had returned to *Montreal*, was ordered to repair to the country of the *Illinois*, there to publish the war; and, after assembling them in a body, as soon as possible, to conduct them towards the *Tsonnonhouians*, lying on the *Ohio* river; from whence he was to detach parties, to cut off the retreat of their women and children; a circumstance of great importance in a war with the savages. Those in the neighbourhood of the bay of *St. Lewis* were irreconcilably exasperated against the *Iroquois*, who had the preceding summer carried off some of their women. *Denonville* improved this circumstance to his own advantage, by desiring them to join *du Luth*, who was intrenched at the straits of lake *Huron*; a spot that was pitched on by him as most proper for the general rendezvous of his troops. *Perrot* and another officer, *Boisguillot*, were ordered to repair to *Michillimakinac* with all the *French* they could assemble consistently with the safety of their effects, and to signify to the *Sioux*, that they should have cause to repent, if they should disturb the *French* allies during the war. *Durantaye*, who still commanded at *Michillimakinac*, and, on account of his good qualities, was highly acceptable to the savages, was ordered, at the same time, to collect all the force he could, and to proceed to *Niagara*; but in his march, to harass the *Indians* who were enemies to the *French*, only taking care to make prisoners of as many of the *Onnontague* as he could, not only because they were the most harm-
less

less of all the *Indian* savages at war with the *French*, but that the governor-general should have captives in his hands to exchange (if there was occasion) for the missionaries.

DE TONTI could bring to the field no more than eighty *Illinois*, though he had reckoned upon five or six hundred. Having intelligence that the *Tsonnonthouans* were preparing to fall upon their villages, they had put themselves in motion to invade them; but understanding from colonel *Dongan*, that the *French* were about to make themselves masters of the *Illinois* canton, they returned home to defend their own country, and *de Tonti* joined *du Luth* at the entry of the strait of lake *Huron*. The missionaries, on this occasion, saved the *French* in *New France* from destruction. The natives, savage as they were, perceived that the *French* intended to enslave them; and all the authority of *Durantaye* and *du Luth* could not bring the *Hurons* and the *Outaouais* to join them. They even entered into a treaty with the *Iroquois*, when the missionaries found means to gain over their two chiefs, and sent them to treat with *Denonville*, who, on this occasion, acknowledged to his court the important service of the missionaries, and engaged the chiefs in his interest. The *Iroquois* all this while, notwithstanding the advices they had from colonel *Dongan*, did not dream that they were on the eve of a war with *Denonville*. They continued quite indifferent as to the preparations of the *French*, and the rather as *Lamberville* still remained amongst them, and exercised the office of his mission. The designs of *Denonville* were no secrets to *Dongan*, and it was with the utmost difficulty that he, at last, prevailed with the *Iroquois* to suspect the truth. All the effect even that had was only to induce them to send deputies to fort *Cata-racouy*, where *Denonville* was, and to talk to him in a menacing manner.

BUT by this time *Denonville* was in readiness to enter upon 1687. action. He was encamped at the little isle of *St. Helen* opposite *Montreal*, where on the 7th of *June*, 1687, he was joined by *de Champigni Noroi*, who had succeeded *de Meules* as intendant of *New France*, and by *Vaudreuil*, who was appointed to command the troops. On the 11th of the same month, the army embarked on board two hundred boats and as many canoes of the savages. The whole consisted of 832 regulars, 1000 *Canadians*, and about 300 savages. The good understanding between the governor-general and the new intendant, not only supplied this army with abundance of provisions, but inspired them with confidence in their leaders. After three days sail, *Champigni*, with thirty men, detached himself from the main body to dispose every thing at

Cataroqueuy for forwarding the expedition. There *Denonville* received a letter from colonel *Dongan*, reproaching him with his intention of making war upon the subjects of *Great Britain*, (for so he called the *Iroquois*), and putting him in mind of a concert that had been entered between his predecessor *de Barre*, and himself, *Dongan*; by which it was stipulated, that neither party should attack the *Indians* without communicating his intention to the other. *Denonville*, seeing himself at the head of an army answered this letter, in a very haughty stile; and *Durantaye* attacked and plundered, upon lake *Huron*, sixty *English* traders, who were bound to *Michilimakinac*, under pretence that such a trade was contraband, and contrary to the orders of the two courts.

Marches
into the
country
of the
Tsonnon-
thouans,

DURANTAYE, having distributed the spoils acquired from the *English* by this robbery amongst the savages, joined *du Luth* and *de Tonti* at the entry of the strait, and marched directly to *Niagara*, where they received an order from the governor-general to repair to the river *Sable*, in the country of the *Tsonnonthouans*, by the 10th of the month; which they accordingly did, and there they found *Denonville* and his whole army. Their first measure was to throw up an intrenchment, in which they lodged their magazines; and which, being finished in two days, *D'Orvilliers* was left to guard with four hundred men. The main body of the *French* army then marched into the country of the *Tsonnonthouans*, where they were attacked, and must have been defeated by eight hundred of those savages, had not their own savages made head against them. Here they lost father *Aniebran*, a jesuit, one of the most active missionaries, as he was fighting against the savages in the foremost ranks. The loss of the *Tsonnonthouans* amounted to forty-five killed, and sixty wounded. *Denonville*, in his account of this action, which he sent to court, acknowledged that his *Outaouais* immediately cut the dead bodies of the former in pieces, and devoured them. It is however acknowledged by *Charlevoix*^s, that not only the *Canadians*, but the savages behaved in this expedition better than the regulars. On the 14th, the *French* army encamped in one of the four great villages that composed the canton of the *Tsonnonthouans*, and which they burnt to the ground; but it is highly remarkable, that during ten days, which they spent in ravaging and traversing the country, they did not find in it a living soul; one part of the natives having fled to the country of the *Goyogouins*, and the others to *New York*, where they were kindly received, and furnished with arms and am-

munition by colonel *Dongan*. If we are to believe *Charlevoix*, that gentleman was so sensible of the practices of the *French*, that he even sent back to *England* a person who had arrived at *New York*, with a commission from his court to see an exact neutrality observed between the *English* and the *French*.

The latter, while their army remained in the country of *which he* the *Tsonnonthouans*, were guilty of the most horrible ravages, ravages. destroying all the provisions and corn wherever they came; particularly a vast number of pigs, the eating of which introduced pestilential disorders amongst their troops. This, with the dreadful fatigues of their marches, and the hourly mutinyings of the savages, who appear to have been the most useful body in this expedition, obliged the *French* general to leave the country of the *Tsonnonthouans*, and to march towards *Niagara*, which he did after a most disgraceful and unmanly expedition, in which he met with little or no opposition, and employed his arms entirely on the defenceless houses and stores of the inhabitants. Notwithstanding the inutilty of this campaign, *Denonville* thought he could close it by an important service in building a fort at *Niagara*, where the chevalier *de la Troie* was left with a garrison of a hundred men; but being soon after attacked by epidemical diseases, they all died. This misfortune was attributed to the badness of the air; but it was more probably owing to that of their provisions; because another fort was built almost in the same place soon after, where the garrison lived very healthy. The governor of *New York*, notwithstanding the orders he received to the contrary from his court, continued the irreconcilable enemy of the *French*. He prevailed with the *Iroquois* cantons to resolve to give over all communication with *Cataracouy*, and even to send back the prisoners which they had taken from the *Hurons*, and the *Outaouais* of *Michillimakinac*, that he might ingratiate himself with those savages. After this, he acquainted the *Iroquois* highlanders, and those of the fall of *St. Lewis*, that if they would join him, he would furnish them with *English* missionaries, and give them a much more agreeable spot than that which they possessed, to settle in. Those proceedings on the part of *Dongan* gave *Denonville* infinite disquiet, and he sent an *Agnier* chief from the fall of *St. Lewis* to the country of the *Agniers*, to know in what disposition they stood with regard to the *French*. The chief, in passing lake *Champlain*, met with sixty *Agniers*, who had been sent out by colonel *Dongan* on an expedition, and he had the address to bring them all over to the *French* interest, and to persuade four of them to follow him to the fall of *St. Lewis*. The same savage, who was in vast credit with his countrymen,

afterwards sent his nephew and another *Indian* to the cantons of *Onneyouth* and *Onnontagué*; where being powerfully seconded by *Garakonthie's* interest, they broke off their connexions with the governor of *New York*, and preserved them in friendship with the *French*.

The
French
neglect
Acadia.

ALL those little advantages, though magnified by the *French* writers, were in the main very inconsiderable. The mistaken notions of the court of *France* continued still to favour the *English* in the *Canadian* fur trade; the only commerce by which their government could possibly indemnify itself for its expence in supporting the colony. *De Meules* had endeavoured to open the eyes of that government with respect to *Acadia*, which, he said, was the only settlement that could support *Canada*; but all his suggestions were in vain, and the fisheries, as well as the fur trade, of that province, remained neglected; insomuch that all the *French* settled in that profitable country did not this year amount to above nine hundred men. The *English* knew the weakness of the *French* in that quarter, and not only carried on an open war with them there, but encouraged the *Tsonnonthouans*, notwithstanding their late chastisement, to resume all their hostile intentions against the *French*. This determined *Denonville* to make another expedition against the *Tsonnonthouans*, who, by this time, had formed a secret intelligence with the *Indians* of *Michillimakinack*, the most useful allies the *French* had amongst the savages. *Denonville*, however, was somewhat embarrassed in executing his resolution, by the orders he received from his court to give no umbrage to the *English*. The truth is, whatever private virtues, or whatever good intentions, he might have towards his sovereign and his country, he appears even by the report of his panegyrist *Charlevoix*, to have been a very improper governor for *New France*. His having built a fort at *Niagara*, and suffering all the garrison with their commander to perish through the badness of their provisions, gave the savages, as well as the *French*, no high opinion of his resolution; nor did any part of his conduct serve to increase it. The mortality at *Cataracouy*, as well as in other parts of *Canada*, fell little short of that at *Niagara*; while the aversion which *Denonville* had at treating with the savages, or even bearing the sight of them, encreased the miseries of the colony. But his presumption led him to despise the *Indians* he could not conquer. He still depended on the pacific orders *Dongan* received from the court of *England*, and on the terror with which the savages were struck by his late expedition against the *Tsonnonthouans*. He was deceived, for on the 3d of *November*, fort *Chamblé* was all of a sudden besieged by

by a large detachment of *Agniers* and *Mabingans*; who, tho' they were obliged next day to abandon their enterprize, succeeded so far as to burn several plantations, and to carry off a number of prisoners. The *French* did not fail to attribute this attempt to *Dongan*, and raised him so many enemies amongst their savages, that he was obliged to keep in pay a body of 1200 *Iroquois* during all the winter, to cover his government.

THE reflections thrown out on occasion of those hostilities against the *English*, are highly absurd, when we consider the infamous conduct of the *French* governor in arresting the *Iroquois* chiefs at fort *Cataracouy*, and sending them in chains to serve as slaves in his master's galleys. This base conduct well accounted, without the intervention of the *English*, for all the hostilities of the savages. Forty of the *Onnontague*s had taken a *French* lady and three *French* soldiers near fort *Cataracouy*, and the missionary *Lamberville* undertook to recover them. They accordingly gave him the meeting, and upon his reproaching them with their proceeding, while there was no war between the *French* and any other *Indian* nation but the *Tsonnonthouans*; they frankly acknowledged, that what they had done was by way of reprisal for *Ononthio's* having surprised their countrymen. *Lamberville* made a very weak apology for *Denonville's* conduct, but presented them with two belts of wampum, the one to induce them to treat their prisoners well, and the other to prevail with them not to take part with the *Tsonnonthouans* in the war; but both those belts were immediately sent to colonel *Dongan*, who soon after dispatched a messenger to know the meaning of their having been presented by *Lamberville* to the *Onnontague*s (C). *Denonville* sent father *Vaillant du Gueslis* with his answer, but, in fact, to be a spy upon *Dongan*; who, after some conversation, told him in plain terms, that the *French* in *Canada* could never hope to be at peace with the *Iroquois*, but upon four conditions. The first was, the returning their countrymen whom they had sent to the galleys; the second, that they should oblige the *Iroquois* Christians, who had been settled at the fall of *St. Lewis* and in the highlands, to return to their native cantons; the third, that the forts at *Cataracouy* and *Niagara* should be demolished; and the fourth,

(C) *Charlevoix* seems to acknowledge the infamy of *Denonville's* proceeding in this affair; and that even *Lamberville* was kept in the dark; for

he assured the *Onnontague*s, that their countrymen were still at *Quebec*, though, in fact, they had been sent to *Europe*.

that

that the *Tsonnonthouans* should be indemnified for all their losses during the late expedition. *Dongan*, after this plain declaration, dismissed the missionary, without suffering him to have any communication with the savages.

Dongan
gains over
the sa-
vages.

SOON after *Dongan* had a meeting with the chiefs of the five *Iroquois* cantons, whom he summoned to meet him at *New Orange*. He acquainted them with the terms he had proposed to the *French* missionary; but told them, at the same time, that though he counselled them to hide their hatchets for a while, he was far from desiring them to bury them; and that though the king his master had ordered him not to furnish them with arms or ammunition against the *French*, yet if the latter should reject his terms, he would supply them with both at his own expence. He concluded by advising them, at all events, to keep themselves in readiness, if they saw occasion, to fall upon the *French* by fort *Cataracouy* and lake *Ghamplain*. The savages took *Dongan's* advice, by remaining quiet all the remainder of the winter; but early in the spring of 1688, a party of them surprised and killed some of a *French* convoy in their return from fort *Cataracouy* to *Montréal*. This was a sufficient intimation that the savages were determined on a war with the *French*; but the colony of *New France* was so weak, that *Denonville* knew not how to check them. All he could do was to employ *Lamberville*, if possible, to bring off the *Onnontague* from their union with the other *Iroquois* cantons. By this time, the missionary *Vaillant* was returned to fort *Cataracouy*, attended by two savages, whom colonel *Dongan* had appointed as his guard, to prevent his conversing with the *Agniers*. *Lamberville* had the address to gain over one of those savages, and to persuade him to repair to the country of the *Onnontague*, where he was to lay before them the interested views of colonel *Dongan* in bringing them to break with the *French*. The savage found all the cantons assembled, and an army of 1000 men ready to take the field against the *French*, at whom they were greatly exasperated. He succeeded, however, so far as to induce them to send deputies to treat with *Denonville*; but he could not prevent a resolution which five hundred of their warriors took, to attend those deputies as safeguards. When they arrived near *Cataracouy*, *Haaskouan*, one of the deputies, attended by six savages, left the main body; and entering the fort, he required *D'Orvilliers*, the commandant, to send one of his officers to conduct them to *Montréal*. A lieutenant, one *la Perelle*, was by *D'Orvilliers* ordered to this disagreeable office; for he was both surprised and terrified at seeing himself received in the nature of a prisoner by six hundred well-armed savages.

savages, who, when they arrived at lake *St. Francis*, were joined by as many more. There, the whole body slept, while the deputies alone went forward to *Montreal*, where they found *Denonville*.

HAASKOUAUN was the mouth of the deputation, and *their* treated the *Frenchman* with an indifferent, if not an *impe- baughty* rious, air. He laid before him the miserable state of the co- *embassy to* lony, with the strength of the *Iroquois*, and endeavoured to *the French* make him sensible with what ease the latter could drive all the *French* out of *Canada*. He then, in a deriding manner, made a merit of his having persuaded his countrymen to advertise *Ononchio* of his danger, and to give him four days time to deliberate whether he would or would not accept of the terms proposed to him by *Gorlar*, (meaning colonel *Dou- gar*). Nothing could be more mortifying than the situation of the *French* colony at this time. Twelve hundred savages were ready to attack *Montreal*. The *French* inhabitants between *Sorel* river and *Magdalen* meadow durst not stir abroad for fear of being surprised by the savages; an account had come of the extinction of the garrison of fort *Niagara*, and there was danger lest the last resource of the colony, the negotiation with the *Onnontaguense*, should be cut off by the governor's entering into hostilities with the savages. This negotiation was so far advanced, that *Denonville* had released all the *Onnontaguense* prisoners, and had intimated to them the conditions on which he was willing to enter into an alliance with them. By this time, eight hundred of the savages had *who nar-* besieged the fort of *Catarocony*; lake *Ontario* was covered *rowly es-* with their canoes; and they destroyed all the *French* settle- *cape being* ments on its borders. Fortunately for the *French*, the *On-* *ruined.* *nantaguense* captives, whom *Denonville* had freed, arrived on their return to their own country at *Catarocony*, almost at the instant when the fort was about to be surrendered. One of the prisoners happening to be nephew to the chief who commanded the siege, his kinsman's deliverance made such an impression upon him, that he immediately drew off his troops; and, on the 8th of *June* following, deputies from the *Onnontaguense*, the *Onneyauts*, and the *Goyogouins*, arrived at *Montreal* to treat of peace. Those two events, so favourable to the colony, were considered by the *French* as little less than miraculous; and, after some treating, peace was concluded upon the following terms: First, that all the *French* allies should be comprehended in the treaty; secondly, that the cantons of *Agnier* and *Tsonnonthouan* should send their deputies for the same purpose; thirdly, that all hostilities should cease on both parts; and fourthly, that the *French* should have

have liberty to revisit fort *Cataracouy*. There appears, however, to have been some separate articles in this treaty, not greatly to the honour of the *French*. *Denonville* agreed that the fort at *Niagara* should be demolished; and he dispatched a messenger to the *French* court, requesting that the *Iroquois* who had been sent to the galleys, might be delivered up to one *Serigny*, a young gentleman who was perfectly well acquainted with the language of the savages, and entirely agreeable to them. Such were the terms on which this peace was concluded, and it was confirmed by colonel *Dongan* sending to the governor the *French* lady who had been made prisoner at *Cataracouy*, with twelve other *French* prisoners. *Dongan* acquainted *Denonville*, at the same time, that he had received fresh orders from the king his master to observe the neutrality that had been concluded between him and his most Christian majesty; and that he had actually given orders for delivering all the *French* prisoners who should be found amongst the *Iroquois*.

Hostilities
again
break out.

THOSE fair appearances were not followed by proportionable effects. A convoy of provisions was ordered for fort *Cataracouy*; but the *Iroquois* plundered one of the canoes, tho' they had left five hostages for the security of the convoy. Soon after, the *Iroquois* appeared in arms in several of the most defenceless possessions of the *French*. The governor-general, that he might early check those proceedings, took the field with all the force he could raise; and coming up with the savages at lake *Sacrament*, he killed several of the *Mahingans*, and took prisoners some *Agniers*, who, according to *Charlevoix*, had been prevailed upon by colonel *Dongan*, who had furnished them with arms and ammunition, to commit those infractions of the late treaty. This vigorous proceeding procured some respite to the colony from the incursions of the *Iroquois*; but *Denonville* attributed his deliverance, and that of the colony, to the superior wisdom and address of the jesuits, particularly father *Lamberville*. It is, however, probable, that the management of those fathers must have been but a poor resource to the colony, had not colonel *Dongan* been recalled from his government of *New York*, and succeeded by *Andros*, who was a protestant, and then trod in his predecessor's footsteps.

Disorders
of the
French
colony.

BY the letters of *Denonville* to *Seignelay*, the *French* minister at this time, he appears to have had great abuses to struggle with. He complained of a total neglect of authority and discipline in the colony; that the rangers, or travelling chapmen, had by their behaviour sunk the price of *French* commodities, and raised that of furs; and that they were guilty of

of such meannesses towards the savages, as rendered the latter intolerably haughty. He complained, at the same time, of the consequences of the misunderstanding that had happened between *la Barre* and *la Sale*; and that the savages laid hold of *la Barre's* orders against *la Sale* as a pretext for pillaging the *French* in general. He concluded with advising the ministry to give orders for building more forts, and informed them that it was impossible to preserve the colony without having 4000 soldiers on foot, and 4 or 500 boats on the lakes. Above all things, he enforced the necessity of suppressing the rangers, who, he said, were so numerous, that the principal settlements of the country were almost unpeopled. Though the court of *France* paid very little regard to *Denonville's* remonstrances, and though many of the *Canadians* themselves were of opinion that he aggravated matters too much, yet the continuance of the evils soon justified his complaints. The savages, even those who were otherwise attached to the *French*, every day more and more despised them, for having had a peace, in a manner, forced upon them by the *Iroquois*.

THE *Abenakis*, however, are to be excepted from this Fidelity of number, as were the *Iroquois* of the fall of *St. Lewis* and the *Abe*-the highlands, with the *Hurons* of *Michillimakinac*. The *Abenakis*, while *Denonville* was treating with the other savages, them. took the field, and marching towards the river *Sorel*, there surprised and killed some of the *Mahingans* and *Iroquois*; and then advancing towards the *English* settlements, they brought from thence a number of scalps, while the *Iroquois* of the fall and the highlands, did the same in their parts of the country. The *Hurons* of *Michillimakinac* were still more averse to the peace, and the dislike both of them and the other savages we have mentioned towards the treaty between *Denonville* and the *Iroquois*, undoubtedly arose from their believing that the *Iroquois* wanted only to amuse the *French* governor into a treaty, that they might with the greater ease fall upon his allies. One *Kondiaronk*, surnamed the *Rat*, was at the head of the *Michillimakinac Hurons* and he is represented as having been a savage of more than common resolution and accomplishments. Putting himself at the head of a chosen band, he marched from *Michillimakinac* towards *Cataracouy*, where the *French* governor informed him of the treaty depending between *Denonville* and the *Iroquois*, which he said was so far advanced, that the governor-general was waiting at *Montreal* for the ambassadors and hostages of that nation; adding, that he could not do more acceptable service to the *French*, than by returning home without offering the smallest violence to the *Iroquois*.

Conduct of
the Rat
chief,

THE Rat heard this discourse without discovering the smallest emotion or dislike; but leaving the fort, he ambushed his company at a place by which he knew the ambassadors and the hostages must pass; and watching his opportunity, he killed some of them, and took others prisoners, of which last number was *Teganissorens*, whom we have already mentioned, and who was one of the ambassadors. The Rat after this, is said to have returned to *Cataracougy*, and to have boasted, that he "had killed the peace." He, however, discovered no particulars, till the arrival of a wounded *Onnontagus*, who had escaped from the *Hurons*, and who related the whole of the Rat's conduct. When the latter returned to his company, which he had left at *Point Famine*, he was upbraided by *Teganissorens*, for having violated his good faith, by making captive an ambassador. The Rat seemed to be greatly surprised, and pretending that he had been put upon the exploit by the *French* themselves, which perhaps was not greatly wide of the truth, he immediately released the ambassador, and all his companions, excepting one, whom he pretended to keep to replace one of his own men, who had been killed. He then returned to *Michillimakinac*, where, to render the breach still more irreparable, he imposed so far upon *Durantaye* the *French* commandant, as to put the miserable prisoner immediately to death, without any regard to his plea of the Rat's treachery, and himself being an ambassador. After this, the Rat set at liberty an old *Iroquois*, who had been for some time prisoner at *Michillimakinac*, enjoining him to return to his own canton; and to acquaint his countrymen, that while the *French* were amusing the natives with sham negotiations, they were daily putting them to death. This master-piece of dissimulation had all the effect the Rat could desire, by furnishing the turbulent *Iroquois* with a plausible pretext for breaking off the negotiations. The more moderate amongst them, however, prevailed with their countrymen to name fresh deputies to treat with *Denonville*, where there came letters from *Andros*, the governor of *New York*, enjoining them to break off all treaty with the *French* but with the participation of his *Britannic* majesty, who, considering them as his own children, would suffer them to want for nothing. He, at the same time, informed *Denonville* by writing, that he was not to expect any peace with the *Iroquois*; but upon the terms that had been proposed by his predecessor; though, at the same time, he acquainted him that he was so well disposed towards a good understanding with the *French*, that he had ordered all the *English* subjects within his governments not to molest the inhabitants of *New France*.

It

It is more than probable that *Andros*, when he wrote in and of this strain, followed the dictates of his own avarice. The *Andros* the *French* alledge, that he plundered their settlements in *Acadia* English and *Chedabouctou*, on pretence that they did not lie within the governor. limits of *New France*; and that the whole of his conduct till the revolution took place in *England*, was one continued scene of perfidy. The *English* subjects, on the other hand, with great justice pleaded that they had the same right, as the *French* had, to trade with the northern savages, who furnished the best furs. As to the savages themselves, they found great advantages in dealing with the *English* preferably to the *French*, who could not afford them the same prices, nor indeed the same commodities. The numbers of *French*, towards the end of the year 1688, settled in *New France*, amounted to 1688: 11,249 persons; but so ignorant was the *French* government of the true interests of *Canada*, that the colonists, about this time, gave over almost all thoughts of the fur trade, and applied themselves entirely to their fisheries; especially on the south-side of the river *St. Laurence*, where appeared great quantities of whales, as well as white fish. We understand, however, from *Charlevoix*, that the volatile dispositions of his countrymen prevented their improving their fisheries either on the river *St. Laurence*, or upon the coasts of *Nova Scotia*, where they were still more promising. The *Abenakis*, in this deplorable state of trade, were the only natives whom the *French* could depend upon. The *English* had again and again endeavoured to bring them over; but the jesuit missionaries had laboured so effectually, that all their attempts were to no purpose; and the *Abenakis* remained still the barrier between *New England* and *New France*.

DESPAIR, at last, suggested to the *French* the project of 1689. conquering *New York* from the *English*; and *Callieres*, with *The con-* *Denonville's* consent, took shipping for *France*, to propose it quest of to that court. He accordingly presented a memorial to the *New York* ministry, setting forth the necessity of such an enterprize, as rejoined it was impossible for the *French* colony to subsist while the *Iroquois* were so much attached, as they were, to the *English*. He then disclosed the means which he proposed for effecting this perfidious measure; which, he said, was justified by necessity. He demanded to be put at the head of 1300 regulars, and 300 *Canadians*. With this force he was to go up the river *Sorel* to lake *Champlain*, under pretence of making war upon the *Iroquois*, but in reality to fall upon *New York*, the conquest of which he thought was very practicable. He then represented, that the revolution having taken place in *England*, the inhabitants of *New York*, who most of them were

Frontenac again
governor.

were Dutch, would infallibly take part with the prince of Orange against king James, which still strengthened the necessity of subduing them. This memorial was approved of by the French king and his ministry; but Denonville was recalled from his government, and the count de Frontenac had interest enough to be declared his successor, being thought the most proper man in France for managing the savages, while the conquest of New York was attempting. This nomination of de Frontenac was the more approved of at court, as he appeared now to be very adviseable, and to have profited by his past experience. In the instructions he received, which were dated the 7th of June, he was ordered to dispossess the English from all their posts in Hudson's Bay, and likewise from their fort at Pentagoet. It is remarkable that those instructions were given while a negotiation was actually depending, for amicably adjusting all the claims of the two nations in America.

THE armament intended for the proposed conquest was fitted out at Rochfort, and the command of it was given to Cassiniere, who was instructed to follow count Frontenac's orders, the plan of the conquest being as follows: Frontenac was immediately to sail with the squadron for the entry of the gulph of St. Laurence, from whence he was to repair to the bay of Canso in Acadia, and then to Quebec; while Cassiniere remained on the coasts of Acadia, where he was to make prizes of all the English ships he met with. Callieres was to be dispatched before-hand, the moment the squadron entered the gulph of St. Laurence, where he was to make preparations for the expedition against New York; but concealing his real object under different pretexts. As the greatest diligence was necessary, and as the enterprize could be executed in no other season but the autumn, Frontenac, on his arrival at Quebec, was to set out with the bâteaux or boats, attended by de Callieres, who was to act as lieutenant-general, and, at the same time, to dispatch an express in cypher, ordering Cassiniere with his squadron to sail directly to Manhatta in New York. As the time when the sea and land forces could join was uncertain, the squadron was to wait at Manhatta, and to give a diversion to the capital of the province, while Frontenac was beginning his operations on the first parts of that colony. During Frontenac's absence, Vaudreuil was to act as his lieutenant in New France. When New York was subdued, Frontenac was to require from the English catholics an oath of fidelity to his most Christian majesty, and to suffer them to remain in their possessions. The tradesmen and artizans were to be distributed, that is, they were to become slaves

slaves to the *French* that were to be settled at *New York*, and all the useless mouths were to be sent to *New England*, or *Pennsylvania*. *De Callieres* was to act as governor of *New York*, under the governor-general of *New France*. All the *Iroquois* villages near *Manhatta*, or the city of *New York*, were to be destroyed, and the others put under contribution. All the principal *English* inhabitants were to be reserved for ransom.

HAD not those orders been transmitted to us by so unexceptionable an authority, as that of father *Charlevoix*, some difficulty might have been raised in believing that a court calling itself *Christian* could have acted with so much presumption and injustice; and they will for ever be standing evidences of the difference between the *French* and *English* government in matters of conquest, as may be seen by the conduct of the latter, when they conquered almost all the possessions of *France* in *America*, and the capitulations they granted to the vanquished. The *French* court were arrogant enough to imagine, that this plan of conquest must infallibly answer their expectations; but the execution of it depended on so many accidents, that they were totally disappointed. It was the 12th of *September*, before the *French* squadron arrived at *Chedaboctou*, and the 18th before they were joined by the merchant ships, which had been very roughly handled by storms on the banks of *Newfoundland*. Next day, *Frontenac* embarked on board a merchant ship for *Quebec*, but with very little hopes of being able, through the lateness of the season, to succeed against *New York*. Before he parted, he left a set of instructions for *Cassiniere's* conduct; one of which was to erect magazines at *Port Royal*, of provisions of all kinds out of the *English* prizes he should make, to be ready for the *French* troops next year, in case the expedition should be delayed till then. *Cassiniere* took a great many ships: but found it impossible to touch at *Port Royal* through contrary winds; and the case of *Frontenac*, in his voyage to the *Pierced Island*, was pretty much the same, it being the 12th of *October* before he could reach *Quebec*, and the 27th before he arrived at *Montreal*. Remark, on the barbarity of the French plan of operations.

DENONVILLE continued to be governor of *New France* till *Frontenac's* arrival; but, when the latter joined him at *Montreal*, he found the affairs of the colony in a deplorable *Iroquois* situation. On the 25th of *August* preceding, while the inhabitants of that island thought themselves perfectly secure, 1500 *Iroquois* in the night-time, fell upon *la Chine*, a settlement which lies three leagues farther up the river than the town of *Montreal*. The savages, finding the inhabitants asleep, massacred all the men they could find, and then

MOD. HIST. VOL. XL.

E

setting

setting fire to the houses, the remaining wretched inhabitants fell into their hands. The cruelties exercised on the prisoners are inexpressible. They ript up the bellies of women with child, and obliged mothers to roast their own infants before fires. In short, two hundred persons expired in less than an hour, under those dreadful torments. They then proceeded towards *Montreal*, committing the like ravages and cruelties all the way, and carried off two hundred prisoners, whom they burnt. *Denonville*, being then at *Montreal*, ordered an officer to take possession of a fort, which he was afraid the savages might seize. The fort was immediately invested, and its garrison being every man of them, but the officer who was desperately wounded, killed in defending it, the fort fell into the hands of the savages, who thereby became masters of all the open part of the island, which they continued to ravage in a most inhuman manner, without opposition. They remained there, till the middle of *October*; and then, by their retreat to their own country, gave the harrassed garrison some time to breathe. *Du Luth*, and another officer, *Mantet*, having been sent out to reconnoitre, fell in with a party of twenty-two *Iroquois*, of whom they killed eighteen, and took three, who were resigned to the flames of the *French* savages.

Farther
designs
against the
French
colony.

SUCH was the condition of *Montreal*, at the arrival of *Frontenac* on the 22d of *November*, 1689. A *French* savage, who had been made prisoner, and, after being cruelly tormented, had escaped to *Montreal*, gave intelligence that the enemy intended to return in the winter, and, being joined by a body of *English* and *Mahingans*, to make themselves masters of the town of *Montreal*, in the spring; from thence to pass by *Trois Rivières* to *Quebec*, where they expected to be joined by an *English* squadron, and that they were in hopes by the end of the campaign, no *Frenchman* should be left alive in *Canada*. *Frontenac* was sensible that all those calamities were owing to his, not being able to arrive three months sooner at *Montreal*. The consternation of the whole colony had been such, that *Denonville* sent orders to *Vatrenes*, who commanded at *Cataracouy*, to abandon that post, to blow up the fortifications, and to destroy all the provisions he could not carry off, in case he received no reinforcement before *November*. *Frontenac* hearing of those orders, opposed them strongly; but *Denonville* justified them from the inutility of the fort in answering the purposes for which it was built, and the vast expences it occasioned both of men and money to maintain it. *Frontenac*, besides his having been the founder and father of the fort, alledged many reasons for preserving it; and,

and, particularly, the vast conveniency of its situation for the French traders. But this last happened, in fact, to be one of the strongest motives, which *Denonville* and the intendant *Champigny* had for its demolition; because they said it had encouraged smuggling to the prejudice of the public revenue. *Frontenac* had no regard to their representations, and, notwithstanding *Denonville* was in so high credit at the French court, that he had been nominated sub-governor to the princes of France, he did all he could to expedite a strong reinforcement both of French and savages, which might arrive time enough to prevent the demolition of the fort. But *Fort Cata-* it was the 6th of November before he arrived with this reinforcement at *la Chine*, where *Valrenes* joined him in two hours demolished. after with the remains of his garrison, consisting of forty-five men, six having been drowned on their march. *Frontenac* understood from *Valrenes*, that he punctually obeyed the orders he had received from *Denonville*; that he had undermined the bastions and walls of the fort, and had left them with lighted matches fixed to them, adding that he did not doubt, from the noise he heard while he was upon his march of their having taken effect, and blown up the place. This news afflicted *Frontenac* beyond expression; but the necessity of conquering *New York* became every day more apparent though it could not be attempted that season. For this purpose, *Callieres* proposed two new plans of operations; the first and most preferable was to attack the city of *New York* with 1200 men, on board six vessels, while the *Canadians* should attack *New Orange* by land. The other plan was for proceeding by land entirely. It is probable, that one or other of those plans would have been executed, had not *Frontenac* received intelligence that the *English* were before-hand with him, and were actually in motion to attempt the conquest of *Canada*. When *Callieres* sent those plans to the French court, they were deemed to be impracticable, in the then situation of affairs. *De Seignelay* signified to *Frontenac* and *Champigny*, that his master being engaged in a war against all the greatest powers in Europe, he could spare neither ships nor troops to send to *Canada*, however important, or even necessary, the conquest of *New York* was. The minister, therefore, recommended it to *Frontenac* to act upon the defensive; and renewed his instructions for obliging the French inhabitants to build their houses more contiguous to one another, and to fortify their settlements.

Proceeding
of Fron-
tenac
with the
Iroquois
free, cantons.

FRONTENAC had brought with him from France the *Iroquois* savages who had been sent to the galleys, and had flattered himself with the hopes of being able, by setting them free, cantons.

free, and other measures which he knew were agreeable to the savages, to gain the *Iroquois* to his side. Above all, he had a great reliance upon the high esteem, which they had expressed for his person during his first government. The chief of the released savages was *Oureouharé*, a *Goyogouin*, and *Frontenac* had, during his voyage, been at great pains to bring him over to his views. When he arrived at *Montreal*, he there found *Gagniegaton*, an *Iroquois* deputy, offering some mortifying proposals to *Denonville*. *Oureouharé*, upon this, persuaded *Frontenac* to send back with the deputy four of the released savages, that they might proclaim to all the nation the deliverance of their brethren. *Oureouharé* instructed the savages, at the same time, to magnify the great goodness of their ancient father (meaning *Frontenac*) to their brethren, which they could not but acknowledge, in point of gratitude, by sending deputies to return him thanks. They were likewise to assure their countrymen, as from himself, that the governor had so great a tenderness for all of his nation, that he would not even return to his own country, if they did not send to demand him. The deputies punctually executed all they had in charge. Their cantons met, and sent back an ambassador with their answer, which reached *Montreal* the 9th of *March*, 1690. By that time *Frontenac* and *Oureouharé* had returned to *Quebec*, and *Callieres*, who received the ambassador, though he treated him with great condescensions, could not for several days draw from him the subject of his embassy. At last, however, the savage presented him with six belts. The first was by way of apology for the embassy coming so late, on account of the arrival of the *Outeouais* at *Tsonnonthouan*. *Gagniegaton*, who had been sent back on this occasion, intimated that a negotiation was on foot between those two people, which was to be concluded next *June* at an appointed place, exclusive of all strangers; and that the governor-general ought to have, as he was invited, treated in person at *Onnontague*, in which case, an accommodation long before had been concluded. The second belt signified the pleasure with which the *English* subjects of *Orange*, as well as the *Iroquois*, heard of their chief *Oureouharé*'s return. The third belt demanded, by the canton of *Onnontague*, in the name of the other cantons, all the *Iroquois* who had returned from *France*; and the ambassador added, that all the *French* prisoners throughout their cantons had been assembled where the governor was expected, that measures might be taken according as *Outeouharé* should advise. The fourth and fifth belts related to the invasion of the *Tsonnonthouan* canton by *Denonville*, and to the demolition of fort *Catarocouy*; and that

that when satisfaction was made for those matters, *Teganifferens* would come and treat of peace with *Ononchio*. By the sixth belt, *Gagniegaton* signified that ever since the preceding *October*, a body of *Iroquois* had been in the field, but that they would not enter upon action, till the melting of the snows; and that then, if they made any prisoners, they should be well treated; desiring that the *French* might do the same by their prisoners. "In your defeat at *la Chine*," continued he, I had eight prisoners; I ate one half of them, and I saved the other. You are more cruel than me; for when you shot twelve *Tsonnonthouans* dead, you ought to have at least spared one or two. I ate my four prisoners by way of reprisal for your barbarity."

Remarkable speech of a Savage.

DE CALLIERES endeavoured to learn something farther of the ambassador with regard to the dispositions of the other savages; but received only untrue or evasive answers. This determined him to send the ambassador and his retinue to the governor, who refused to admit *Gagniegaton* to his presence, on account of his former insolent behaviour; but was civil to those of his retinue, and treated with them through *Oureouharé*, who appear'd always to act in his own name. When the rivers were navigable, they had leave to depart, and *Oureouharé* presented them with eight belts, telling them at the same time how pleased *Ononchio* was at the treaty between the *Outaouais* and the *Tsonnonthouans*; and at the resolution, the *Iroquois* had come to not to put their *French* prisoners to death, and that *Ononchio* would act in the same manner, till he received an answer from the five cantons to the propositions he was to make. As to himself, he repeated that he was resolved not to leave *Ononchio*, till his countrymen should send an honourable deputation to reclaim him. He then exhorted them to shake off the yoke of the *Flemings*, (meaning the *English* of *New York*,) to take no concern in the quarrel between *Ononchio* and them, as they had dethroned their lawful sovereign, whom the *French* king protected; and that they might go, with the officer ordered to attend them, with the greatest safety to *Montreal*. This officer was the chevalier *D'Eau*, a reformed captain, who was to act by way of spy upon the conduct of the *Onnontaguese*. During the dependence of this negotiation, an account came of some advantages, which a party of *French* and *Indians* had obtained over the *English* upon the frontiers of *New York*. The news of this success, though trifling in itself, was the true inducement of *Frontenac* to act as he did by the *Iroquois* ambassador.

Negotia-
tions be-
tween the
Outaouais
and the
Iroquois.

THIS agreeable account, however, was qualified by the negotiation between the *Outaouais* and the *Iroquois*, without the governor's intervention. This, in fact, was occasioned chiefly by the natural propensity those two people had to trade with the *English* rather than the *French*, and it had been the constant endeavours of the *French* governors to set those savages at variance with one another. But the pusillanimous conduct of some of those governors, the low condition of *Canada*, and the losses that colony had lately sustained, had determined the *Outaouais*, whom the *French* had always considered as their most faithful allies, to treat of an accommodation with the *Iroquois*, from whom they had little to hope, but every thing to fear. Nothing had prevented the execution of this before, but the activity of *Durantaye*, who still continued to command at *Michillimakinac*, and the zeal of the missionaries there. But some of the *Outaouais* happening to be at *la Chine* during the massacre there, returned to their own country with so contemptible a report of the *French* power, that the canton finally resolved upon the accommodation without the least participation of the *French*. To succeed the better, they sent back all the *Tsonnonthouan* prisoners they had, as a preliminary to the intended conference in *June*. Their resolutions, however secret, could not escape the vigilance of *Durantaye* and the missionaries, who were informed of every thing; but, the winter being far advanced, it was found difficult to procure a messenger who would undertake to travel near 1200 miles through almost impassable roads, till the sieur *Joliet* offered himself, and arrived at *Quebec*, with a letter from the missionary *Carheil* to *Frontenac*, in the end of the year 1689. This letter very freely laid open to the count the desperate state of the *French* interest amongst the *Outaouais*, and the contemptible figure his nation made in the eyes of those savages^a.

Fronte-
nac's sen-
timents of
their
coalition.

FRONTENAC was far from being displeased with the contents of this letter, because they reflected dishonour upon some of his predecessors, particularly in the affair of demolishing fort *Cataracouy*, and evinced the necessity of building a new one there; and likewise of executing his great plan of detaching the *Iroquois* from the interest of the *English* to facilitate the conquest of *New York*. In answer to *Carheil's* letter, he ordered *Durantaye* to assure the *Hurons* and *Outaouais* at *Michillimakinac*, that they should soon see an alteration of affairs. He then laid down his dispositions for attacking the *English*. A company of a hundred and ten men, *French* and savages, was raised at *Montreal*, under the command of two

^a CHARLEVOIX, Vol. II. p. 432.

lieutenants,

lieutenants, who had their choice of the posts which they were to attack, and they determined on that of *Orange*. In this resolution they were vigorously opposed by the savages, and they marched, without coming to any resolution, till they arrived at a place, where the road separated into two; one leading to *Orange*, and the other to *Corlar*, which the savages agreed to attack. This resolution being fixed, they proceeded in a most fatiguing march for nine days to *Corlar*. Being arrived within two leagues of it, the chief of the *Iroquois* settlement at the fall of *St. Lewis*, who was commonly called the *Grand Agnier*, in a formal harangue, which he made to the whole party in a strain of frantic enthusiasm, inveighed against the *English*, as being enemies to God. Soon after they were inform'd by four savage women, whom they met, in all they wanted to know about the strength and situation of the place, which, upon their arrival at it, they found open, even its gates not being shut; and they entered it in the night. The accounts given of this boasted expedition by *French Charlevoix*, and other *French* authors represent it as a master-piece of courage in warlike operations; whereas, in fact, it was as cowardly as it was inhuman. The party entering the place without resistance, butchered men, women, and children, till, tired with murder, they gave quarter to forty of the *English*, whom they carried into slavery. One *Coudray*, the governor, who, very possibly, was in concert with them, was saved, and all his property; as was the house of a woman, to which one of the wounded lieutenants was carried. All the rest of the town was burnt down. It is not unreasonable, however, to suppose, with *Charlevoix*, that the success and barbarity of the expedition was of service to the *French* in the eyes of the savages.

UPON the return of this inhuman party to *Montreal*, two *French* officers, one of whom had been present at the butchery of *Corlar*, raised a party of popish *Iroquois*, and gave the command of it to the *Grand Agnier*, to make excursions against the *Iroquois*. In this expedition, they took forty-two prisoners, among whom were eight *English*. Hearing that a hundred *Mahingans* were waiting for them, and their number being far inferior to that, they marched towards the *Salmon* river, which they reached upon the 4th of *June*; and here they began to make new canoes; they having left their own at a great distance. While they were busy at this employment, they were discovered by a party of *Algonquins* and *Abenakis*, who, taking them for *English*, with whom they likewise were at war, attacked them before day, and the *Grand Agnier* was killed the first onset, as were six other *Iroquois*. The mistake

was soon discovered by the prisoners each party made ; but the *French Iroquois*, in resentment of their chief's death, refused to deliver up their captives. This produced a difference between the two parties, though both of them were popish, which all the art and authority of *Frontenac* could not, for some time, compose. At last, it was agreed that the aggressors should send deputies with a belt to the fall of *St. Lewis*, expressing their sorrow for what had happened. As to the *Grand Agnier*, though he was capitally concerned in the massacre at *Corlar*, yet he is by *Charlevoix*¹ celebrated as being a living saint, and his conversion to popery as the immediate and miraculous work of God. He even thought, that, if he had survived, he would have converted his whole canton to popery.

Two expeditions against the English.

BESIDES the irruption of the *French* and their savages into *New York*, by the way of *Corlar*, *Frontenac* had planned two other expeditions ; one from *Trois Rivières*, and the other from *Quebec*, that a spirit of emulation might be raised all over the colony. *Trois Rivières* could raise no more than fifty-five men ; of whom twenty-five were *Algonquins* and *Sokokis*, and the command of the whole was given to an officer named *Hertel*. After a long and fatiguing march, he came to an *English* settlement, which *Charlevoix* names *Sementel*, at six leagues distance from *Piscataqua* in *New England*. The *French* surprized this settlement, and cut in pieces all they found in it, excepting fifty-four persons, whom they carried off captives ; and, after burning all the houses, and sheep and cattle in the stables, they were preparing to make their retreat, for fear it should be cut off by the inhabitants of *Piscataqua*. It was accordingly attempted ; but *Hertel*, by the advantage of his situation, repulsed the assailants. After which he retreated, though with some loss, but was obliged to leave his eldest son, who was wounded in the knee, to the care of the savages.

Casco Bay taken.

By this time, the *Quebec* party had taken the field under one *Portneuf* ; and *Hertel*, upon his return, understanding that he was within two days march of them, dispatched his nephew with an account of his success to the governor-general, and set out to join the *Quebec* party, within four leagues of *Casco Bay*, which they were determined to attack ; though, according to *Charlevoix*, the place mounted eight cannon, and was well provided with every thing necessary for a defence. Four savages, and two *French*, were employed to alarm the fort, which they did by raising the *Indian* cry ; and

¹ Ibid. Vol III. p. 71.

having

having killed an *Englishman*, fifty of the garrison marched out, and received the fire of the *French*, who lay in ambush, and who afterwards attacking the *English* party with swords and hatchets, killed them all but four, who regained the fort, but all of them wounded. Towards the evening, *Portneuf* summoned the governor of *Casco Bay* to surrender; but was answered by the latter, that he would defend his fort to the last. This startled *Portneuf*, whose commission from *Frontenac* only bore that he should ravage the open country; but, determining to equal *Hertel's* exploit at *Semen-tel*, and his men demanding to be led to the assault, he resolved to risk every thing. The *French* writers say, that besides the main fort at *Casco Bay*, four others had been raised, but all of them were evacuated, in order to reinforce the principal garrison. Those forts, however, appear to have been only the defenceless houses of the inhabitants; and the main fort, notwithstanding all the *French* writers, who had their information only from those who had an interest in magnifying their own exploits, was little better than defenceless. The reply the *French* commandant made to the answer of the *English* governor, was, that he must surrender the fort, with all the provisions and ammunition within it: and, tho' the *English* demanded six days to consider, they were allowed only one night. The defenceless state of the fort obliged the garrison to capitulate; but *Portneuf* would give the governor no other terms, but those of surrendering himself and his garrison prisoners of war, which they accordingly did, being reduced to the last extremity. The *English* accounts say, that the number of effective men in the fort did not amount to above twenty-six; the *French* make them double the number, exclusive of women and children. Scarcely was the place evacuated, when an *English* Squadron appeared to relieve it; but its commander, not seeing the *English* colours flying, concluded that the fort had been taken, and being confirmed in his opinion, by none of his signals being answered, he returned back; while *Portneuf* not only plundered and demolished the fort, but all the houses in its neighbourhood. The prisoners, amongst whom was the governor, whose name was *Dennis*, and some of his relations were carried to *Quebec*. This inconsiderable conquest, tho' magnified by the *French*, was not, however, thought sufficient to answer their main purpose; which was that of bringing their savage allies into a state of independence upon the *English*. To effect this, *Frontenac*, about a month after *Portneuf's* return to *Quebec*, sent *de la Porte Louvigny*, a reformed captain, and *Perrot*, with

Duran- with a strong convoy from *Montreal* to *Michillimakinac*, charged with presents from the governor-general to the savages, and a commission to supersede *Durantaye* in that station. This removal of an officer, whose services had been so eminent as those of *Durantaye* were, was attributed to the jealousy of *Frontenac*, who had a secret dislike to the jesuits, with whom he thought *Durantaye* was too closely connected. Envy of his great merits, perhaps, did not a little contribute to *Durantaye's* removal; and this envy seems to have pursued him through life, for, being obliged to quit the profession of arms for that of the law, he died in indigence at *Quebec*.

The
Iroquois
defeated.

LOUVIGNY was attended, in going to take possession of his new command, by a hundred and forty-three *French*; many of whom had large quantities of fur at *Michillimakinac*, which they could not before carry off for fear of the savages. They were escorted by two *French* officers, and six savages; but on the 23d of *May*, being the day after they embarked, they discovered two *Iroquois* canoes. Upon this, *Louigny* detached thirty of his retinue in canoes, and sixty by land, to surround the enemy, who were suspected to be very numerous, though they did not appear. The canoe men fell into an ambuscade of the *Iroquois*, who killed by far the greatest part of them. At first, *Perrot*, under whose command *Louigny* was during the journey, would not suffer the latter to march against the savages; but, at last, he gave him leave, and *Louigny* at the head of fifty or sixty *French*, killed about thirty of the *Iroquois*, wounded a greater number, and made some prisoners, the remainder of the savages escaping with great difficulty to their canoes.

Conse-
quence of
their de-
feat.

THE two officers, who headed the convoy, returning soon after to *Montreal*, sent one of the prisoners they had made to *Frontenac*, who put him into the hands of *Outreoubaré*, another was carried to *Michillimakinac*, and given up to the *Outaouais*, who beginning to conceive now a better opinion of the *French* courage than they had entertained before, committed him to the flames as an evidence, that they had no intention to make peace with the *Iroquois*. At this time the *Outaouais* ambassadors were on the point of setting out from *Michillimakinac* to conclude a definitive treaty with the *Iroquois*; but the sight of the *French*, the news of their victories, and the magnificent presents they brought, gave a new turn to their sentiments; which *Perrot* improved with so much address, that they entered with more zeal than ever into the *French* interest. A hundred and ten canoes loaded with furs and

and skins to the value of 100,000 crowns, under the convoy of three hundred northern savages, immediately set out for *Montreal*, where they found the count *de Frontenac*.

THE chevalier *D'Eau*, who had been sent as ambassador and spy to *Onnantague*, and all the *French* in his retinue, had been put in confinement by the savages, notwithstanding all the fair professions of *Frontenac*, that he had sent that officer to evince the great confidence he had in their nation, and to do them honour. Not contented with this, they sent him prisoner to *Manhatta*, to prove their aversion to any peace with the *French*, and went so far, according to *Charlevoix*, who probably in many respects exaggerates matters against the *English*, as even to burn two *Frenchmen* of his retinue. *Frontenac*, upon this, ordered two detachments of his best troops, one under the command of the chevalier *de Clermont*, to guard the southern parts of the colony from *Montreal*, to the river *Sorel*; and the other, under the command of the chevalier *de la Motte*, was to secure it from *Montreal* to *Quebec*. Many actions, which, though attended with bloodshed, and barbarity, are too inconsiderable to be transmitted to history, followed upon this; and the *French* pretend, that the *Iroquois* massacred without distinction all the captives who fell into their hands.

Hostilities
of the Iro-
quois.

THESE hostilities produced very disagreeable effects, as the colonists of *Canada* durst not venture abroad, either to cultivate their lands, or cut down their harvests; so that the colony itself was threatened with famine. On the 18th of *August*, *de la Chassaigne* commandant at fort *la Chine* was informed, that a great number of canoes were seen upon lake *St. Lewis*. *Frontenac*, who was then at *Montreal*, immediately concluding that they were filled with *Iroquois*, gave orders for a vigorous defence, but he soon understood that they were no other than the grand convoy from *Michillimakinac*, which we have already mentioned. The joy of the *French* at understanding this, exceeded, if possible, their consternation before; and the convoy was received under peals of acclamations from the inhabitants. On the 22d of the same month, *Frontenac* gave audience to all the chiefs of the convoy, who appeared to be well disposed, on the part of their nation, to continue firm in the *French* interest. Mean while, an *Iroquois*, who was nephew to the grand *Agnier*, and who had been sent out to reconnoitre towards *Orange*, had, in his return, discovered, that a large body of men were employed in making canoes upon lake *Sacrament*. This *Iroquois* was so much attached to the *French*, that the truth of his report, with many circumstances attending it, to do honour to himself,

self, was so far from being questioned by *Frontenac*, that he immediately gave orders for putting the town and island of *Montreal* in a proper posture of defence. He called together all his savage allies who were upon the spot, and after feasting them with great profusion, he informed them, that he was resolved never to make peace with the *Iroquois*, till he should reduce them to beg it upon terms as advantageous to his allies as to the *French*, and that he considered both as being equally his children. He then very artfully exhorted them to fidelity, and, without losing the least of his dignity, he chanted a war song in their own manner, to shew them, that he intended to head them in person, and to share with them in all their dangers. *Frontenac's* behaviour charmed the savages to a degree of enthusiasm for his person, and he was answered with peals of universal acclamation. Next day, upon advice that great numbers of canoes were seen on lake *Champlain*, signals were given for assembling the regulars and the militia; and on the 31st of *August*, *Frontenac* upon *Magdalen Mead* reviewed the savages, who were so eager for the service, that all of them appeared under arms, without their leaving a man to take care of their merchandizes. Next day, the army was found to consist of 1200 men.

Transactions with the savages.

SOME of the savages of the fall of *St. Lewis* took this opportunity to invite all the chiefs of the other cantons to go to *Ononchio's* quarters. There being assembled, one *Lewis Atheribata*, a popish chief of *Lewis's* fall, very artfully addressed himself to the company, but more particularly to the *Outaouais*, whom he advised to lay before their father *Ononchio*, their inmost sentiments, and to disclose the true reasons of their late treaty with the *Iroquois*. The spokesman of the *Outaouais*, upon this, apologized in the best manner he could for his countrymen, and gave the reasons for their conduct, which we have already seen; but promised an inviolable fidelity to *Ononchio* in time to come, in which he was seconded by all the other chiefs present. *Frontenac* very properly thought, that some altercations might arise if the company continued longer together, and after thanking *Lewis Atheribata* for so seasonable an interview, he promised him another meeting as soon as the enemy should be repulsed.

The French surprised by the savages.

NEXT day, the scouts reported, that they could discover no enemy, nor any footsteps of one; upon which, the army was dismissed till farther orders, and the inhabitants fell to their harvest work, which was the main object of their concern. Two days after, a party of *Iroquois* surprised a defenceless number of the *French* inhabitants and soldiers, carelessly at work in the field, and killed or took prisoners six soldiers, eleven

eleven inhabitants, and four women, besides putting to death a number of horned cattle, and burning the neighbouring houses and storehouses; but upon an appearance of some troops approaching, the savages retired to the woods. *Frontenac* was vexed that this check had happened while the savage chiefs were with him. They had already earnestly desired him to dismiss them, which, at last, he did in a very gracious manner, after exhorting them to follow his example in carrying on perpetual war with the *English*, and the *Iroquois*, till they were humbled. A few days after their departure the *Iroquois* again surprised the *French*, who thought them at a great distance, in many places of the colony; and killed the commandant of fort *de Chateaugue*, above the fall of *St. Lewis*, with several other officers and persons. *Frontenac*, incensed with those frequent surprisals, reproached *Oureoubaré* with the insensibility of his countrymen, as to all the kindnesses he had done to him and them. The savage made the best apology he could for their behaviour; and so entirely disarmed *Frontenac* of all resentment towards himself, that that governor resolved to trust and employ him, more than ever, in compassing his favourite views.

ON the 10th of October, while *Frontenac* was preparing Canada to return to *Quebec*, an officer from thence brought him two letters from *Prevot*, who commanded there during the governor's absence. The first, dated the 5th, gave him advice, that he had been informed by an *Abenakis* of thirty ships having left *Boston*, in order to besiege *Quebec*. The savage, who brought this intelligence, had travelled in twelve days from *Piscataqua* to *Quebec*, and assured *Prevot*, that the *English* fleet had been for six weeks at sea. The second letter gave advice of twenty-four *English* ships, some of which were large, having appeared off *Tadoussac*. Upon this alarming account *Frontenac* and *Champigny* immediately embarked on board a small vessel for *Quebec*; and soon after another courier came from *Perrot*, with advice that two *French* ladies had been taken by a fleet of thirty-four sail, which, at the time of his writing, might be at the isle of *Condres* or *Hazels*. This intelligence, which now appeared certain, was the more astonishing to the governor, not only because he never had the smallest intimation of any ships being sitting out at *Boston*, but because he imagined, that the *English* were sufficiently humbled by their late checks; which brings us to the events that happened in other parts of his government.

WE have already mentioned, that an *English* squadron appeared off *Casco* bay, but did not come time enough to prevent

Success of
Sir William
Phipps
who re-
duces Aca-
dia.

vent its falling into the hands of the *French*; upon which they sailed to *Port Royal*, and appeared before the harbour of that place the 20th of *May* 1690. This fleet was commanded by Sir *William Phipps*, and consisted of a frigate of forty guns, a sloop of sixteen, one of eight, and four ketches; the fort being commanded by *Manneval*, a *Frenchman* of some abilities and experience. The *English* commodore immediately summoned the fort to surrender at discretion, which *Manneval*, who was destitute of all the means of defence, refused to do, but sent out one *Petit*, an ecclesiastic, to treat with *Phipps*. After some altercation it was agreed, that the fort should be surrendered, on condition, that the governor and the garrison, which is said to have been very weak, should be carried to *Quebec*; that the inhabitants should be secured in their effects, and the exercise of the *Roman catholic* religion. The *Frenchman* insisted upon this capitulation being put into writing, which *Phipps* absolutely refused to comply with, on pretence that his word, as a general, was to be depended on more than all the writings in the world. The capitulation, however, if we are to believe *Charlevoix*, was afterwards verbally confirmed with *Manneval* himself; but broken by *Phipps* on pretence that the soldiers and inhabitants had pillaged a magazine, that by the capitulation ought to have belonged to the king of *England*. Upon this, he disarmed the soldiers, put *Manneval* under arrest, and gave up the place, and even the churches, to be plundered. Such is the relation the *French* give us of this expedition; but it ought to be read with great caution, because *Phipps* could have no good reason for refusing to sign a capitulation, but the weak state of the place, and the same pretext, if it was one, that is said to have induced him to break, would have served his turn equally well, had the capitulation been written, as it was verbal. Be this as it will, it is certain that *Phipps* carried off with him *Manneval*, a serjeant, and thirty eight soldiers; that he obliged the inhabitants to take an oath of fidelity to king *William* and queen *Mary*, and that he had left his first serjeant to command *Port Royal*, appointing six of the principal inhabitants to be of his council for administering justice. From *Port Royal*, *Phipps* sailed to *Chedabouctou*, where he summoned *Montorgeruil* to surrender it. Though that officer had^k no more than fourteen men in garrison, he made so brave a defence, that *Phipps* was obliged to set fire to the place before he would listen to a capitulation, which was at last granted him upon honourable

^k. CHARLEVOIX, Vol. III. p. 103.

terms;

terms; and he and his garrison were conducted in safety to *Placentia*; which gives us a fresh presumption, that the *French* have misrepresented the conduct of *Phipps* at *Port Royal*.

UPON the whole, there is a ridiculous, and, indeed, im- Vain of the French
probable vein of amplifying every thing for the glory of their
own nation, and depreciating the *English*, that runs through
all *French* relations of *America*; witness what *Charlevoix*
himself tells us of sixty *French Abenaguais* having attacked
and defeated six hundred *English*, with the loss of no more
than three men. In the mean while, the chevalier *de Villebon*
arrived from *France* to take upon him the command in *Acadia*;
but finding how matters stood at *Port Royal*, he re-
solved to retire to the fort of *St. John*; which he proposed to
make the rendezvous of all the *French* forces and *Indians* in
Acadia; but he was pursued so close by two *English* pirates,
that he was obliged to take to a canoe, in which he and his
officers escaped, while his ship the *Union*, which had brought
him from *Europe*, was taken by the enemy. By this time
Villebon had reached the fort of *Gemsec*, but soon understood
the pirates had not only taken the *Union*, but two ketches,
into which her cargo had been put. *Villebon* assembled a body
of *Abenaguais*, and marched with them to the sea-coast, where
they endeavoured, but in vain, to surprise the pirates, who
fell upon *Port Royal*, where they committed great inhumanities.
Villebon upon this, returned to *Gemsec*, where he dis-
missed, in the winter, all his faithful *Abenaguais*. He then
went to *Quebec*, from whence he returned in a *French* vessel
to *Port Royal*, and from thence he sailed to *France*, where,
after representing to that ministry the state of *Canada*, he
undertook to drive the *English* out of it, even without the
assistance of the *French*, if he was suffered to put himself at
the head of the *Abenaguais*.

IT would be amazing, that the *English* court should all *Villebon*
this while express little or no concern for so fine and so well situated a country as that part of *Canada* is, did we not *governor of Acadia*.
consider that king *William*, and the *English* government had
at this time on their hands, two great wars in *Europe*, one
in *Ireland*, and one in *Flanders*, and that whatever had been
done against the *French* in *New France*, was effected by the
New England forces, without any assistance from *Old England*,
farther than that the king and ministry there signed commisi-
ons, and sometimes lent their names to what was going on.
In fact, *Acadia*, at this time, was equally the property of the
French as the *English*; the latter being strongest by sea; but
the former was favoured by the natives. *Villebon's* request
was granted; and he was sent back to *Quebec* with all possi-
ble

ble encouragement, and a commission to command the *Abenaquais*, who, in the mean while, were promised all kind of supplies, and encouragement from the *French*, till such time as the latter were in a condition to establish their affairs at *Port Royal*. At the same time, commissions were made out for some of the *French Canadians* to act as officers under *Villebon*. He returned to *Quebec* in the beginning of July 1691.

Preparati-
ons to de-
fend Que-
bec.

ALL those évents, so prejudicial to the *French* interest in *Canada* seem either to have been unknown to *Frontenac* before his arrival at *Quebec*, or slighted by him; and indeed caution and mistrust did not enter into his character. He had remained so long at *Montreal*, that had not the *English* fleet under *Phipps* been very severely treated by the weather in its approach to *Quebec*, that capital must have been lost before its governor could have heard of its being attacked. The first measure *Frontenac* took, after receiving *Perrot's* second dispatch, was to send *Ramezay*, the governor of *Trois Rivières*, to *Callieres*, with orders for him to leave only a small garrison at *Montreal*, and to come directly down to *Quebec* with all the force he could raise, either there or elsewhere in the colony. It was the evening of the 14th of *October* before *Frontenac* entered *Quebec*, where he found his deputy had put every thing in excellent order for defence, and that the *English* fleet was advanced as far as the isle of *Orleans*. The place was defended, not only by its ordinary garrison, but by a great number of the neighbouring inhabitants, whom the commandant had ordered into the city, and who worked with so much alacrity at the fortifications, that in five days they repaired them, so as to be secure against any sudden attack. *Frontenac*, however, gave directions for some new intrenchments to be thrown up, and send orders to the militia commanders of *Beaupre*, *Beauport*, the isle of *Orleans*, and on the side of *Lauson*, not to quit their posts till they saw the enemy land, and actually attack the place; and then they were to march as he should direct. At the same time, *Longueville*, a *French* partizan, at the head of a body of *Hurons* and *Abenaquais*, watched the motions of the fleet, and the lower posts, on both sides the river, were so well guarded, that the *English* could not send even a long boat ashore. All this time, militia men were arriving daily at *Quebec*, and shewed as much alacrity as its inhabitants themselves did for its defence. On the 15th the chevalier *de Vaudreuil* went out at the head of one hundred regulars to reconnoitre the enemy, and to oppose them if they should attempt to land. About the same time, *Frontenac*, who expected some ships from

from *France*, fearing they might fall into the enemy's hands, sent off by the little canal of the isle of *Orleans*, two canoes, with orders to sail down the river as far as they could, and to inform the ships of the state of affairs. At the same time, he erected a battery of eight pieces of cannon upon an eminence adjoining to the fort, which completed the fortifications of the city. In short, he omitted nothing that could contribute to a vigorous and an effectual defence. On the 16th, *Vaudreuil* returned to *Quebec*, and that morning the *English* fleet was discovered off the heights of that place, consisting of thirty-four ships of different burthens, and carrying, as was said, 3000 land forces. In advancing, the largest ships kept the middle channel, and at 10 o'clock came to an anchor. The admiral then sent out a long-boat with a flag of truce.

THE reader is here to observe, that *Phipps* had taken pri-^{which is} soner one *Grandville*, a *French* officer, who had been dis-^{besieged by} patched by *Prevot* to observe the motions of the *English*, and ^{the Eng-} who, on his examination, frankly owned what he thought ^{lish.} was the truth, that *Quebec* had neither fortifications, troops, nor a general to defend it. This account encouraged *Phipps* so much, that he boasted he should lie in the governor of *Quebec's* palace that very night. *Frontenac* seeing the long-boat, with the messenger, who was a trumpet, put off from the fleet, sent an officer, who met him half way, and muffling his eyes, carried him round all the fortifications, where the soldiers and inhabitants purposely encreased the noises of military hurry all round him, and, at last, carried him to the great-hall. He was astonished, when unblinded, to find himself before the governor-general, the bishop, the intendant, and a large body of officers, all of them with looks of defiance and resolution. This was so much the reverse of what he expected, that he trembled when he presented the manifesto of the *English* admiral. It reproached the *French* and their savages with the cruelties which they had committed upon the subjects of *England*; demanded all the prisoners that they had should be delivered up; that the governor, garrison, and inhabitants should surrender themselves at discretion, and concluded, by giving the governor-general only one hour to consider of his answer. This summons being read aloud, created great indignation in the *Frenchmen*, which was redoubled, when the trumpet, pulling out a watch, said he could not stay after 11 o'clock.

VALRENES immediately called out, that the trumpet *Frontenac's* ought to be treated as belonging to a pirate, who was in arms ^{against his lawful sovereign,} *against his lawful sovereign*, and who had acted as a true pi-^{rate,} *rate*, ^{English} *summons.*

MOD. HIST. VOL. XL.

F

rate, by breaking the capitulation he had made at *Port Royal* with *Manneval*. *Frontenac* answered the trumpet, by reproaching *Phipps*, and the *English*, for their rebellion against their lawful sovereign, in whose right he said he acted. He likewise mentioned the affair of *Manneval* with great indignation, and concluded, by saying, that he would give no other answer to the insolent summons, but by the mouth of his cannon. He then ordered the trumpet to be again blindfolded, and reconducted to the place where he was taken up. We have, in the history of *New England*, given some account of *Sir William Phipps*, who must be acknowledged to have been utterly incapable of commanding in an expedition of this importance; being a man neither of education nor abilities. His astonishment, at the report of the messenger, was inexpressible; but he was quite dismayed, when the *French*, beginning to play from their batteries, gave him to understand, that, in order to reduce the place, he must form a regular siege; for which he was no way prepared (D). It must be acknowledged, that never did *English* subjects make a worse figure than they did in this expedition. A long boat attempted to land, but, through the unskilfulness of the pilot, could not. On the 18th, about noon, almost all the long boats of the fleet, filled with soldiers, made good their landing at *Beauport*, where they drew up in order of battle, to the number of 1500. As the ground was utterly improper for a regular engagement, the *French* and their *Indians* harrassed them by both fighting, in which they had vast advantages; so that three hundred *Canadians*, by skipping from rock to rock, and firing from trees and bushes, not only concealed their numbers, but gave their enemy no opportunity of attacking them, so as to do much execution. In short, the *English*, having, according to the *French*, lost ¹ one hundred and fifty men, were obliged to retire before a small handful of the enemy, whom they took for *Indians*; being heard to say in their retreat, that they believed there was an *Indian* behind every tree. The loss of the *French* consisted of three gentlemen volunteers, and of eight or ten common men, who were wounded. *Frontenac*, to conceal his numbers, ordered a battalion of regulars to secure the retreat of the *Canadians*.

¹ CHARLEVOIX, Vol. III. Page 121.

(D) The *French* fire carried away his flag, which some of the *Canadians* brought on shore; and it was hung up in the great church, where it remained, as a trophy, till the *English* took the place in the late war.

UPON

ON the afternoon of this defeat four of the largest *Eng-Mis-*
lish ships, laying their sides to the place, began to cannonade *nagement*
the upper town; and a very hot fire ensued on both sides. *of the*
The *English* are said to have directed their guns particularly *English in*
against the college of the jésuits, whom they considered as *the siege of*
being the authors of all their countrymen's sufferings; but *Quebec.*
whatever may be in this, it is certain that their cannonading
did little or no damage to the city; and that they only killed
one man, and wounded two. About eight in the evening
the firing ceased on both sides; but next day it was renewed,
and with such success from the battery, called the mariner's
gate, that both the admiral and rear-admiral of the *English*
were obliged, not greatly to the reputation either of their
courage, or their skill, to draw off, after receiving vast da-
mage in their ships, and losing a great number of their sol-
diers and sailors. The other two ships continued their can-
nonading for some time, but were at last obliged to draw off
likewise. This day produced no operations by land; but
the *English*, who continued to be encamped near *Beauport*,
early next morning drew out in line of battle, and about
two in the afternoon they marched in good order towards
Quebec. They had not gone far when they were attacked
by *St. Helene*, one of the best *Canadian* officers, at the head
of two hundred men, in the bush-fighting manner, who ob-
liged the *English* to take shelter in a small wood; from
whence they made so vigorous a fire, that they forced the ene-
my to retreat, and mortally wounded *St. Helene*. In the
mean while, *Frontenac* advanced in person at the head of three
battalions to support his *Canadians*; but the action by that
time was over, and the *English* suffered their enemies, whose
loss, according to their own accounts, was very inconsidera-
ble, only two of their men being killed, and four wounded,
to retreat to the city, while the loss of the *English* is repre-
sented to have been greater than in the former engagement.
The truth seems to have been, that this day's action was
little more than a foraging adventure; for upon the retreat
of the *French* into the city, they carried off all their cattle
to revictual their ships, which were in vast distress for fresh
provisions. This circumstance, which is admitted by the
French themselves, is sufficient evidence of their partiality
as to all they relate concerning this expedition, since we
cannot suppose, that a victorious army would, before their
own eyes, have suffered such a depredation. The following
night the admiral having sent to the land troops, unknown to
the besieged, five six pounders, the *English* began their march,
intending to batter the town in breach. The *French* officers

were so vigilant, that they disposed themselves into small ambuſh-parties, ſo as not to be diſcovered by the *Engliſh*, all over the ground through which the latter were to paſs. Thus the *Engliſh* in their march fell into one ambuſh, while they were thinking to eſcape another, three or four ſeveral times, and though they every where repulſed the *French*, yet the latter had ſo much the advantage over them in the buſh-fighting manner, that they could do little execution, while the *Engliſh* fell in numbers. The *French* at laſt, as had been concerted, diſpoſed their retreat ſo, that their ſeveral parties united behind a palliſadoed entrenchment, from which they made ſo dreadful a fire, that they ſtopt the march of the whole *Engliſh* army. The latter now brought up their field pieces, (for their cannon, with which they were to batter in breach, appeared to be no better,) but they were ſoon ſilenced by a battery on the bank of the little river, which killed them ſo many men, that they began firſt to retreat, and then to fly. According to the *French* accounts, all the execution they did at the palliſadoed entrenchments, was to kill one ranger, and wound a ſavage; ſo very ill was the fire, both of their cannon and muſketry, ſupplied. We are told, likewise, that the reaſon why they betook themſelves to flight, was, becauſe hearing the ſound of the great bell of *Quebec*, they imagined that the governor, and all his horſe was coming upon them (E).

*They are
deſeated.*

DURING this engagement, the two *Engliſh* veſſels that had not been diſabled by the cannonade, renewed it, but with no effect, while the *Engliſh* troops at *Beauport* took the opportunity of a dark wet night to break up their camp, and to return to their long boats, moſt ſcandalouſly leaving behind them all their cannon, powder, and bullets. Their retreat was known early, by means of ſome ſavages, and the *Canadians* ſeizing the ſpoils, defended them againſt thirty-three long boats, who came to carry them off; but their crews durſt not land, ſo terrible was the fire of the *French*. The honour of this action was due to a private gentleman, one *Carré*, who commanded the militia of *Beauport*, *Beaupré*, and the iſle of *Orleans*; and, who behaved, on this occaſion, as well as veteran regulars could have done. *Frontenac*, as a

(E) This is another inconſiſtency, which goes far to deſtroy the credit of the *French* relations of this ſiege in many circumſtances, though they undoubtedly are but too true in

the main, for if the very apprehenſion of being attacked by the governor-general produced ſuch an effect, why did not the thing really happen?

reward

reward for their valour, presented them with two pieces of the cannon they had taken.

WE have already mentioned, that *Frontenac* had, by a savage, received intelligence, that a body of *Indians* was encamped upon lake *St. Sacrament*. According to *Charlevoix*^m this was a body of 3000 *English*, *Iroquois*, and *Mahingans*, who were destined for the conquest of *Montreal*, while that of *Quebec* was attempting. As to the credibility of this expedition, its rests principally, if not wholly, upon the faith of the *French* themselves; for little or no mention of it is made in the *English* accounts. It is not, however, at all improbable, that such an expedition was planned, because it was evidently conducive to the main design of the *English*, and even according to the *French* themselves, the disappointment of it was owing not to them, but to natural causes. While the *English*, and the *Mahingans* were marching to join the *Iroquois*, they were seized with the infection of the small-pox, a disease peculiarly dreadful to the savages; and they who recovered of it carried the marks of it upon their faces and bodies, when they came to the place of rendezvous. The loathsome appearance they made rendered the *Iroquois*, who were before impatient, quite intolerable; and they reproached their allies with coming to poison them. In fact, about eight hundred of the *Iroquois* died of that distemper; upon which the army immediately separated.

PHIPPS, or rather the *English* colonies, was greatly disconcerted at the miscarriage of so promising a plan of operations, by which *Frontenac* had, unexpectedly even to himself, been enabled to draw the whole force of *New France* to the defence of *Quebec*. We shall not here enter upon the ridiculous accounts and reflexions of *French* memorialists, as if the *English* had carried along with them poisoned shirts, which they intended should become the prey of the *French*, and as if the separation of the army had been owing to the policy of the *Iroquois*, lest the *English* should become too powerful. The manner in which it is accounted for, is natural; because it is well known that the plague in other countries does not do more speedy and dreadful execution, than the small-pox does upon the natives of *North America*. *Phipps* receiving the certainty of this event, gave over all thoughts of any farther attempt upon *Quebec*, and resolved entirely to raise the siege. The *French* are perhaps very moderate, when they say that the last three actions cost their enemies six hundred men; for the *English* themselves allow, that they lost

^m CHARLEVOIX, Vol. III. Page 128.

upon the whole above 1000 of their bravest fellow-subjects, during the expedition. It is certain, that when they came to a resolution to raise the siege they had not a single cannon ball left, and that they were for some days before obliged to charge with pieces of old iron and such materials. On the 23d two *French* captains *D'Orvillieres* and *Subercase* threw themselves, with about one hundred men, into the isle of *Orleans*, as did another officer, one *Vilieu*, to prevent any descent from the *English* in the retreat of their fleet. On the 24th it came to an anchor, and mademoiselle *de la Lande*, who, with several other *French* persons of consideration of both sexes, remained prisoners in the hands of the *English*, proposed an exchange of prisoners; to which *Phipps* readily agreeing, she was sent for that purpose to *Quebec*, and the number of prisoners on both sides being pretty equal, the cartel was easily settled.

Retreat of
the Eng-
lish.

Thus ended this ill concerted expedition, to the loss of national honour on the part of the *English*; nor indeed can it easily be pronounced, how far the people of *New England* were authorized by their government at home in the undertaking. It is at least certain, that the greatest part, if not the whole of the expence, fell upon the province of *New England*. The capital failure of the *English* seems to have consisted in their not being provided with proper pilots to supply their ignorance of the navigation of *St. Laurence* river, and with a sufficient store of cannon and ammunition. The *English* fleet in its return, in passing by the isle of *Orleans*, lost no fewer than nine ships for want of hands to navigate them; most of their crews being dead, and the whole fleet was, at the same time, in the most imminent danger of perishing. This miscarriage produced some advantageous propositions on the part of the government of *New England* to the *Abenakis*, and the other *French* savages, which were rejected on their part, and served to encrease their contempt and hatred for the *English*. In the mean while, the messengers, which *Frontenac* had sent out to apprise the ships he expected from *Old France* of the descent of the *English*, had been so fortunate as to meet with them, and they had concealed themselves in the river *Saguenay*, till the *English* fleet passed them on its return homewards. When they appeared before *Quebec*, the joy of the inhabitants at seeing them was greatly damped, by their being unprovided of every thing; nor could they be supplied in a country, which was itself equally distressed, as the fear of the savages had prevented the colony from either sowing or reaping. The governor-general knew no other way to remedy this evil, but by quartering the soldiers, who were newly arrived,

arrived, upon the most wealthy inhabitants of the province, who received and entertained them with a cheerfulness, which perhaps none but *Frenchmen* could express after the prodigious fatigues and dangers they had undergone during the preceding course of the campaign. This event of the deliverance of *Quebec* was thought to be of such moment at the *French* court, that a medal was struck on the occasion by order of his most Christian majesty.

IN *March* 1691 new deputies arrived at *Quebec* from the *Abenakis* nations, who brought intelligence, that no more than four ships of all the *English* fleet, that had laid siege to that capital, had returned to *Boston*; many of them having gone in pursuit of the *French* fishing vessels on the banks of *Newfoundland*. They likewise informed the governor-general of several fresh cruelties committed by the *Onnontagues* against the *French*, and that their countrymen, with the *Canibas*, had so greatly harrassed the province of *New England*, that it was in as much distress for want of provision as that of *New France* was. Great part of this information was afterwards found to be false, and *Frontenac* pretended, that the whole was a contrivance of the *English* to amuse him, while the *Iroquois*, the *Agniers* especially, were executing new barbarities against the *French*. In fact, a hundred and forty *Agniers*, together with some *Dutch* subjects of *England*, had invaded the *Iroquois* of *St. Lewis* fall; many of whom they killed, and carried others into captivity. Soon after, three deputies of the *Agniers* came to the same fall with those prisoners, but without arms, declaring that they came to beg peace from their father *Ononthis*; and to petition him for a piece of ground in the neighbourhood of the fall of *St. Lewis*, where they might settle near their brethren. They added that eight hundred *Iroquois* had taken the field, and were ready to enter *New France* between *Montreal* and *Trois Rivières*, and that the *English* had been the principal instigators and directors of all the barbarities committed by the savages upon the *French*. *Frontenac* did not fail to give advice of all this intelligence to *Pontchartrain*, who had succeeded *Seignelay* in his department, and represented that he thought it improper absolutely to reject the request of the *Agniers*, but that it would be highly for the honour and interest of the colony, if some attempt was made upon the *English* settlements, especially that of *New York*; which would take from the *Iroquois* all hopes of protection from the *English*. That *Acadia* ought immediately to be recovered, and three or four frigates sent to cruise every year between *Cape Sable*, and the northernmost parts of the island of *Newfoundland* to re-

cure to the *French* the absolute possession of the great bank, which would be of more value to their mother country, than even the conquest of the *Indies*, as it would bring in a revenue of above twenty millions of livres a year.

Invasion of
Canada
by the
savages.

IN the mean while, the great body of the *Iroquois*, that had been mentioned by the *Agnier* deputies, to the number of a thousand, appeared, about the beginning of *May*, near *Montreal*, and fixed their head-quarters towards the mouth of the river *Outaouais*. From thence, they sent two detachments, one of six score men northwards, and another of two hundred towards the south. The former attacked *Point Tremble*, in the isle of *Montreal*, where they burnt about thirty houses, and took some inhabitants, whom they treated with the greatest inhumanity. The second detachment had in it twenty *English* with some *Mahingans*; and surprized twelve savages at the fall of *St. Lewis*, between *Chambly* and *Magdalen's Meadow*. Next day, however, the *Agniers*, who were of the party, carried back the prisoners to their own habitations, and declared that their chief intention was to treat of peace. It was discovered, that their real design was to debauch the inhabitants of *St. Lewis* fall, in which they did not succeed. A party of eighty, at the same time, made an irruption upon the christian *Iroquois* of the highlands; of whom they carried off about thirty-five women and children. The remaining savages spread themselves in small parties from *Repentigny* to the isles of *Richelieu*, where they laid waste all the open country, meeting with no resistance; the *French* finding it impossible to keep the field for want of subsistence.

Differences
between the
French
governor
and the
jesuits.

AT last, *Vaudreuil*, at the head of about a hundred or a hundred and twenty soldiers, went from house to house to collect provisions; and, having got as much as was sufficient to subsist them for some days, they joined *la Mine*, another officer, who had taken the field, and discovered a party of the *Onneyouths*, who lay at *St. Sulpice*. *Vaudreuil* immediately resolved upon attacking them, and surprized fifteen, whom they cut in pieces; the savages not dreaming that the *French* were in the field. The natives, who were in a lone house, being alarmed with the cries of the dying and wounded, defended themselves so vigorously, that they killed *Bienville*, a *French* officer of note; and they must have made their party good, though they were no more in number than twelve, had not *Vaudreuil* set fire to the house, which obliging the savages to quit it, all of whom were killed, or most inhumanly sacrificed by the *French* in the flames. Amongst the officers who distinguished themselves on this occasion, was the chevalier de *Crisafy*, who, with his brother the marquis of the same

same name, was a *Sicilian*, and having unsuccessfully endeavoured to raise a rebellion in that island, against the king of *Spain*, in favour of the *French* king, they were obliged to fly to his protection; but he gave them no other reward for their treason, than each of them a company in *Canada*, where they behaved with great courage and fidelity to the interest they espoused. Before the action, in which *Bienville* lost his life, he had, at the head of two hundred picked men, partly *French*, and partly *French Iroquois*, surprized a party, to the number of sixty, of *Goyogouins* and *Agniers*. While the savages were on the point of surrendering, the *Agniers* demanded a conference with the *Iroquois* of *St. Lewis* fall, who obstinately persisted in agreeing to the same. The *Agniers* professed a great desire of peace, and promised to send deputies to *Montreal*, to treat concerning it with *Callieres*. Their word was taken, and both they and the *Goyogouins* were suffered to escape. This complaisance of the savages of *St. Lewis* fall towards their enemies gave great umbrage to *Eroquenac*, who complained to the *French* ministry of an underhand management between the savages of the fall, and the *Agniers*, many of whom were relations to the others; not without some very severe reflexions against the jesuit missionaries, who, he said, were more employed in making the savages christians, than in making them *Frenchmen*. The jesuits, on the other hand, seem to have recriminated on the governor-general, for they insisted that to make a savage a *Frenchman*, was to lose him to the community; a manner of arguing which none but interested jesuits could have made use of.

THE *Onnontague* canton, on pretence of deploring the Conspiracy death of *St. Helene*, son to *le Moynes*, whose family they had of the savages adopted, sent him a belt of wampum, together with two female mountaineers, who had been for some time prisoners against the *French* in their canton. Those women were intrusted with two belts of wampum, one of which they were secretly to give to one of the principal inhabitants of the villages of the mountain; and the other to *Lewis Atherihata*, who had the honour to be godson to his most christian majesty, and was the principal inhabitant of the fall of *St. Lewis*. The intention of those belts was to invite them to return, with as many of their friends and relations as they could bring with them, to their mother country, that they might avoid being involved in the general massacre that was intended against all the *French*. The belts were accordingly delivered; but the savages, to whom they were entrusted, carried them directly to *Callieres*, the governor of *Montreal*, to whom they swore an inviolable fidelity. He understood, at the same time, from the

the two female savages, who had brought the belts, that a large body of the *Iroquois* had taken post upon the river *Outaouais*, at a place called the *Long Fall*; where they proposed to murder all the *French* who were going to, or returning from *Michillimakinac*, and then to fall upon the out-settlements. By this time, *Vaudreuil*, having intelligence of this conspiracy, had raised some troops to attack the savages at *Long Fall*; but the latter, either perceiving that their designs were discovered, or being in danger of having their own country destroyed by the *French* savages, broke up their camp. This was a lucky incident for the inhabitants of *New France*, and was greatly owing to the attachment of the *Outaouais* and *Hurons*, who remained in arms during the whole winter, and were perpetually harrassing the *Onnontague* and the other *Iroquois*. Early in the spring, two *French* officers, *Courtemanche* and *Repentigny*, after a most amazing journey through almost all the *Iroquois* who lay round *Montreal*, reached *Michillimakinac* with ten men, and carried to the savages of that post the news of the miscarriage of the *English* fleet before *Quebec*. This account, which no doubt received some embellishments from the delivery, gave vast spirit to the *French* savages there, and *Courtemanche* was ordered to take upon him the command of the *Miamis*, and to make head against the incursions of the *Iroquois*.

Reinforcements arrive at Quebec.

ON the 1st of *July*, the inhabitants of *Quebec* were overjoyed at the accounts they received by a small *French* ship of a large armament, consisting of fourteen vessels of different burthens, bound to *Canada* from *Old France*, and which soon after arrived under the command of *M. du Tast*. This fleet had been fitted out chiefly at the expence of the *French* northern company, and its real destination was to retake port *Nelson* upon *Hudson's Bay* from the *English*. Nothing followed the arrival of this great armament but a delay, under pretence that the season was too far advanced to undertake any thing in those seas. The true reason was, that the northern company was to reap almost the whole of the profits, and part of the glory of the expedition; which *Iberville*, who commanded for them, foresaw would infallibly render it unsuccessful. The royal orders were directed to *Frontenac*, who found them so peremptory, that he immediately called a meeting of all who had any interest in the northern company, or any knowledge of those seas; and *du Tast* gave his opinion against attempting any thing farther that season; nor did *Frontenac* and *Champigny*, the intendant, think proper to contradict him. That *du Tast* might not seem to decline the expedition through indolence, he undertook to clear the river

81.

St. Laurence of a vast number of *English* privateers, who ruined the *French* trade there.

In the mean while, *Phipps* was so earnest in soliciting at the court of *England* to be put at the head of a new armament against *Québec*, that the *French* government of *Canada* took the alarm; and the preparations amongst the *English* colonists were so great, that, had not *Phipps* lost all his credit by his late miscarriage, they probably would have been successful. In the province of *New York* alone, five hundred men were raised, of whom a hundred and eighty were *English*, and the rest *Agniers* or *Mahingans*, and prepared to attack *Montreal*. *Callieres*, who still commanded there, discovering their intention, assembled seven or eight hundred men at *Magdalen's Meadow*; and, by sending out parties, he soon discovered that the true intention of the *English* was to attack fort *Chambly*, which *Callieres* immediately reinforced with two hundred men, under *Valrenes*. The orders of the latter were to watch the motions of the *English*, and actually to enter the fort, if it should be attacked; but if the enemy should pass onwards, to follow them and to fall upon their rear, while he himself was to attack them in front. This party was followed by a large body of savages, and other inhabitants, who likewise took post near *Chambly*, under an officer called *Le Bert du Chesne*. Amongst the *French* savages were three chiefs of great reputation: the first was *Oureouharé*, whom we have already mentioned, and who commanded the *Hurons* of *Loretto*; the next was one *Paul*, who was at the head of the *Iroquois* of *St. Lewis* fall; and the third was one *la Routine*, an *Algonquin* leader. After encamping for three days on *Magdalen's Mead*, the badness of the weather forced them to take shelter in the fort, where *Callieres* was in person, but confined to his bed by a fever. This happened about the 11th of *August*; and, in a day or two after, the enemy surprized a *French* posted at a mill, from which they drove the militia with some loss, and took possession of it. This alarmed *St. Cyrque*, who commanded there during the indisposition of *Callieres*; and, ignorant that the post was in the possession of the enemy, advancing too unguardedly, he and some other officers were killed; but another detachment of the *French* coming up, the *English* were obliged to retreat, which they did in good order, after performing considerable execution upon the *French* and their allies. The *Iroquois*, in their retreat towards the wood, were harrassed by a *French* party under one *Domergue*, whom they drew on so artfully, that they fell into an ambuscade, and were all cut in pieces. This

success

success gave such encouragement to the *Iroquois*, that they returned to the charge, but were encountered by *Valrenes*, who was likewise on the point of being defeated, had he not entrenched himself behind some large trees that had been felled, which gave him time to make such dispositions, as to charge the *English* party, who fought with inconceivable resolution, but could not maintain the advantages they had gained. Upon the whole, it appears by the relation of the *French* themselves, that they had no cause to boast of any victory; for the *English* and their allies retreated without molestation, after killing sixty *French*, and wounding as many. Amongst the killed was *Le Bert du Chefne*, and *Paul* the *Iroquois* chief of *St. Lewis* fall. The *French* accounts pretend that in this action, the *English* party had six score killed, and as many wounded. It cannot, after all, be denied, that the *French* were the greatest gainers, as the retreat of the *English* and their savages gave them an opportunity of getting in their harvest, and thereby being relieved from a most dismal situation.

Advantages of the French.

Actions of
Oureou-
haré.

FRONTENAC, on the first news of the *English* invasion, repaired to *Montreal*, where he heard of the enemy's being repulsed; upon which he returned to *Quebec*. Soon after, he received letters from the governor of *New England*, demanding the prisoners, which the *French* savages had made, to be restored; and proposing a neutrality between the subjects of the two crowns in *North America*. While *Frontenac* was deliberating upon an answer to those propositions, he received a memorial from the baron *St. Cassin*, who was settled in the *Abenakis* country, and had even married a woman of that nation, informing him that the proposition made by the *English* for the exchange of prisoners was only made with a view to debauch the *Abenakis* from the *French* interest, and to prevail with them to discontinue their inroads upon the *English*. *Frontenac*, on this, made answer to the *English* governor, that, as soon as the chevalier *d'Eau* and *Manneval* were released from their captivity, he would enter into treaty, but not before. At the same time, he represented to *Pontchartrain*, how easy it was to make a conquest of *New York*, on account of the differences between the *Dutch* and *English* inhabitants there. The answer to this representation was, as usual, that his most christian majesty could spare no troops out of *Europe*; and that all he proposed was to preserve *New France* from being conquered by the *English*, as the multiplicity of his wars in *Europe* did not admit of his acting upon the offensive.

ALL

ALL this while, the *French* in *Canada* were so much harassed by the *Iroquois*, that they were obliged to get in their harvest with arms in their hands. A body of those savages had made an inroad upon the river of the meadows, but were repulsed by *Oureouharé*, who was, at that time, the great champion of the *French* amongst the savages. Soon after, he paid a visit to *Frontenac* at *Québec*, where he was treated with so great distinction and presents, that he declared, tho' many nations offered to chuse him for their chief, that he was determined to dedicate the remaining part of his days to the service of his father *Ononchio*. All that *Frontenac* had hitherto been able to do was to act on the defensive, and to defeat a few *English* and their savages in their attempts upon his government. According to *Charlevoix*^a, he now attempted to act upon the offensive, and sent five or six hundred men to invade the country of the *Agniers*, but without success; owing partly to the advanced season, and partly to the badness of the roads. At this time, *Iberville* arrived from *Hudson's Bay*, with two ships loaded with between 80 and 90,000 franks worth of beaver and other furs, which was some consolation to the colony under its late disappointment.

The unsuccessful expedition of the French

IBERVILLE, after staying some time at *Québec*, sailed *Port Royal* for *France* to quicken the preparations against *Port Nelson*, at *repossessed* which he knew that court had greatly at heart. In the mean while, the *Abenakis* continued to be very active against the *English*; and the *French* had taken two *English* gentlemen prisoners, who had been sent to *Québec*, where they were entertained with great civility by *Frontenac*. By the same ship which took them, the chevalier *Villebon* arrived in *New France*, having been named governor of *Acadia*, the conquest of which from the *English* he still represented as being very practicable. *Pontchartrain*, upon this representation, dispatched him in *June*, 1691 to *New France*, there to receive orders from *Frontenac* for the re-conquest of *Port Royal*, by means of the *Abenakis*, whom he was to command, and who were to be disciplined by himself, and other *French* officers sent along with them, or to be named by the governor-general. *Villebon* arrived at *Québec* in a ship called the *African Sun*, esteemed then to be the swiftest sailer of any in the world. The situation of *Canada*, with regard to the *English*, was such at this time, that *Frontenac* resolved to avail himself of the *African Sun*, which he detained till the 6th of *September*, when thinking he had nothing farther to

1691.

^a CHARLEVOIX, Vol. III. p. 159.

fear

fear from the *English*, he suffered *Villebon* to depart for *Port Royal*, which he did not reach before the 26th of *November*. There going on board his long boat with fifty soldiers, and two engineers, he saw the *English* flag flying, but met with no *Englishmen* in the place, on which he pulled it down, and ordering the *French* flag to be hoisted in its stead, he summoned the inhabitants, and once more took possession of *Acadia* in the name of the king his master. One *des Goutins*, who acted as his commissary, took this opportunity of informing the assembly, that, when the place was taken by *Phipps*, he had buried 1300 livres in a certain spot, which being accordingly dug, the money, which belonged to the king, was found, and faithfully applied by the officer to the service of the public; an act of integrity, the remembrance of which afterwards procured his acquittal without trial, when a charge of malversation was brought against him.

New intel-
ligence ar-
rives at
Montreal.

ABOUT the beginning of *November*, two female savages, who had escaped from the *Iroquois*, informed the governor of *Montreal*, that two parties of those savages, each consisting of three hundred and fifty, were in the field with an intent to surprize the fall of *St. Lewis*. The governor, upon this, reinforced that settlement with part of the troops he had at *Montreal*; and, with the remaining part, he strengthened the forts of the neighbourhood, and entrusted the charge of the town itself to the inhabitants. Some days after, one of those parties appeared, but, finding that the settlement was on its guard, they retired after some sharp skirmishes had passed. The second party, which was composed of *Agniers*, *Mahingans*, and *Onneyouths*, appeared near lake *Champlain*, but understanding the disappointment of the first party, they advanced no farther; and all they did was to pick up some stragglers, which the precautions of the government could not keep from dispersing themselves in the fields. All the rest of this year passed in perpetual skirmishes between the *French* and their savages near the fall of *St. Lewis* on the one part, and the *Iroquois* on the other, which cost many lives, quarter being seldom given on either side. Early in the year 1692, *Frontenac* sent orders to *Callieres* to assemble a body of men, whom he was to march to the peninsula where the river of the *Outaouais* joins that of *St. Laurence*, the common hunting place of the *Iroquois* nations in the winter-time. *Callieres* accordingly assembled three hundred *French* and savages, and gave the command of them to *d'Orvilliers*, who, meeting with an accident on the road, was obliged to return to *Montreal*, but was succeeded in his command by one captain *Beaucourt*. This officer marched his men to the isle of *Toniathas*,

niatha, where he met with fifty *Tsonnonthouans*, who had taken the field to surprize the *French* straggling settlements in those parts, and to prevent the settlers from sowing their lands. He immediately attacked them, killed twenty five, took sixteen, and delivered one *La Plante*, a *French* officer, who had been a prisoner for three years amongst the savages, and who narrowly escaped being killed, his countrymen mistaking him for a native *Iroquois*. From the prisoners *Beaucourt* learned that a hundred *Tsonnonthouans* were hunting at a place called the fall of the *Cauldron*, upon the river *Outaouais*, where they intended to settle as soon as the snow was melted, and where they were to be joined by two hundred *Onnontaguense*, under the command of one of their bravest leaders called the *Black Cauldron*. He farther understood that they were to continue there during a whole summer, in order to intercept all the *French* passengers travelling to or from *Michillimakinac*. *Callieres* sent notice of this information to *Frontenac*, demanding his instructions how to behave, as he himself could spare no more men; and large cargoes of furs, which required escorts, were daily expected from the west and the north. *Frontenac* ordered him to send to *Michillimakinac* forty *Canadians*, under the command of an officer, one *Michel*, escorted by three well-armed canoes, who were to attend him above the fall of the *Cauldron*. This order was obeyed, and the escort that had convoyed the *Canadians* to the place of its destination returned. A few days after, *Michel* discovered some footsteps of savages, and two *Iroquois*, which made him apprehend that the *Black Cauldron* and his party could not be far off; upon which he returned to *Montreal*.

FRONTENAC happened to be there at this time, and *Michel* commanded *Michel* immediately to resume his march at the head of thirty *French* and thirty savages. At the same time, he dispatched one *Tilly*, another officer, by the *Hare* river, which discharges itself into that of the *Outaouais*, five leagues below the fall of the *Cauldron*; and gave him a duplicate of the order which *Michel* was carrying to *Louvigny* at *Michillimakinac*. When *Michel* came to a place called the carrying-place of the *Cats*, he again saw the two *Iroquois* scouts, and a great number of canoes in the water; upon which he returned once more to *Montreal*, where sixty *French* savages three days after arrived with their cargoes of furs, and brought word that they met *Tilly* past all danger. The savages, having disposed of their furs, demanded an escort back to a certain place, where they were to separate. *Michel* offered to accompany them, and an escort, consisting of thirty men, was accordingly appointed. When they arrived at the *Long Fall*

Instructions
of
Frontenac
to *Calli-*
eres.

on

on the river *St. Laurence*, where they met with a carrying-place, they received a smart discharge of musketry, without perceiving from whom it came, which made all the savages disappear, and killed and wounded a great many of the *French*; upon which the savages rushing from their ambuscade fell with the utmost fury upon the few survivors. *Michel*, *La Gemeraye*, and the *Hertels*, two ensigns, who were brothers, defended themselves with great valour, and would have fought their way through the *Iroquois*, had they not been abandoned by their own savages, by which *Michel*, and the two *Hertels*, were taken prisoner; but *Gemeraye* and some soldiers escaped to *Montreal* in their canoes.

Exploits
of the
Black
Cauldron.

AFTER this, the *Iroquois* continued for some time quiet, and *Frontenac*, who every day expected a reinforcement of troops from *Old France* returned to *Quebec*. But on the 15th. of *June*, the *Black Cauldron*, all of a sudden, made a descent upon *Montreal* at *Chefnaye*; from whence he carried off fourteen *French* and some savages. *Callieres* immediately sent out against him a hundred soldiers, under the command of captain *Du Plessys Faber*, who was supported by *Vaudreuil*, at the head of two hundred more. The savages, perceiving themselves attacked by so superior a force, fired with precipitation into the woods, leaving their canoes and baggage in possession of the *French*; who, not offering to pursue them, gave them an opportunity of making new canoes, in which they fell again down the river *St. Laurence*. But soon after, *Vaudreuil*, having called in all the scouting parties, followed them with so much quickness, that he came up with their rear, of whom he killed some, and retook several prisoners. Some days after, *Lusignan*, a *French* captain, was surprized and killed near the isles of *Richelieu* by the savages; but the party he commanded was, with great difficulty, brought off by his lieutenant. All those, and many other, tragical events convinced *Frontenac*, that the inhabitants of *Montreal* were to expect no safety against the savages, but by being supported with a superior power. He, therefore, in the beginning of *August*, returned to *Montreal* with three hundred men, to protect the inhabitants in getting in their harvest. He there found two hundred *Outaouais*, whom hunger had driven thither, notwithstanding all the dangers they ran from the *Black Cauldron*, whom they understood to be still in the river. Though those *Outaouais* had not ventured to bring along with them any furs or skins, yet *Frontenac* treated them with great civilities, and proposed to them an expedition against their common enemy the *Iroquois*. The *Outaouais* declined this expedition, either because they thought it was dangerous

dangerous, or because they had no opportunity of consulting their elders upon the proposal. Soon after, *Frontenac*, understanding that the *French* ships were arrived at *Quebec*, returned thither, where the *chevalier d'Eau* arrived about the same time.

THE war was, all this while, going on between the *English* Affairs of and *French* in *Acadia*, and *Frontenac* had undoubted intelligence, that Sir *William Phipps* was again preparing to attack *New France*. Having imparted this advice, with the proofs on which it was founded, to his court, orders were given to send a squadron of ships into the river *St. Laurence*, which was to serve two purposes: the first, to fight the *English* fleet, if they should enter that river; and the next was to retake all the posts that were held by the *English* in *Newfoundland*. The command of this squadron was given to the *chevalier du Palais*, who sailed directly to *Spanish Bay*; from whence he dispatched a vessel to look into the mouth of the river *St. Laurence*, and to return to him if any *English* ships were discovered. This ship, after cruising a long time in the gulph, and at the mouth of the river, without seeing any, *English* vessels, sailed back for *Spanish Bay*; but by stress of weather was disabled from rejoining the *French* squadron, and was obliged to return to *France*. *Du Palais*, all this time, remained in *Spanish Bay*, waiting for the return of his ship; but, being disappointed, he lost the season of acting, and of executing the orders of his court; so that the *English* squadron, which was far inferior to his, escaped him.

THE fleet of *French* merchant-men, who were fishing on where the the banks of *Newfoundland*, being ready to return to *France*, *English* *Broullan*, who was then the *French* governor of *Placentia*, are unsuccessful received advice on the 14th of *September*, that a *French* *successful*, squadron was anchored within five miles of that port; and next morning the same squadron was seen at an anchor in *Placentia* road, but without the reach of cannon. On this the governor immediately dispatched the baron *La Hontan* (F), who was then a reformed captain, and had been sent from *Quebec* to act as the *French* king's lieutenant at *Placentia*. He took post, with sixty men, at the place where it was most probable the *English* would attempt their landing, in order to get possession of an eminence which commanded the batteries of the fort. The latter, however, did nothing all that day but found in the road. On the 17th of *September*, the *English* manned all their long boats in order to land; but discovering *La Hontan*, they altered their course, and

(F) He is the author of the with great freedom; and which voyages and memoirs under *Charlevoix* treats with yet his name, which are written greater.

MOD. HIST. VOL. XL.

G

landed

landed at another place, where they set fire to some wood, hoping to shelter themselves by the smoke while they reconnoitred the fort. *Brouillon*, in the mean while, erected a battery of four pieces of cannon upon the eminence we have mentioned, and another at the entry of the bason, a-crofs which a boom was drawn. About noon that same day, the governor discovered a boat with a flag of truce, and a serjeant was sent out, who brought the officer who carried it blindfolded into the fort; where he informed the governor, that he came from Mr. *Williams*, who was the *English* commodore, with his compliments, and to beg he would send an officer on board his ship, to whom he would explain his intentions, and treat with him concerning the release of certain *French* seamen, who were prisoners on board the *English* fleet. The governor agreed to this request, and sent *La Hontan*, and another officer, one *Pastour*, to confer with the commodore; and, in the mean while, the officer, who carried the flag of truce, summoned the governor, in the names of king *William* and queen *Mary*, to surrender the place, and all that the *French* had in the bay; which was refused in resolute terms.

WHEN *La Hontan* and *Pastour* returned, they reported that the *English* squadron consisted of the *St. Albans*, a sixty gun ship; of two others, the *Plymouth*, and a galley of pretty much the same force; of a frigate, and a twenty gun ship; but their opinion was, by the manner of working this squadron, it was but indifferently furnished with men. Next day, the *English* found that, instead of one, they had three forts to take; and soon after the cannonading began, which, for some time, was very brisk; but the governor at last saw the commodore draw out of the line, though the *French* at that time were reduced to their last charge of powder and shot, and were obliged to return the *English* balls, which they picked up. All this while, the *French* merchant ships furnished hands for the defence of the batteries and the fort, and were of prodigious service in repairing the breaches made by the *English* artillery; but, towards the evening of the 19th, the *English* ships, which still continued the cannonading, drew off, which was occasioned by a kind of mutiny in the squadron, on account, probably, of the bad conduct of their commanders, which obliged the latter, at last, entirely to abandon the attempt. All that the *English* then could do was to fall upon *Point Verte*, lying at the entrance of *Placentia* road, where the *French* could not prevent their burning some houses, or rather cabins. In this expedition, it is hard to say which nation was guilty of the most gross mismanagement;

and
retreat.

ment; the *English*, in attacking a place without knowing its strength, or the *French*, whose ships lay idle in *Spanish Bay*, though greatly superior to the *English*, who thereby escaped them.

THE operations on the other coasts of *New France* were pretty much of the same nature. *Phipps* still persisted in his resolution, if possible, to attack *Quebec*; while *Villebon*, the *French* commandant in *Acadia*, fortified himself at *Fort St. John*, till he could be enabled, by succours sent him from *Old France*, to retake *Port Royal*. In order to dislodge him, an *English* ship of forty-eight guns and two brigantines, the whole having four hundred men on board, was sent out by *Phipps*. *Villebon* marched down a party of the *French* and savages, which made so good an appearance, that the *English* durst not venture to land, and made off towards fort *Pemmaquid*. *Villebon* represented to *Frontenac* the necessity of demolishing this fort, which was an incessant thorn in the side of the *French* interest towards *New England*. By this time, *Iberville*, who had a commission from the *French* court to dispossess the *English* of *Port Nelson* on *Hudson's Bay*, was arrived at *Quebec* in the *Envioux*, a *French* ship of war, and he was there to be joined by the *Poli*, another, with two other vessels that were to be furnished by the northern company. As *Iberville* did not arrive at *Quebec* before the 18th of *October*, when it was too late in the year to make any attempt upon *Hudson's Bay*, *Frontenac* proposed that he should employ his squadron, which was commanded by one *Bonaventure*, against fort *Pemmaquid*. The proposal was readily accepted of, and it was agreed, that the two royal ships should attack the fort by sea, while *Villebon* should besiege it by land, at the head of his savages. When the ships arrived before the fort, they discovered, at a distance, an *English* ship of war at anchor under its cannon. The *French* ships, having no coasting pilot on board, did not think proper to make any attempt upon the fort, and returned to the vast discontent of the savages, who had assembled in great numbers, and were in high expectation of becoming masters of the fort. It was afterwards discovered that *Iberville*, who, in other respects, was an excellent officer, had trusted too much to surprising the fort; and that an *English* gentleman, one *Nelson*, who was then prisoner at *Quebec*, had bribed two *French* soldiers, who gave intelligence to the *English* at *Pemmaquid*, and who were therefore on their guard, which had induced *Iberville* to abandon his enterprize.

Expedition
against
Hudson's
Bay by the
French,

unsuccessful.

NEW FRANCE is said to have been at this time in a more desirable situation, through the activity of *Frontenac*,
G 2 than

Prosperity
of New
France.

than it had been for some years before; but he was accused of great defects in his government. He threw too great a share of the war upon the trading inhabitants, to the ruin of commerce, while the officers and soldiers lived too much at their ease. He is said to have still been more blameable by indulging the savages in the use of spirituous liquors; but this last charge against him was perhaps chiefly owing to the jesuits, who wanted to monopolize that trade, and could not endure that the civil power should give the natives any indulgence, without their consent, participation, and even allowance. We accordingly find, that they filled the court of *France*, by means of their friends there, with charges on that account against *Frontenac*, whom they accused of all the robberies and murders that happened in consequence of the savages getting drunk. In the mean while, *Frontenac* began to more than suspect that the enterprize against fort *Pembaquid* had been defeated by *Nelson's* practices; and that the frequent desertions, which every day happened, were owing to the same cause. All the governor's representations had produced no effectual succours from *France*; and there was reason to believe that the *English* were now but too well acquainted with the weakness of the *French* colony. He endeavoured, but in vain, to put a stop to the desertions; and, in a short time, intelligence came that eight hundred *Iroquois* were in motion on the borders of *New York*, to attack *Canada*. Those savages divided themselves into two parties. The one marched by lake *Champlain*; the other by lake *François*, intending to join near the fall of *St. Lewis*, where they were to entrench themselves, to decoy all the inhabitants they could into their hands, and then to murder them. This news threw *Frontenac* into great disquietudes, as he was uncertain on what quarter the storm might burst, and therefore it was dangerous for him to act upon the offensive. All he could do was, by the advice of *Callieres*, to reinforce the marquis de *Crisafy*, who continued to command at the fall of *St. Lewis*, together with the forts *Chamblé* and *Sorel*, and to issue strict orders for all the officers and the inhabitants to keep themselves in readiness, without abandoning either their houses or their posts. The *Iroquois*, who marched by lake *François*, appearing in sight of the settlement at the fall of *St. Lewis*, finding the inhabitants on their guard, did no more than exchange a few shot with them, and retired in the evening. The other party, which marched by the way of lake *Champlain*, left behind them, in an island there, three hundred men, ready to have fallen upon the same settlement had they seen an opportunity: but the second party, who appeared

peared in view, doing no more than the first, retired likewise; and the savages, in general, perceiving the settlers at the fall of *St. Lewis* to be upon their guard, gave over all thoughts of their enterprize, and returned home.

THE governor-general of *New France* attributed all the Expedition malignancy of this last attempt to the canton of the *Agniers*, against the and therefore resolved to be revenged. For this purpose, he *Agniers* sent two hundred *Canadians*, with a body of *Abenakis*, *Algonquins*, and *Sakokis*, to *Montreal*, where they were to be joined by a hundred more *Canadians*, a hundred regulars, and a number of *Iroquois* of the fall and the highlands; the whole to form a body under *Callieres*, and to make a brisk irruption into the *Agnier* canton. *Callieres* entrusted the execution of this expedition, which was composed of six hundred men, to three lieutenants, *Mantet*, *Courtemanche*, and *la Nouë*; and, on the fifth of *January*, all the army embarked at *Montreal*. The orders given on this occasion plainly prove the *French* to have been the converts of the savages, and to have even exceeded them in the practices of inhumanity. They barbarously resolved upon the utter extinction of the *Agnier* canton, and being habitually, as well as naturally, presumptuous, they thought themselves so secure of this blow, that the general orders were not to spare any male capable of bearing arms, but to put every one of them to the sword, and to carry off all the women and children captives to people the *French Indian* settlements. The barbarity of those orders is the more remarkable, as the canton, thus doomed to massacre, had hitherto done nothing to provoke the *French*, but in following that natural affection which is so deeply implanted in the breasts of those barbarians, and endeavouring to regain to their ancient settlements their countrymen who were settled at the fall of *St. Lewis*.

The *French* army reached the *Agnier* canton without being discovered, on the sixth of *February*. They found the savages living in three townships, each defended with a kind of fort. *La Nouë*, with little or no resistance, attacked and destroyed the first, and all the provisions in it, while *Mantet* and *Courtemanche* did the same by the second; but the general's orders were not observed, for many prisoners were made, and committed to the custody of *Courtemanche*. The third fort gave them some trouble. Forty *Agniers* were preparing to march out of it to join a party of the *English*; and when *la Nouë* and *Mantet* attacked it, the savages, though they had heard nothing of the destruction of the other two forts, and therefore were unprovided for a defence, fought very bravely; but, after losing twenty men and some women, two hundred

and fifty of them were taken prisoners. So many prisoners being made in contravention of the *French* governor's orders, was owing to the natural affection we have just now mentioned of the savages for their countrymen, and is a farther proof of the detestable barbarity of the *French* : for though the Christian *Iroquois* of the fall of *St. Lewis*, and the other *French Indian* settlements, had promised the *French* governor to obey his inhuman orders, yet when they came to be executed, they could not resist their feelings for their countrymen, and even obliged the *French* to save their male prisoners. This compassion is, at the same time, an evidence, that nothing but force, enthusiasm, and the arts of the jesuits, could have again prevented their incorporating themselves in their native cantons.

proves un-
fortunate
in the
end.

AFTER finishing their ravages amongst the *Agniers*, perceiving that they had saved only provisions barely sufficient for carrying them back to *Montreal*, and understanding that their enemies were in pursuit of them, they were returning as fast as they could, when their savages of the fall of *St. Lewis* obliged them to throw up an intrenchment, and to wait for their pursuers for two days. The latter, at last, appeared, and proved to be *Onneyouths*. A smart encounter followed with some loss on both parties ; and the *Onneyouths*, who seem to have known their business much better than the *French* did, retreated, while their enemies continued their march. The *Onneyouths* followed them in sight, and obliged the *French* to keep in a body ; but scarcity of provision and badness of roads every day encreasing, they were forced to separate ; by which means all their prisoners but sixty-four escaped, and the few remains of this victorious army, at last, reached *Montreal* in a most deplorable condition, with a fresh alarm, which they had caught from their prisoners, of a new expedition, even stronger than the last, designed by the *English* against *Quebec* both by sea and land. This news was confirmed to *Frontenac* by *Iberville*, who commanded in *Acadia*, and by some *French*, who had escaped from the *English*. The latter even went so far as to say, that the *English* governors of *North America* had held a congress amongst themselves, and were resolved to raise 10,000 men, who were to rendezvous at *Boston* ; and that 6000 of them were to be employed against *Quebec*. Neither *Frontenac* nor *Callieres* in the least doubted the truth of this intelligence ; and the forts *Chamby* and *Sorel* were immediately repaired ; and all dispositions were made, both at *Quebec* and *Montreal*, for rendering the descent of the *English* ineffectual,

THOSE

THOSE dispositions required so many men to execute them, *A convey* that Frontenac could spare none for escorting a large maga- from Mi-
zine of furs, that were laid up at Michillimakinack, and which, chillima-
if brought down to St. Laurence river, might be of infinite kinac.
service to the colony. At last, D'Argenteuil, a reformed
lieutenant, and brother to Mantet, undertook the dangerous
journey, and eighteen Canadians were with great difficulty
persuaded to attend him; while another officer with twenty
men, and a party of Iroquois Christians, were ordered to escort
them past the most dangerous part of the way. The in-
structions, which, on this occasion, were sent to Louwigny at
Michillimakinac, were, that he should send to Montreal and
Quebec all the French but those who were necessary for guard-
ing his most important posts. D'Argenteuil performed his
journey; but Valtrie, the officer who commanded the escort,
in his return, was defeated and killed by a party of the Iroquois
near Montreal. On the 10th of June, when such a visit was
least expected, one Tareha, an Onneyouth captain, arrived at
Montreal, attended by a Frenchman, who had been four
years prisoner in that canton, and whom he proposed to ex-
change for a nephew of his own, who was in the hands
of the French. Tareha, at the same time, presented Cal-
lieres with a letter of recommendation from Milet the
missionary, who was still detained at Onneyouth. Callieres sent
Tareha to the governor-general, who readily agreed to the
exchange, and won so far upon the Onneyouth, that the latter
presented him with belts from the most considerable families
of the canton, in token of their being disposed for peace;
but he counselled the governor of the same to be upon his
guard, especially during the harvest season. In short, Ta-
reha omitted nothing to convince Frontenac of his good dispo-
sition, and that of his nation towards the French. Frontenac's
long experience had taught him how to deal with those sa-
vages; and he neither opened himself to Tareha, nor discour-
aged him from bringing on a negotiation, provided the can-
tons from whence he came would, before the end of September,
(after which time he would not wait) send him deputies;
upon this Tareha, after promising to return by that time, took
leave of the general.

A FEW days after, Frontenac received intelligence, that the
English fleet had sailed from Boston; and Michel, who (the *The*
reader may remember) the year before had been taken pri- *English*
soner by the savages, having made his escape to save him- *sailed from*
self from the flames, arrived at Quebec. He reported, that *Boston.*
the English in the principal village of Onnontague, had erect-
ed a strong capacious fort for receiving all the women and
children,

children of the canton, in case they were surprised as that of *Agnier* had been by the *French*; that *Tareba's* intelligence might be true, but it was certain, that the *Iroquois* nation in general never was less disposed than they were, at that time, to live in friendship with them. While *Michel* was making this report, intelligence came, that eight hundred *Iroquois* had taken the field, and were advanced almost as far as lake *St. Lewis*. This happened on the 21st of *June*, when *Vaudreuil*, with five companies of regulars, and one hundred and fifty recruits, just arrived from *France*, was dispatched from *Quebec*; and *Callieres* went in person, at the head of seven or eight hundred men, towards the cascades of *St. Lewis*, where the savages were said to be assembled; but neither of the parties were able to discover any, they having decamped sometime before. The accounts of the great preparations made at *Boston* by the *English*, were true; but a false place of destination had been industriously given out, to amuse *Frontenac*. The armament was, in fact, designed against *Martinico*; but that expedition miscarrying, and three ships arriving from *Old France* at *Quebec*, the *Iroquois*, who had come to the Cascades of *St. Lewis*, and who appear to have had very good intelligence, not only returned home, but suffered the *French* to get in their harvest without molestation; and the colony for some time enjoyed tranquillity, to encrease its good fortune.

D'Argenteuil, on the 4th of *August*, brought from *Michillimackinac* to *Montreal* two hundred canoes laden with furs and skins, and the principal chiefs of the northern and western savages were likewise on board. As those chiefs were of *Huron* extraction, *Frontenac* immediately gave them a formal meeting at *Montreal*, attended by the leaders of his own savages. The *Huron* orator entertained him with a long detail of the exploits of his nation against the *Iroquois* and the enemies of *France*, and the other chiefs made him their compliments in the most respectful manner, but petitioned for the best prices that could be afforded for their commodities. The governor observing that no deputy was there from the *Miamis*, was informed that they had been gained over by the *English*; who had sent them presents by the *Mabingans*, and had opened a trade with them by the river *St. Joseph*. This account gave *Frontenac* no little disquiet, and he resolved, at all events, to break off the commerce. As he had a particular art in gaining over the savages, they returned home charmed with his manner of receiving and entertaining them; and soon after they were followed by a number of *French* headed by *Tonti*, who still commanded on the *Illinois* river, but happened, at that time, to be at *Quebec*. *Tonti* was attended by *Courtemanche*,

manche, Mantet, Perrot, D'Argenteuil, and other officers; and they had it in commission from the governor-general to break off, either by persuasion or force, all communication between the *Miamis* and the *English*. One *le Sueur* was charged with the care of making an establishment at *Chagouamigon*, and renewing the alliance with the *Sieux*, and the inhabitants of the Falls.

WHEN *Frontenac* was preparing to return to *Montreal*, he received intelligence that the *English* had made themselves masters of fort *St. Anne*, lying at the bottom of *Hudson's bay*. We are not entirely to give credit to all that *Charlevoix* says concerning a noble defence made against one hundred *English* by three *Frenchmen*, which was all the garrison this fort had; and who, after all, made their escape to *Quebec*. It was very possible for three men, which indeed appears to have been the truth, to slip away in a canoe; and no doubt they magnified their own valour to the governor-general, whom they found at *Quebec*, greatly vexed that the *French* reinforcements had again come so late in the year, that he could make no attempt upon fort *Nelson*. He was, at this time, in no pain concerning any expedition of the *English* against his government, their fleet having returned in a most miserable condition from its unsuccessful expedition to *Martinico*. About the end of *September, Tareha*, according to his promise, returned to *Quebec*, attended by an *Onneyouth* female, whom the fame of count *Frontenac* had drawn to pay him a visit. This lady had been extremely kind to the *French*, particularly to father *Milet*, who were prisoners amongst the *Onneyouths*; and the *Frenchman's* vanity was highly pleased with her visit. Her having saved many of the *French* from the flames, gave her a particular title to his regards, and she was baptized by the name of *Susan* (G). The presence of this female contributed not a little to *Frontenac's* civil reception of *Tareha*, notwithstanding the odious proposals he brought from his canton. He threw upon the *English* all the blame of his countrymen not having sent their deputies, as the governor had desired; and he even proposed that the governor should send deputies to *Orange*, there to treat under the mediation of the *English*.

FRONTENAC, tho' nettled to the quick at those proposals, dissembled his indignation; and after making *Tareha* some presents, he dismissed him; but not without severely reproaching the insolence and treachery of his countrymen, whom he

Intrigues of Frontenac with the savages.

(G) She was living at the fall of *St. Lewis*, where *Charlevoix* saw her in 1708.

threat-

threatened speedily to chastize, if they did not soon make amends for their behaviour. By this time *Tonti*, and the other *French* officers, had brought the *Illinois* and the *Miamis* to make a brisk war upon the *Iroquois*; and *Frontenac* was not without hopes of still gaining over some of the *Iroquois* cantons, by means of his secret agents there. *Oureouharé*, who had been so faithful to the *French* interest, and still continued so, though residing amongst the *Iroquois* Christians in the highlands, paid frequent visits to his countrymen, whom he endeavoured, all he could, to dispose in favour of the *French*. *Garakonthie*, though extremely old, resided still amongst the *Onnontagués*, where he was yet in great authority; and it was owing to his services, that the *English* were disappointed in many plans they had formed with those savages for the destruction of the colony. *Teganissorens*, likewise, was alive; and busy with his good offices to the *French*. *Frontenac* knew the dependence he could have upon those three chiefs, and very wisely at this period of his government, he depended upon them, rather than his own arms, for baffling the efforts of the *English*. But all they could do could not effect an open breach between them in favour of the *French*. The latter, and their allies, continued still to be harassed by the *Iroquois* incursions, and the *English* still found means to animate those savages by treating them well, and promising, from time to time, to fit out an armament that should be sufficient to destroy the colony (H). But whatever reproaches *Charlevoix*, and other *French* writers, may throw out against the *English* on this head, their own words furnish us with abundance of motives why the *Iroquois* should prefer the friendship of the *English* to that of the *French*. As we have already seen in the history of *New England*, the savages residing there lived with comfort, and in plenty, and provided with all the necessaries, and many of the conveniences of life, while the *French* savages were generally poor and despicable. Add to this, that the benefits the savages reaped from the *English* trade were much greater than those from the *French*; so great was the discouragement which the commerce of the latter laboured under from the taxes and imposts laid upon them.

Reflections
on the go-
vernments
of France
and Eng-
land in
North A-
merica.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, it must be acknowledged that the *French* government was much better served than that

(H) *Charlevoix*, in this part of his history, is at great pains to represent the *English* as being much better politicians than their own countrymen will allow them to have been; for the

conduct of the *English* towards those savages has been generally blamed, and that of the *French* recommended by the *English* writers upon *American* affairs.

of

of England was by their officers in North America. The governors and officers there, though of the military cast, were men of capacity and education, and thought their services abundantly rewarded, when they could promote what they called their master's glory; though it must be confessed, that they did not always do it by means that were either justifiable or humane. Even their natural vanity contributed to inspire their Christian savages with high ideas of the French name and nation; while the jesuits and missionaries were equally assiduous in fettering their minds with superstition and ignorance. Frontenac was sensible where the weak part of his government lay. He knew the small proportion of property which the French colonists enjoyed, compared to those of the English, and the superior industry of the latter over his countrymen and the Canadians. He endeavoured to repair all those disadvantages by his address and management. The agents he entertained even amongst the English Iroquois every day were making propositions of peace, which were sent to him, and which he encouraged or rejected, as he saw proper; but, upon the main, he seldom failed to retrieve some French prisoners out of their hands, and, what was still more important, to gain time; by which the subjects of his government had leisure to sow their fields, and to get in their harvests. Above all, he always obtained a great point, when an Iroquois deputy was admitted to his presence, so artful he was at assimilating himself to their manners.

It was now the beginning of the year 1694, when two Onnontaguese came from their canton to Montreal to know from Callieres whether their deputies, who, they said, were upon the road to treat of peace, would be well received by their father Ononthio. Callieres promised that they should have a hearing, but seemed to doubt much whether they would arrive; upon which the two Onnontaguese returned, and nothing was heard from their canton for two months, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of Callieres to gain intelligence as to their true motives of acting. On the 23d of March following two Agniers came to Montreal; and in the name of Tegamissorens, who was to have been the head of the negotiation, threw all the blame of its retardment upon the English. Frontenac pretended that he had reason to distrust those Agniers; that he had been informed by the savages of Acadia that their intention was to draw both him and Callieres to a conference near Montreal, to which they were to repair in great numbers; and having there assassinated them both, to call in their countrymen, who were to be ambushed at hand, and after destroying the colony to put the place in the possession

1694.

Negotiated on with the Onnontaguese.

session of the *English*. Nothing could be more ridiculous than those pretexts; but they were treated by *Frontenac* as realities, and he affected to be greatly upon his guard. In May, *Teganissorens*, attended by eight deputies, arrived at *Quebec*; and as the *French* inhabitants were then sowing their lands, *Frontenac* gave them a civil, but a very solemn, reception. Great compliments on both parts passed in public and in private; *Teganissorens* presented the governor-general with belts of friendship from *Garakonthie*. Though *Frontenac* was entirely convinced of this chief's good intentions towards the *French*, yet he knew that neither he nor *Teganissorens* were in the secret of such of their countrymen as were in concert with the *English*; but he received *Garakonthie's* belts with great acknowledgments of friendship, and made handsome presents both to him and *Teganissorens*. He then found means to prolong the abode of the deputies at *Quebec*, till the inhabitants had finished their seed-time. Mean while, the *Iroquois* laboured to persuade the eastern and western savages, who were the allies of the *French* towards *Michillimakinac*, that the *French* were betraying them, and wanted to sacrifice them to their own interests. This alarmed *Louigny*, the *French* governor in those parts; but all he could effect was, to bring those savages to send deputies to *Quebec*, where they arrived two days after the departure of the *Iroquois* deputies. *Frontenac*, understanding the purport of their commission, dispatched an express after *Teganissorens*, which instantly brought him back; and he dealt so effectually with the deputies, that they became fully sensible of the practices of the *Iroquois* against the *French*.

The Goy-
ogouins
and Tson-
nontheu-
ans.

FRONTENAC, all this while, had greatly at heart the re-establishment of his fort at *Cataracouy*; and being encouraged to it by *Teganissorens*, he directly fitted out a large convoy, which was to carry a garrison, workmen, and all kinds of necessaries for re-establishing that post, which he said was the bulwark of the colony against the savages. The command of the operations was at first bestowed upon the chevalier *de Crisafy*; but he was laid aside upon the arrival at *Montreal*, where *Frontenac* then was, of *Sesigny*, brother to *Iberville*, who brought a commission from court, authorizing him and his brother to superintend the rebuilding of that fort. As the business could admit of no delay, *Sesigny* proceeded to *Cataracouy* with the convoy that had been appointed for *Crisafy*, with sixscore *Canadians*, and some savages of *St. Louis's* fall. Soon after two *Frenchmen*, who had been prisoners in the canton of *Onnontague*, arrived at *Montreal*, and informed *Frontenac* that he could expect no peace with the *Iroquois*. He

gave

gave no credit to this intelligence, because those savages had suffered a large convoy of furs, under the conduct of *Louigny* himself, to pass unmolested to *Montreal*; and fifteen days after, *Oureouhars* arrived with thirteen *French* prisoners, amongst whom were the two *Hurons*, who had been taken two years before, and were thought to be dead. No other deputies attended *Oureouhars* but those of *Goyogouin* and *Tsonnonthouan*; but *Frontenac* ordered the chiefs of the other savages to be present at their audience, in which *Oureouhars* gave him the strongest assurances of the attachment of his countrymen to the interests of the *French*, and presented him with belts, as evidences of what he asserted; offering, at the same time, to enter into an immediate negotiation for a peace. *Frontenac* demanded whether he had authority to comprehend all the other *Iroquois* nations in the treaty. The deputies were not a little confounded at this question; but, after various evasions, *Frontenac* declared, that he would send back all the belts he had received, excepting those sent by their own two cantons, unless he had a satisfactory answer to all that he had concerted with *Teganissorens*, and that he was prepared instantly to enter upon action. He then entertained the deputies in his usual affable manner, and endeavoured to persuade those from *Goyogouin* and *Ornontague* that he wished for peace, but rather upon their account than his own, as they were his children, and he was sorry to be obliged to chastise them. Dismissing them for that time he re-assembled them, and testified his displeasure at the intercourse between the *Iroquois* cantons and the *English*, threatening to renew the war with more vigour than ever. Upon this the deputies, with an art which perhaps was taught them by the *French* themselves, endeavoured to render him distrustful of his allies; who had given him wrong impressions of their countrymen; but he assured them he never would depart from befriending and trusting them. Some high words then happened between the *Iroquois* and the *Hurons* who were in company, which requiring the interposition of the governor-general, he imposed silence on both parties, but not without some threats against the *Iroquois*, in case they should continue longer refractory: after this, he made presents to all the assembly, and dismissed them. Towards the end of *October*, father *Milet*, after remaining five years in a most disagreeable state of captivity amongst the *Onneyoushs*, arrived at *Montreal*, as in a few days after did *Tareha* with deputies from the same canton, whom *Frontenac* threatened to treat as spies; but seemed to be afterwards somewhat mollified in their favour upon the representations of father *Milet*, to whom *Tareha* had done es-

Weakness
of the go-
vernment
of New
France.

sential services. Perhaps *Frontenac's* true motive in this was to prolong the repose of the colony. In fact, he could not have chastized the *Onneyouths* without declaring war against all the *Iroquois*, who were in alliance with the *English*, and whom he had not forces sufficient to reduce.

IT is surprising, that, notwithstanding the expence which the government of *New France* had cost to its mother-country, all the force which *Frontenac* could muster up this year, did not amount to above 2000 men, even including the militia and the *French* savages. This was a number in no respect comparable to the force which the *English* and the *Iroquois* could have brought into the field; so that *Frontenac* acted with wonderful address in still keeping the savages in awe, and yet amusing them so as to prevent their bringing into the field any great bodies of men, the consequence of which must have been fatal to the colony. As to the *English*, he was at this time in no great apprehension of an invasion from them. He knew that their fleet at *Boston* was in too bad a condition to undertake any naval expedition, and that they could do nothing at land but by the assistance of the *Iroquois*. Very different was the character (as we have already hinted) of *Sir William Phipps*, who remained still governor of *New England*. He could do nothing but by the mere dint of power, of which he made but a poor use. It is true, after building the fort of *Pemmaquid*, some of the *Abenakis* had formally submitted themselves to the crown of *England*; but their submission neither was sincere, nor were the tribes, who submitted, of any great importance. *Charlevoix*¹ is, perhaps with some reason, of opinion, that even this partial submission could not have taken place, had not the government of *New France* depended so much on the affection of those savages, as to leave them unprotected; and many of their countrymen being prisoners at *Boston*, their deliverance was a strong motive for the submission of the others. The same author says, that this submission was not near so formal or absolute as we have, upon the authority of *English* writers, represented it. But though we are inclined to believe him in some particulars not given by the *English* accounts, it seems pretty certain, that the treaty we have mentioned in the history of *New England*, was actually concluded, and that the breach of it was owing to the treachery of the *French*. According to him, while *Sir William Phipps* was at fort *Pemmaquid*, to put the last hand to the peace, a *French* officer, *Villieu*, and *Thury*, a missionary in those parts, found means to bring over to the

¹ CHARLEVOIX, Vol. III. p. 211.

French interest *Mataouando*, the head of the *Malecite* savages, who was to have been a party in the treaty, and raised a body of two hundred and fifty savages near *Pemmaquid* and upon the river *St. John*, *Villieu*, soon after, was joined by other *Abenakis*; and, though attended only by another *Frenchman*, he led them through the middle of the *English* settlements upon the river *Piscataqua* to within twelve leagues of *Boston*, where two *English* forts stood. The one was attacked and taken by the *Abenakis*, and the other by *Villieu* and the other savages. Two hundred and thirty *English* were killed on this occasion, and about sixty houses burnt, with the loss of only one man to the savages.

THOUGH this account is not only exaggerated, but roman-Mismanagement, yet it is certain that the *French* had great advantages at this time in *New England*, owing chiefly to the unpopularity of the and mismanagement of Sir *William Phipps*. The head of the *English* *Abenakis* was one *Taxus*, one of the bravest and most active there. savages in *America*. He is said to have put himself at the head of forty of his lightest followers, and to have attacked and carried a fort near *Boston*, though it was bravely defended by the *English*; who killed his nephew, and he himself had twelve musket-balls shot through his cloaths: after this he extended his ravages to the very gates of *Boston*. Those calamities happened at a time when *Phipps* was flattering the people of his government with the peace that had been concluded, which he pretended was sufficient security to the colony. The people were so exasperated at this, that, according to *Charlevoix*, though no mention is made of it in the *English* accounts, they rose against him, and obliged him to retire to fort *Pemmaquid*, where he proposed to resume his negotiation with the savages. For this purpose, he threatened to be revenged on such of them as had assisted the *French* in taking the *English* forts, and upon such of their nation as were either hostages or prisoners at *Boston*. This message startled the savages the more, as they had been disappointed of the succours which had been long promised them from *France*, and, after various deliberations, they resolved to give satisfaction to the *English* governor; but they were dissuaded from it by *Thury*, who represented the *English* in so diabolical a light, as deterred the savages from trusting them. His advice was, that they should employ the time which had been allowed them by *Phipps* for coming to a resolution, in getting in their harvest, and then retire to places where they could not be attacked by the *English*. *Villieu*, at the same time, engaged their chiefs to accompany him to *Quebec*, where they presented to *Frontenac* the scalps of

of the *English* they had killed, and renewed their protestations of eternal fidelity to the *French*.

ON the 24th of *September* this year, *Iberville* and *Sesigny* arrived at the mouth of the river *St. Therese* in two ships, the *Poli* and the *Salamander*, where they debarked the day of their arrival; and, the following night, fort *Nelson*, which commands the port of the same name, was invested on the land side by forty *Canadians*. On the 27th every thing proper for carrying on the siege was put on board the *Salamander*, which could not for a whole month come near enough to the fort to besiege it, and was daily in danger of being wrecked by the vast shoals of ice in the bay. At length, on the 28th of *October*, the *Salamander* came to an anchor a mile above the fort, which was a very weak one, built of wood, and garrisoned by only fifty-three men, under the command of a trader who never had seen fire. Every thing being disposed for the siege, the governor was summoned to surrender the fort; and a capitulation was accordingly settled, by which the officers were to remain in the fort during the winter, with full security to their persons and effects, and, when the seas were open, to be carried to *France*, from whence they might pass over to *England*. When the *French* took possession of the fort, they found in it abundance of provision, of which they stood in great need. On this occasion *Charlevoix* very sensibly remarks, and the same observation is often equally applicable to the *English*, that the miscarriages of all the *French* attempts in *America* were owing to the lateness of the season in which the expeditions were fitted out; for had the two *French* officers arrived sooner before fort *Nelson*, they would have got a great booty in skins and furs, which had some weeks before been sent off to *England*. The party which made this uncomfortable conquest was attacked by the scurvy, which carried off many of them; but in *June* one hundred and fifty canoes, laden with furs, arrived at fort *Nelson*, to which the *French* gave the name of fort *Bourbon*, as an earnest of the vast advantage, of the trade they were likely to reap from that bay. But as their two ships were preparing to sail with their cargoes, they were not only stopped by the ice, but upon a muster it was found, that the crews of both were reduced to one hundred and fifteen men, many of whom were unserviceable through sickness and other causes, and the scurvy was daily gaining ground amongst them. At last, the season permitting them to sail, after a most tedious and dangerous voyage, they returned to *France*, which they reached the 9th of *October*. *La Ferret* being left governor of fort *Bour-*

Fort Nelson
in
Hudson's
bay taken.

Bourbon, with a garrison of sixty eight *Canadians*, and six savages of *St. Lewis's* fall.

IN the beginning of the year 1695 matters in *Canada* were much on the same footing as during the preceding. *Frontenac* State of was using all his arts on the one part to bring the *Iroquois* to North A- an absolute submission, but without venturing to use force, merica. and the *New England* men were as assiduous on the other, in encouraging them to hold out against the *French*. As to the *Iroquois* themselves, they cannot be said to have been attached to the *English* so much by inclination as by interest. They thought that their keeping a proper balance between the *English* and the *French*, was the only means of securing their own independency, which must be lost the moment one of those nations could conquer the other. They saw the superiority which the *French* had amongst the *Hurons*, the *Ouataouais*, and the other northern and western savages; and this linked them the more to the *English*. The latter, on the other hand, perceived by experience, that the *Iroquois* of the highlands, and the fall of *St. Lewis*, were the most useful subjects the *French* had in *America*, and assisted the *Iroquois* in the various solicitations they made to bring those savages back to their ancient habitations, and in which they were more than once on the point of succeeding, when they were disappointed by the intrigues of the missionaries. The court of *France* was duly informed by *Frontenac* of all that happened within his government, but could by no means enter into his motives for not acting with the utmost vigour against the *Iroquois*. *Pentchartrain*, in his dispatches; reproached *Frontenac* on this head, but at the same time promised that he should be supported from *France* in doing something decisive. *Callieres* at *Montreal* about this time discovered an agent from the *Iroquois* residing at the fall of *St. Lewis*, practising upon his countrymen to bring them back to their canton, and drove him out of the settlement. *La Motte Cadillac*, who had succeeded *Louigny* in the post of *Michillimakinac*, animated the savages in his neighbourhood against the *Iroquois*, who seemed determined either to gain them over, or to root them out, and lost no opportunity of cutting them off, even within reach of the cannon of the *French* forts. At last, the *Iroquois* proposed to *Frontenac* a cessation of arms, both with regard to themselves and the *English*; but demanded, at the same time, with an air of haughtiness, if he wanted a peace, that he should send deputies to treat of it with them in their own country. The *French*, in *Canada*, of all denominations, were surprized that a man of *Frontenac's* character, after meeting with such insolence, did not instantly as-

MOD. HIST. VOL. XL.

H

semble

Fort Frontenac repaired.

semble the whole force of *Canada* to chastise them. But he had his reasons for his forbearance. He had never lost sight of his favourite project to re-establish fort *Cataracouy*, and he was now more intent upon it than ever, as being the only means of subduing the *Iroquois* without risking the strength of the colony. As the *Iroquois* themselves had often solicited the re-establishment of that fort, *Champigny*, and the other *French* officers in *Canada*, were amazed at the governor's resolution, and remonstrated strongly upon its inutility, as well as the indignity of complying with the desires of a barbarous enemy, when they might be subdued by the regulars, and the militia, who must be employed in rebuilding the fort. All the answer they received to their remonstrances from *Frontenac*, was, that, though he was single in his opinion, he still persisted in it, adding, for a reason, that the protection of the fort would encourage the *Outaouais* to make incursions upon the *Iroquois*. This obstinacy was better founded than all the specious reasonings of his officers, who even applied for an express order from the court of *France*, for his desisting from his design. The knowledge of this had no effect upon him, and seemed only to hasten his preparations for it, which were indeed very extraordinary. On the 8th of *July* he arrived at *Montreal*, and employed no fewer than seven hundred men; of which two hundred were savages, in rebuilding the fort, the direction of which was given to the chevalier *Crisafy*, who discharged his commission to great perfection, and with incredible dispatch; for he went up the river, tho' full of falls, for sixscore leagues, and rebuilt the fort all in fifteen days. When the fort was finished he sent out eighty savages, divided into small companies to reconnoitre the country. Forty of those savages had taken the road of *Onnontague*, and some of them, who had advanced as far as the river *Chouguen*, perceived thirty-four canoes coming down it full of *Iroquois*, who, by their discourse, appeared to be bound for the fall of *St. Lewis*; and the other parties discovered that a great number of other *Iroquois* had taken the field for the same purpose; upon which, all of them set out without loss of time for *Montreal*, to put that government upon its guard, by which seasonable intelligence *Frontenac* had leisure to assemble eight hundred men in the isle of *Perrot* near *Montreal*, towards the south west point.

The *Iroquois* defeated.

THE enemies accordingly made their descent, but they found that the governor-general had distributed his army into small parties to cover the inhabitants, who were getting in their harvest. This precaution entirely disconcerted them. All they could do was to murder some straggling settlers; but one of their most considerable parties was cut in pieces by

Du-

Durontoys. And thus, by the vigilance of *Crisafy*, this invasion, which threatened the colony with the very worst consequences, by being aimed at its vitals, was defeated. In the western parts of the colony, *Cadillac* had been so successful in animating the inhabitants against the *Iroquois*, that besides those they killed, they brought a considerable number of them prisoners to *Michillimakinac*. This exasperated the *Iroquois* so much, that they marched in a body either to force the *Miamis* to declare for them, or to drive them from their principal settlement upon the river *St. Joseph*. *Courtemanche* happening with some *Canadians* to be at that village when the *Iroquois* appeared; and, joining with the *Miamis*, he attacked and defeated them. A *Huron* captain, one *le Baron*, but one of those *Hurons* who were irreconcilable to the *French*, was then at *Michillimakinac*, where he had prevailed with the *Hurons* of that post not to be so forward as the other savages there were in making war against the *Iroquois*. But all his exhortations to this purpose were managed in private, and he acted with such impenetrable dissimulation, that when he went with the other deputies to compliment the governor-general, he sent his son with thirty warriors, all of them devoted to his service, to the country of the *Tsonnonthouans*. There they concluded a treaty, in which the *Outaouais* were comprehended, and which was so firmly made, that *Cadillac*, even when it was discovered, could not break it, though he found means to delay for some time the execution of it on the part of the *Outaouais*. By this time, *Baron* had dropt the mask, and *Cadillac* perceived that his wisest course would be to temporize; but this he found a very difficult task. The savages, even such of them as were most attached to the *French* in his district, had often complained to him of the dearth of the *French* commodities, and the necessity they were under on that account of trading with the *English*. Though *Cadillac* could give them no relief on that head, yet he advised the deputies, who were then going to treat with *Frontenac* on another account, and of whom *le Baron* was one, to present him with a belt of wampum, as an intimation that their countrymen expected that he would reduce the exorbitant price of the *French* merchandizes. The savages exceeded the advice which *Cadillac* pretended he gave them; for when they came into *Frontenac*'s presence, and presented their belt, they told him he had his choice of peace or war; which last he must expect, if they were not gratified in their demands. The governor-general rejected the belt with great haughtiness, but at the same time he knew how to soften his refusal by seeming to be sorry at the necessity he was under of chastising his children, and endeavouring to open their eyes to the conduct

of the *Iroquois*, which, he said, tended to their destruction, by detaching them from the *French*, that they might fall a more easy prey to the *English*.

LE BARON observed a profound silence during this conversation, which amazed the deputies. At last, being urged to speak, he said he had nothing in charge from his countrymen, but to hear the sentiments of *Ononchio*, and to report them to his principals. But *Frontenac* gave him to understand that he was well acquainted with all his practices, and that he neither loved nor feared him. Upon this the *Outcouais*, and the *Nipissings*, interposed, by saying, that they had no concern in any thing that *Baron* might have done to displease him, and the latter declared that they were satisfied to remain with the governor, till they should see the event of the war he had threatened. It was about this time that *le Sueur* brought a great convoy to *Montreal*, from the western extremity of the upper lake, which was inhabited by the *Sieux*, and contained vast quantities of profitable fields full of game. One of their leaders approached *Frontenac* with a most melancholy air, and all the marks of dejection in his countenance, and even tears in his eyes, and conjured him in the name of his nation to take compassion upon him. "All nations, he said; but himself, had a father, and he alone remained an orphan." He then stretched upon the ground a robe of beaver, on which he laid one after another twenty-two arrows, to each of which he gave the name of a village in his nation, and begged of the governor to take them all under his protection, which *Frontenac* accordingly promised. Though this singular ceremony had no effect, because the *French* neglected to improve the incident, yet we have related it, because it is a fact that may be of service to the successors of the *French* in the property of *Canada*.

THE discontents at Sir *William Phipps's* government, had, by this time, risen so high, that he had been recalled to *London*, where he died, and was succeeded by one *Stoughton*. During his administration seven *Abenakis*, who came to *Pemmaquid* fort with a flag of truce, were arrested, and sent prisoners to *Boston*, to which three of them were conducted, but the other four were murdered on the road. Tho' the *Abenakis* resented this breach of hospitality, yet they did not all at once break with *Stoughton*, till they found they had no hopes of recovering their relations, who were prisoners, or hostages at *Boston*, and then they took arms. They were, however, very backward in entering upon hostilities with the *English*, because they thought they were far superior to the *French* by sea. But perceiving that a *French* man of war,

commanded by *Bonaventure*, had taken a great number of *English* ships, and receiving from him very considerable presents, they determined at last, in good earnest, to enter upon action.

FRONTENAC, the very day after the departure of the Frontenac's command for repairing his fort at *Cataracouy*, received from *Pontchartrain* an express order against his proceeding in that *dut vindic-* design; which determined him to account for the motives upon *cated by* which he acted. In his answer to that minister, he very sensibly observed, that after the great preparations he made, if he had dropt them he must have rendered himself despicable in the eyes of the *Outaouais*, who had been witnesses to them; as they must attribute his conduct either to his inability to execute his design, or to his intention of making peace with the *English*, who were as averse to the establishment of the fort, as the *Iroquois* were earnest for its being rebuilt. He added, that it had been re-established at a small expence both of time and money. The following passage of his observations, which are founded on experience, ought to be transcribed in *English*, at this time. "I was pressed, said he, in his dispatch to *Pontchartrain*, to attack *Onnantagus* with all our troops, our inhabitants and allies; and with drums beating, but I did not think fit to comply; first, because I had not a force sufficient for such an undertaking; secondly, because, had I followed that advice, I should have left this province open to the inroads of the *English*, who might have attacked *Montreal* on the side of *Chambly*; thirdly, because the undertaking itself was ridiculous, and could have ended only in burning a few huts; for the savages, supposing them not to have had time to be assisted by the *English*, could have escaped with their families to the wood. The event of *M. Denanville's* expedition against the *Tsonnonthouans* sufficiently justifies my observation, and proves, that the burning one or two villages never can secure us from the incursions of the savages. The only way to humble them is by continuing to harass and alarm them by small parties, so as that they dare not stir abroad, which we shall be enabled to do by the re-establishment of fort *Frontenac*, (meaning that of *Cataracouy*.) If his majesty shall next year think proper to attack the fort of *Pemmaquid*, it will give great encouragement to our savages in those parts. It is even to be wished, that such an expedition should be extended to the bombardment of *Boston* and *New York*, which, I think, is by no means impracticable, and would by one blow effectually finish the war in that country." Such was the reasoning of *Frontenac* in defence of his conduct, and experience afterwards proved

it to be just, but he was now old, and his positive haughty humour had made the officers under him his enemies. Towards the end of this year both *Frontenac* and *Champigny* represented to their court the defenceless state of *Placentia*, which was then in the hands of the *French*, in case it should be attacked by the armament then fitting out at *Boston*. They therefore proposed that the *French* should send a squadron strong enough to beat that of the *English* in those seas, and then to take *Boston*; which would not only put them in possession of immense riches, but render them absolute masters of all the fisheries. Any court but one so uninformed as that of *France* was, would have adopted such a proposal, which, in the then state of affairs, was very practicable. But happily for *England*, *Lewis* the 14th was so busied in forging chains for *Europe*, that he neglected those for *America*.

1699. INSTEAD of following *Frontenac's* advice, the *French* council confined the plan of operations for *North America* for the year 1696, to the taking fort *Pemmaquid*, which was a kind of
 Plan of the a bridle upon all *Acadia*, the driving of the *English* from all
 French the posts they had in *Newfoundland*, and likewise from those
 operations, they retained in *Hudson's bay*. *Iberville* and *Bonaventure* were appointed to the command of the expedition against fort *Pemmaquid*, which was to be defrayed at the expence of the *French* king; while the northern company were to be at the charges of the other two expeditions. Orders so early as the month of *February* were issued out to *Begon*, the intendant of *Rochelle*, to equip two ships, the *Envieux* and the *Profound*. The two commanders were instructed after they had taken fort *Pemmaquid* to raze it to the foundation; and then to make a settlement at the bottom of the river *St. John*, from whence they were to dispatch *M. de Sefigny* in the *Dragon* to the bottom of *Hudson's bay*. As to the other two expeditions the two commanders were to proceed from the river *St. John*, and there join some vessels from *St. Malo*, and, in concert with *Brouillan*, the governor of *Placentia*, vigorously to attack the *English* both by land and sea. With regard to the *Iroquois* war, the *French* ministry perceiving the smuggling trade that was carrying on by the wood rangers, and the disorders which they had introduced amongst the *French* savages in the North and West, and likewise reflecting on the total neglect of agriculture which they occasioned, with the vast expence and danger in keeping up the communication between *Michillimakinac*, and the interior parts of the province, they gave orders for abandoning that, and all the upper posts, excepting *St. Lewis* upon the river of the *Illinois*. At the same time, *la Foret* and *Tonti*, who commanded in the last

last mentioned fort, were not to import any beaver into the colony. *Charlevoix* acknowledges the mischiefs done to *New France* by those rangers; but thinks that the method here prescribed tended to its utter ruin, as those advanced posts certainly must fall into the hands of the *English*, who in that case, if joined with the savages, might, in one campaign, have driven the *French* out of all *Canada*.

FRONTENAC was now at the end of all the art and *Difficulties* address with which he had hitherto managed the savages, who of the plainly perceived that all sprung from his weakness to chastise French them, and therefore he resolved to carry his threats into execution, and to march against them with all his force. He therefore sent a messenger along with the *Ontaouais* deputies as they were returning to their own country, acquainting *la Motte Cadillac* with his intention. The messenger found that commandant in a most perplexed situation. *Baron* had succeeded not only in effecting a meeting between the savages of *Michillimakinac* and the *Iroquois*, but in concluding an offensive treaty, by which they were to unite their forces, and to attack the *French*. *Cadillac* was informed of this by *Onaské*, chief of the *Ontaouais Kiskakons*; but his embarrassment was increased upon the report which the deputies made at their return, who represented the *French* in the most despicable light. All *Cadillac* could do to break this dangerous alliance, was to offer them provisions at the usual price, and even to give them credit for the payment, to the last grain he had in his magazines. He, at the same time, greatly magnified the advantages which the *French* had gained over the *English* in other parts of *New France*, and assured them that they had nothing to apprehend, but from the crossness of the winds, which kept the fleets with the merchandizes from coming from *France*. *Cadillac's* generosity touched the savages, who, it must be confessed, were a most perfidious, inconstant race; and notwithstanding their late engagement with the *Iroquois*, they resolved now to join the *French* in making war upon them; and before they left the place where *Cadillac* had assembled them, they named *Onaské*, and other two chiefs, to head the expedition, from whence they returned victorious with thirty scalps, thirty-two prisoners, and a booty of about five hundred beaver skins, which were the property of the *English*. Soon after, *M. D'Argenteuil* arrived at *Michillimakinac*, where he published an account of the vast preparations making by *Frontenac* against the *Iroquois* and the *English*; and *Cadillac* was in great hopes that five hundred *Ontaouais* warriors would march to join the governor-general; but he was disappointed by the intrigues of the *Hurons*, who

had disapproved of the treachery of the other *Michillimakinac* savages towards the *Iroquois*.

It remained now for *Frontenac* to fix the plan of his operations. He was once inclined to have fallen in the winter upon the *Onnontagué* canton; but, upon the representations of *Callieres*, he deferred it to the summer. In the mean time, he ordered five or six hundred men to be drawn from the governments of *Montreal* and *Trois Rivières* to march against the *Agniers*. Those savages had much better intelligence than he expected; for he was advised, that foreseeing the storm that was to come upon them, they had called in not only all the other cantons of the *Iroquois*, but the *English* likewise, to their assistance. Upon this, *Frontenac* was obliged to alter his scheme, and to send no more than three hundred picked men to fall upon the *Iroquois* hunters, who were without any diffidence roving between the river *St. Lawrence* and that of the *Outaouais*. This detachment left *Quebec* towards the end of *January* under the command of *Louigny*, but they were stopt for thirteen days at *Montreal* by an extraordinary fall of snow. They then continued their march under incredible difficulties to within five leagues of *Cataracouy*. From thence they sent savages to reconnoitre, who, after a march of seven or eight days, met ten *Iroquois*, and a woman; three of whom they killed, and took the rest; one or two of whom were inhumanly burnt at *Montreal*. About the beginning of spring, the *Iroquois* appeared in a body in the neighbourhood of *Montreal*, in order to interrupt the *French* in sowing their grounds; but they were disappointed by the wise dispositions of *de Callieres* the governor; so that few of the *French* suffered, and those by their own fault. About this time, the chevalier *de Crisafy* died of heart-break, for not having been able to obtain from the *French* government the smallest acknowledgment for the important services he had rendered to the colony, though he had been again and again recommended to the court on that account by the governor-general, and all the officers of that crown in *New France*.

In May, *Callieres* came down to *Quebec*, and having concerted with *Frontenac* the operations of the campaign, he returned to *Montreal*, where, on the 22d of *June*, he was joined by the governor-general himself, the chevalier *de Vaudreuil*, *Ramezay*, governor of *Trois Rivières*, the regulars and militia of *Quebec*, and those of *Trois Rivières*; those of *Montreal* being in readiness. On the 4th of *July*, they were joined by ten *Outaouais*, who had been hovering about the *Onnontague* canton for some time, but without being able

to make a prisoner; and the *French* conceived great hopes that they would be followed by others of their nation. At last, the order of the whole army was settled, and *French* officers, who were perfectly acquainted with the manners of the *Indians* and their way of fighting, were appointed to command the savages. The *French* regulars were divided into four battalions, and the *Canada* militia into as many, with their proper officers. On the 6th, they encamped on the island of *Perrot*; and next day, they began their march. We shall not here follow *Charlevoix* in a minute description of the arrangement of this army, a matter always of great importance with a *French* author, as well as officers; and which, it seems, set out partly by water, and partly by land. It is sufficient to say, that on the 19th, the whole body arrived at *Cataracouy*, where they expected four hundred *Ontaouais*, who had been promised them by *Cadillac*, but who never joined them. On the 28th, the whole army found itself at the entry of the strait and rapid river of *Chouguen*, which obliged the governor-general to proceed with great caution; nor could the troops advance up it above a league and an half in twenty-four hours. In short, after surmounting the most dangerous and discouraging difficulties, and several times escaping being wrecked by the rapidity of the falls, they mounted to the lake of *Ganentaba*, and passed a strait which the enemy had neglected to occupy. Here they found two bundles hanging to a tree, containing as many reeds as were warriors waiting to fight them, amounting in the whole to 1434. The *French*, however, made good their landing without much difficulty, and, next morning, threw up an entrenchment, or what they call a fort, in which they lodged their provision and ammunition. Notwithstanding all the boasts of the *French* writers concerning the superior genius of their countrymen over the *Indians*, their dispositions appear to have been very shallow in this expedition; and *Callieres* seems to have been the only man of sense amongst them, in a military capacity. Though secrecy was the main chance they had for success, yet they took no precaution to observe it; but *Callieres*, well knowing that the enemy would, by deserters or otherwise, come to the knowledge of their intention, publicly gave out amongst the savages, that the reason why the *Ontaouais* had not joined him was, because they promised the governor-general that they would attack the *Tsonnonthouans*, while he was marching against the *Onnontaguese*. This was faithfully reported by a savage deserter to the *Tsonnonthouans*, which was the true reason why they had remained at home to defend their own country. The following night,

the

the *French* army saw the chief village of the *Onnontague*se in a blaze, it having been set on fire by the inhabitants themselves ; and, by the footsteps on the ground, they had reason to believe that the *Onnontague*se had sent all their useless mouths to the cantons of *Goyogouin* and *Onneyouth*, and that they had been reinforced from thence. On the third of *August*, all the *French* army was drawn up in order of battle ; the left line being commanded by *Callieres*, the right by *Vaudreuil*, and the center by the governor-general ; but the grounds over which they marched were so impracticable, that it was very late before they could reach the village, which they found in ashes, and in it the bodies of two *Frenchmen*, who had been murdered. The *French* were surprised to perceive, that not only the village was burnt, but the *English* fort, that had been built there for the protection of the inhabitants, was abandoned ; and which, had it been properly defended, might have ruined *Frontenac's* army. On the fifth, a *French* soldier, who had been a prisoner, came from *Onneyouth* with a belt from that canton, demanding peace. The general sent him instantly back with this answer ; That he was ready to receive the submissions of those who had employed him, provided they came to live within the pale of the *French* settlement ; but that if they did not immediately comply, he would next day send his troops to receive their last answer.

ACCORDINGLY *Vaudreuil* next morning set out with six or seven hundred men under his command, with orders to cut down all the corn, to burn the villages, and to receive six of their chiefs as hostages ; but in case of the smallest resistance, he was to put to the sword all who fell in his way. Next day, a *French* prisoner, who had escaped, having discovered some secret concealments of the enemy, *Vaudreuil* began to put his ravaging orders into execution, by cutting down the corn, and laying waste the country, for two entire days. The unmanly rage of the *French* and their savages went so far on this occasion, that a venerable *Onnontague*, about a hundred years of age, and therefore unable to fly with the rest of his countrymen, falling into their hands, they made formal preparations to put him to death with the most excruciating torments, which he eyed with the most intrepid indifference, upbraiding the natives all the while with being slaves to the *French*, whom he spoke of with the utmost contempt. While some were endeavouring, either through compassion or rage, to put an end to his life ; " You ought not, says he, to be in such haste to finish my torments, but give me longer time to teach you how to die like men ; for my part, I die contented, because I can reproach myself with no meanness."

Next

Next day *Vaudreuil*, after laying waste the villages of the *Onneyouth* canton, returned to the camp with thirty-five prisoners, most of whom were *French*, whom he had delivered from captivity, and accompanied by the chiefs of the canton, who threw themselves upon the mercy of *Frontenac*. Amongst the prisoners was a young *Agnier*, who had escaped from a *French* settlement, and who was burnt alive. He reported that three hundred *Agniers* and *English* had left *Orange* to come to the relief of *Onneyouth*; but that they had returned thither in great consternation. Upon this, a council of war was assembled, and it was resolved to treat the *Goyogouin* canton in the same manner as they had done those of *Onneyouth* and *Onnontague*; and after that to erect forts to bridle the savages, or force them to remove from that country. *Frontenac*, at first, seemed to approve of that resolution; but, all of a sudden, he changed his mind, declaring that he was resolved immediately to return to *Montreal*.

CHARLEVOIX is greatly perplexed to account for the governor's motives for this inconstancy. He mentions many, particularly that he was afraid, if the *Iroquois* were reduced, his power and command, of which he was extremely fond, must become insignificant; while others give out, that he was jealous of *Vaudreuil*: but, without having recourse to supposing that such extravagances should enter the head of a man of seventy-four years of age, we have, upon the face of the jesuit's history, sufficient reasons for determining him to return. The expedition had been fitted out at great labour and expence, and, in fact, nothing had been done that had answered either. The savages had not lost above thirty or forty men; they could easily repair their cabins, and were sure of sustenance from their friends of *New York* and *New England*, to whom they always were welcome. *Frontenac*, therefore, who during all the expedition was carried in an open sedan, very rationally concluded that it would be madness to prosecute farther so ineffectual, so dangerous, and so expensive an expedition; so that, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of *Callieres* and the other officers, he gave the signal for retreating, which he began to do on the 9th, and arrived at *Montreal* on the 20th, having lost in the expedition no more than six men.

At *Montreal*, *Frontenac* found *D'Argenteuil* with fifty *Frenchmen* from *Michillimakinac*, but who had arrived too late to be present at the expedition. From them he learned that the northern and western savages had, in fact, no good reason for not having joined the expedition, but the disad-

disadvantageous impressions they had of the *French* and their power. All they alledged was, that they had not joined the expedition, because they imagined, that like others of the same kind before, it would fall to the ground. Notwithstanding this, though *Frontenac* had returned to *Montreal*, he was far from putting an end to the war against the *Iroquois*. He was informed, but his intelligence was false, that their cantons were on the point of starving, and that the *English* of *New York* were in no condition to give them relief. He therefore flattered himself, that, by sending out parties to harra'ss them, he should soon bring them to subjection; and having given orders accordingly, he returned to *Quebec*. - A little time shewed him how much he had been mistaken. The *Iroquois* invaded the *French* settlements with as much fierceness as ever. Their cantons were restored to as good a condition as they had been in before they were destroyed. Instead of having subdued, he had only exasperated, them; and the *French* themselves, by the badness of their harvest, were in danger of suffering the calamities they had endeavoured to inflict upon their enemies.

Other ex-
peditions
against
the sava-
ges.

1697.

TOWARDS the end of autumn, *Callieres* had orders to raise a large body of troops, and to march them over the ice against the *Agniers*; but found the design impracticable for want of provisions. Upon this, the governor-general ordered him to send only a party of fifty men to the ground on which the *Iroquois* had used to hunt, during the winter. But even this design was laid aside upon the *Onneyouths* being again in motion, and intelligence being received, that the *Iroquois* had, that year, changed their usual place of hunting. Notwithstanding this, some private rangers advanced on the side of *New York*; but few of them escaped being killed, either by the *Mahingans*, or the *Agniers*, or by their own savages, who mistook them for *English*. On the 5th of February, 1697, thirty-three *Onneyouths* arrived at *Montreal*, offering in the name of their canton to submit themselves to the *French* governor. They added, that other cantons would have followed them; but that lying between their enemies, the *Onnontague* held them by one arm, and the *Agnier* by another: that this had not altered their intention, and that if *Ononthio* would send any one to them, they would come to him, as soon as possible; as for themselves, they were willing to be settled wherever he pleased. All they begged was to retain the name of *Onneyouths*. *Callieres* gave his new guests a very favourable reception, and had orders from *Frontenac* to send back the chief man amongst them to the canton

of

of *Onneyouth*, that he might there report the civil usage they had met with, and thereby entice them all to follow their example, and to settle amongst the *French*.

THE *Onnontague*, the *Agniers*, and the other cantons in ^{their} alliance with them, conceived great umbrage from those proceedings of the *Onneyouths*; and the *Agniers*, under pretence ^{craft and haughtiness.} of escorting two *Frenchwomen*, who had been taken prisoners sometime before, sent two of their countrymen to *Quebec* to learn how matters went. From those female prisoners, the governor-general understood, that the *Iroquois* were quite recovered from the consternation into which they had been thrown by the late invasion and desolation of their country; that the *English* had made presents to the *Onnontague* sufficient to indemnify them for their losses, and to rebuild their villages; and that they proposed in the spring of that very year again to sow the lands which had been ravaged by the *French*. As to the two *Agniers*, they behaved with great freedom before the governor. They demanded to know whether the way between *Quebec* and their canton was free; and one of them insisted upon his son, who was a prisoner, being restored to him. *Frontenac* pretended, that had it not been out of regard to the two prisoners they had brought back, they should have felt the weight of his indignation for those insolent demands. He added, that he would give them no answer, till they behaved with perfect submission to his will, and till their canton had sent back all the *French* prisoners it detained. Not contented with this severe answer, he kept the two *Agniers* at *Quebec* during the rest of the winter, lest they should put their countrymen upon their guard against the *French* parties who were out. At the same time, he sent fresh orders to *Montreal* to harraßs the *Iroquois*, and, if possible, to gain intelligence of what was passing between their cantons and the government of *New York*. On the 15th of *May*, the savages of the highlands and the fall of *St. Lewis* came to offer their services to the governor of *Montreal*; but *Frontenac* gave them to understand, that, in the posture affairs then were, he would find sufficient employment for them at home; from whence he ordered them not to stir. This order was occasioned by the advice, which the governor-general had received by a *Canadian*, one *Vincelotte*; who, by a most amazing journey, had arrived at *Quebec*, over the desert mountains near fort *Pemmaquid*, where one *Gabaret* had arrived from *France*, with dispatches from that court to *Frontenac*.

THEY imported that the governor-general should send from home no troops upon any service whatever, and that a squadron

The Iro- Squadron of ships was ready to sail from the ports of *Ottawa* and *England*, to join another at *Boston*, to attack *Canada*; and *new their* that the governor should have in readiness 1000 or 1200 *incursions*. men to execute the orders, which should come from court. A strict compliance with those orders soon gave the *Iroquois* to understand, that they had nothing offensive to apprehend from the *French*; and therefore they renewed their incursions on the government of *Montreal*, which obliged *Callieres* to send out detachments against them. Soon after, some prisoners from *New York* informed him that whatever show the *English* made of invading *Canada*, the people of that colony were themselves so much distressed, that they were rather apprehensive of an invasion from the *French*. Advice came at the same time, that fort *Nelson* had been again reduced by the *English*. Towards the end of autumn last year, four *English* ships and a bomb-vessel had appeared in the road, as did, soon after, two *French* ships, but the latter immediately set sail; the one arrived safe at *France*, but the other was wrecked in sailing to *Quebec*. Upon their departure, the *English* began a brisk cannonading against the fort, and attempted to land, but were repulsed by the *French*. After this, the bomb-ketch plied the fort so warmly, that *La Foret*, the commandant, demanded a capitulation, and to be carried with all his garrison, who were to carry off their several properties, to some place belonging to *France*. According to the *French*, this capitulation was violated by the *English*, who carried the garrison prisoners to *England*. But this is extremely unlikely, and it is probable no capitulation was made; or, if made, that it was observed, as much as was in the power of the *English*. But the truth is, that the *French* accounts cannot be depended upon, when they rest upon the evidence of their officers, who never fail to magnify their own merits at the expence of truth. Four months after this garrison arrived in *England*, they were sent to *France*, where they had no sooner arrived, than understanding that an expedition was fitting out to retake fort *Nelson*, most of them embarked on board the four ships and a sloop that were destined for that purpose at *Rochelle*, and which were to be commanded by *Serigny*, who, when he came to *Placentia*, was to resign his command to his brother *Iberville*. The instructions of the latter were that before he went to *Hudson's Bay* he should visit fort *Naxuat*, on the river *St. John*; but they arrived too late in the year, the season being so far advanced, and the ships so much battered by the voyage, that he was obliged to sail directly for fort *Nelson*, and he accordingly arrived at the mouth of *Hudson's Bay*, on the 28th of *July*. By the 3d of *August*, the frost

Fort Nelson
taken
by the
English.

frost had set in so severely, that he lost one of his ships, and the men were with difficulty saved. He afterwards lost sight of all the others; but, on the 4th of *September*, he was within sight of port *Nelson*, and sent one of his officers a shore to reconnoitre, and to get intelligence of some *English* ships he had seen at the entrance of the bay. Next day, he saw three ships, who proved to be *English*, and, according to the *French* historianⁿ, though one of the *English* ships was stronger than his own, which was called the *Pelican*, and mounted only fifty guns, and though he had but a hundred and fifty men on board fit for service, he engaged them all, and took one of them, the *Hudson's Bay*. After this, as he was preparing to attack fort *Nelson*, both he and his prize were wrecked in the night-time, at the river *St. Therese*. The crews, however, had the good fortune to save themselves, and artillery sufficient to attack the fort; but he was destitute of all provisions, and he depended for subsistence only on his success. As he was making his dispositions for the attack, he saw three sail, who proved to be his own ships, which he had lost sight of in the bay, and which had been very roughly handled in the storm that had wrecked himself. So seasonable a reinforcement encouraged him as much as it daunted *Bailey*, the *English* commandant of the fort, who immediately proposed to capitulate, which he did on the following terms. First, that all his papers and books of accounts should be safe. Secondly, that his garrison, both officers and soldiers, should keep their chests, cloaths, and all that belonged to them. Thirdly, that they should be treated as well as the *French* themselves. Fourthly, that they should be sent directly to *England*. And lastly, that the garrison should march out with all the honours of war, without being disarmed. The garrison consisted of no more than fifty-two men, of whom seventeen had belonged to the *Hudson's Bay*, and had escaped from the *Pelican* when it was wrecked; but had the benefit of the capitulation. After this *Iberville* returned to *France* in the *Profond*, and, when he arrived at *Belleisle*, his crew was so distressed with the scurvy, that scarce a man of them was serviceable. The conquest of *Hudson's Bay* was of more importance than the *French* themselves were apprized of. First, because it furnished better furs than any other part of *North America*; and secondly, because the natives were so miserably poor, that they sold them much cheaper than they could be had elsewhere.

ⁿ CHARLEVOIX, Vol. III. Page 301.

Conduct of
Fronte-
nac upon
the orders
he receiv-
ed from
France.

FRONTENAC all this time remained in great doubt concerning the meaning of the order he had received from court, concerning the force he was to keep on foot, when the head of the *Onneyouth* canton came all alone to *Quebec*, and with an air of unconcern, presented himself before the governor, telling him, that his countrymen, hearing how well their brethren had been received by the *French*, were disposed to follow their example. This chief was the same whom *Callieres* by *Frontenac's* order, had sent back to acquaint his canton with the good reception of their brethren who had settled with the *French*. He added, that the *Onnontaguese* were upon the point of doing the same; and were about to send a belt to *Ononthis*, to know whether he would be pleased to receive them; and another to the missionaries, to beg a peace with the *French*, from the God of the Christians. *Frontenac* instantly perceived that all those compliments were meant only to gain time. He had no choice left, but either to declare war, or to dissemble. The orders he had received from his court disabled him from the former; and, putting the best face upon the matter he could, he told the *Onneyouth* chief, that he gave his countrymen to the month of *September* to determine whether they would come in a body and ask for peace; but that, if they should suffer that time to elapse, they should find him for ever their mortal enemy. Though he depended but little on the effect of this menace, yet the savages appeared in the field much sooner than he had expected or foreseen; for, in a few days, they renewed their incursions: a proof how well those savages could dissemble, when instigated by resentment, and how irreconcilable they were when they thought themselves injured. But this was not the only cause of disquietude that *Frontenac* had at this time.

He is
embroiled
with the
Miamiis.

A LARGE party of the *Miamis*, who dwelt near the river *Maumek*, which discharges itself into the eastern part of the lake *Michigan*, had, in *August* the year before, begun their march to join their brethren, who were settled on the river *St. Joseph*; but they were attacked upon the road, and some of them killed, by the *Sieux*. The *Miamis* of the river *St. Joseph* resented this hostility so much, that they took the field against the *Sieux*, and, penetrating even into their country, found them entrenched in a fort with some *French* rangers. This did not daunt the enraged *Miamis*, who several times attacked the fort, but were always repulsed with a considerable loss of their bravest men. Upon which they were obliged to retreat homewards. While they were upon their march, they met a party of *French* who were carrying arms and ammunition to the *Sieux*, and stripped them of all they had, but with-

out

out doing them any other violence. The *Ouatouais*, understanding what had passed, immediately sent a deputation to inform *Frontenac*, that it was absolutely necessary for him to appease the *Miamis*, lest they should join the *Iroquois*. *Frontenac* endeavoured to answer them with good words; but the *Miamis* continued to be so much exasperated, that *Perrot*, notwithstanding the great regard they had for him, must have been sacrificed to the flames, had he not been rescued out of their hands by the *Outagamis*. Though *Frontenac*, at last, found means to soften the *Miamis*, yet he was in great fear lest the affair should come to the ears of his court, from whom he had received express orders, that none of the *French* should carry on the least intercourse with those savages. *Champigny* and *Callieres* were of opinion that a certain number of *French* should remain at the posts of *Michillimakinac*, and suggested other precautions to prevent the abuses complained of. As their proposals tended to diminish *Frontenac*'s authority, he secretly traversed them; but, at last, he joined in a memorial to the court, representing the necessity of maintaining the posts of *Michillimakinac*, and the river *St. Joseph*, to prevent the *English* from settling there, and establishing a trade with the natives. They added, that this could not be done, without sending every year at least twenty-five canoes, loaded with merchandizes, which were to be at the disposal of the governor-general, who was to distribute them amongst the friends of the *French*, to keep them from joining with the *English*; and that it was absolutely necessary for the safety of the missionaries sometimes to march troops into the savage countries. The *French* ministry, after long deliberation, agreed to those proposals; to which they were, in a great measure, determined by *Baron*, the savage chief we have already mentioned, having carried to *New York*, thirty *Huron* families, and was soliciting others to follow him.

TOWARDS the end of *August*, *Cadillac* who had been informed by *Callieres* of the apprehensions the colony was under of a new visit from the *English*, arrived at *Montreal*, with a considerable body of *French*, and three hundred savages from the tribes of the *Sakis*, *Pouteouatamis*, *Outaoudis*, and *Hurons*. *Frontenac* was then at *Montreal*, and received them with high compliments upon their zeal and readiness to defend the colony, and upon their valour during the last campaign, in which they had killed or taken above a hundred *Tsonnonthouans*. About this time, the *Iroquois*, to the number of two hundred and fifty, of whom about sixty were in canoes, having taken the field, were marching to join *Baron*, but were discovered by the *Rat*, who was now entirely in the *French* interest.

MOD. HIST. VOL. XL.

I

Though

Though he was at the head of no more than a hundred and fifty men, he marched to attack the enemy, and by a well-timed stratagem, he killed about forty-six, and took fourteen. This action, and the services he had done the *French* in putting them and their allies on their guard against the practices of *Baron*, brought the *Rat*, who had attended *Cadillac* to *Montreal*, into great credit with the governor-general. The latter, however, knew too much of their character to believe that they were disinterested in their professions, or that they came so far merely in compliment to his character and person. He therefore told them with an air of frankness, that he expected every one amongst them would lay before him their grievances, if they had any to complain of; that he would do all he could to remove them; and that they ought to take care not to divide themselves, but to unite against the *Iroquois*, against whom he was resolved to continue the war. Upon this, *Onanguicé*, the head of the *Pontesuatamis*, and a leading orator amongst the savages, in the name of all the assembly, observed that more was generally promised to them, than was intended to be performed; that they had been often assured that they never should want for arms and ammunition; but that they had received none for a whole year; that the *English* did not treat the *Iroquois* in that manner, and that, if they continued to be so neglected, they would appear no more at *Montreal*.

His dealings with them.

IN answer to this reproach, the governor said, that though it was true, that they had not been furnished for a year before with arms and ammunition, they should be no losers in the end; that he had a great warlike expedition to undertake, which he was not then at liberty to communicate to them, but that, as soon as he had made his arrangements, he would take care they should want for nothing. Upon this, they parted, all seemingly satisfied. By this time, all fear of the *English* invading *Canada* was blown over, so that the governor dismissed the savages without farther audience. It now appeared, that the grand expedition, which had been kept so secret, was destined against *New-England*; the conquest of which had been projected by *Pontchartrain* himself. *Frontenac* had been so forward in his preparations, that he informed that minister that he should be ready to march in eight days after he had received his orders; but that the conquest of *New York* was an object far preferable to that of *Boston*; that the latter did not at all incommode *New France*, but that the former might be easily conquered by the *French* shipping attacking *New York* itself, while the *Canadians* fell by land upon *New Orange*. His representations came too late—
The

The *French* king had given to the chevalier *Nesmond* the command of ten ships of war, a frigate, and two fire-ships, with orders to join, by the 25th of *April* at latest; the *Rocheport* squadron under the command of *M. de Magnon*; and, to prevent the usual complaint of the lateness of the season, they were to sail directly to the bay of *Placentia*, and to drive the *English* entirely out of *Newfoundland*. After this, they were to sail to *Pemmaquid*, from whence they were to dispatch a vessel to *Quebec*, with orders to join them there with 1500 men, whom he was to have in readiness. This junction being formed; the fleet, after taking the troops on board, was to sail directly to *Boston*, and, after conquering that city, to lay all the *English* settlements between that and *Piscataqua* in ruins; so that it should not be in the power of the *English* to repair them.

THE *French* king, being apprehensive that *Frontenac's* great *Plan of the* age might disable him from serving in person, left him at liberty if he pleased, to substitute *Vaudreuil* in his room, in which case the latter was to be subject to the orders of *Nesmond*; but if *Frontenac* marched in person, his command was to be independent. After taking *Boston*, and completing their ravages on the coast of *New England*, the *French* fleet and army had orders to reduce *New York*, and, in their march homewards, to lay that colony likewise in ruins; and, lest *Nesmond's* force should not be sufficient for such mighty operations; he was empowered to take along with him all the *French* ships of war that were employed in *Hudson's Bay*. When *Nesmond* anchored in the road of *Rochelle*, he found orders waiting for him, to give the chevalier *Villebon*, who was at *Naxat* in *Acadia*, all the reinforcement and supplies he could spare; and, when he came to the bay of *Placentia*, he received intelligence from *Pontchartrain* of ten *English* ships, under the convoy of a man of war, who had sailed from *Portugal* with salt to fish on the coasts of *Newfoundland*, and which he was by all means to attack; and, after that, he was to take or destroy all the *English* ships in those parts.

SUCH was the mighty plan which the *French* laid down for the destruction of the *English* in *North America*, without considering the unsurmountable difficulties that lay in the way of its execution. *Nesmond* was two months on his voyage to *Placentia*, which he did not reach till the 24th of *July*. Upon calling a council of war the question was put, whether the fleet should sail directly for *Boston*, and it was carried in the negative, because they were entirely ignorant of what the *English* were doing; and because, whatever dispatch they made, the forces from *Canada* could not reach *Pemmaquid* sooner

than the 10th of September, by which time, the fleet, which was victualled only for fifty days, must be disabled from going upon any expedition. *Nesmond*, to his great mortification, had nothing to reply to those reasons; but dispatched one of his officers, *des Ursins*, with all the shipping he had brought, for *Canada*, under his convoy; but with express orders to return, and give him notice, if, on his voyage, he should discover any *English* ships. *Nesmond* then took his station twenty-two leagues to the west of *Placentia*, as being the most convenient for acting against the *English*. In the beginning of *August*, he had intelligence that the *English* were fortifying *St. John's*; and, another council of war being held, it was unanimously agreed to make a descent upon that place, especially as they were informed, at the same time, that they might there make prizes of thirty-four sail of *English* ships. Of those, some had sailed from *Plymouth* under the command of captain, afterwards admiral, *Sir John Norris*; and others had arrived from *Ireland*, with 1000 land troops on board, commanded by colonel *Gibson*. The *French* fleet accordingly sailed to the east coast of *Newfoundland*; but *Nesmond* was disappointed in all his expectations, for he did not meet with a single *English* ship, and was obliged, without firing a gun, to return to *France*, after promising to himself the conquest of all the *English* American continent. But we are now to attend the affairs of *New France* in other parts.

and of the
English
against
Naxoat.

THE *French* court having greatly at heart the reduction of fort *Pemmaquid*, took it, as we have already mentioned in the history of *New England*, and, after demolishing it to the ground, *Iberville* and *Bonaventure*, who commanded the expedition, spied an *English* squadron, as they were sailing out of the river *Pemmaquid*. *Iberville*, upon this, ordered the ship, which he had taken from the *English*, and which had on board a hundred *Mickmack* savages, to keep close by him. The savages, understanding their danger, begged the captain of the ship, where they were, to board the largest of the enemy's vessels, as they were desirous of dying with arms in their hands, rather than rot in the dungeons of *Boston*; which the captain promised should be done. But *Iberville* held so near the land, that the *English* ships durst not follow him, and they changed their course towards the river *St. John*, while *Iberville* arrived on the coast of *Cape Breton*. Here he put all the savages ashore, excepting three who refused to leave him, but could not reach *La Heve*, where others were ready to embark with him for *Newfoundland*, where, on the 12th of *August*, he anchored in the road of *Placentia*. In the mean while, the *English* ships, which he had escaped, fell in with the

the chevalier *de Villebon*, who was returning with a company of savages to his fort of *Naxoat*, and made him prisoner. The *English* then continued their course to *Beaubassin*, where one *Burgess*, who had an estate in those parts, presented the commodore with a writing, by which the inhabitants of *Beaubassin*, at the time that *Acadia* was conquered by Sir *William Phipps*, engaged themselves to be faithful to king *William*. At the same time, two hundred and fifty *English* and a hundred and fifty savages were put ashore. The commodore received *Burgess* with great civilities, and the chief inhabitants of the place, who, though they were *English* subjects, had in fact revolted to the *French*, welcomed to shore the commodore and his chief officers, who were entertained at *Burgess*'s house. According to the *French* accounts, the commodore had promised full protection to the inhabitants, and had ordered the soldiers to take nothing in their quarters without payment, and to kill no cattle that were not immediately necessary for their subsistence; but they were guilty of great irregularities. The truth is, the *English* commodore discovered a writing under *Frontenac*'s hand, laying down the terms of a trade between them and the other *French* subjects of *New France*; and, considering the attempts and barbarities of the *French* against the *English* settlements in those parts, it is not to be wondered at if the soldiers were guilty of excesses. The inhabitants, however, in general, being conscious of what they had done, were so apprehensive of the consequences, that they secreted both themselves and their effects, which, perhaps, farther exasperated the *English*, who demolished or pillaged their houses, and reduced their church to ashes. The commodore then threatened to treat the remaining inhabitants as rebels; but was contented with obliging them to subscribe a fresh paper, by which they renewed their allegiance to the *English* government. The squadron then proceeded towards the river *St. John*, where *Villebon*, who, it seems, had obtained his freedom by producing a sufficient pass, commanding again at *Naxoat*, they were discovered by an ensign of the fort, who was reconnoitring with three or four soldiers, and who, escaping through the woods, gave *Villebon* intelligence of their arrival. Two days after, the same ensign returning to reconnoitre was surprized and killed by the *English*, and two soldiers he had with him were made prisoners. Those soldiers discovered to the *English* a great many concealments, where ammunition and merchandizes were lodged; and which being dug up, and put on board the squadron, it set sail for *Boston*. When they had proceeded a little way on their voyage, they were met by an *English* frigate of thirty-two guns,

guns, and two sloops, and their commander produced an order for them to return and attack fort *Naxuat*. It was the 16th of *October*, when *Villebon*, who imagined the *English* at that time had reached *Boston*, was informed of their return, and that they intended to besiege his fort. He immediately put every thing there in a posture of defence, threw up new entrenchments, and drawing out his garrison under arms, he harangued them like a *Frenchman*, by extolling the superiority of the *French* courage and glory over those of the *English*, exhorted them to fight bravely, and promising, that if any of them were disabled in the service, his most Christian majesty should provide for them all the rest of their lives. Every thing was now disposed for a vigorous defence; the garrison was in high spirits, and passed the night under arms; and, on the 18th, the *English* made good their landing, and began the attack. We are not much prepossessed in favour of the *English* military skill in *America* in those days; but, had it been greater than it was, little could have been expected from the success of an enterprize undertaken at a season so bitter, that the most hardy troops could not keep the field, especially in the night-time. In short, the *English* were obliged to give over their enterprize, and the siege was raised; but *Villebon* could not persuade his savages to pursue them. The loss of men on both sides was very trifling; but the *English*, before they retired, burnt down some settlements.

Affairs of
New-
found-
land.

THOUGH the natural vanity of the *French* magnified every little incident happening in *America* to extravagance in their own favour, yet it is certain, that they never had amongst them a genius for commerce, comparable to that of the *English*. Their settlements on the continent of *America* were, at this time, a dead weight on their mother country, while those of the *English* enriched theirs, even on the bleak island of *Newfoundland*; where their fisheries were reckoned to amount to little less than a million sterling a year. The *French*, in vain, endeavoured to rival them in this commerce, and; tho' in possession of *Placentia*, one of the finest harbours in *North America*, all they could do was to keep themselves from starving, while the *English* there lived at ease and in opulence. The governor of *Placentia* at this time was *de Brouillan* a brave intelligent officer, but covetous, rough, and disagreeable in his manners to all about him. His garrison consisted of no more than eighteen soldiers, but it might upon an emergency have been reinforced with about eighty fishermen; but all of them with little or no experience in war. The island of *Newfoundland* being thus divided between the *English* and the *French*, *Iberville*, after his conquest of *Pemma-*
quid,

quid, proposing the entire reduction of it, arrived for that purpose at *Placentia* on the 12th of *September*. Three days before this, *Brouillon* had set sail in the *Pelican*, a ship of war, and with eight *St. Malo* vessels, to reduce the fort of *St. John*, the principal settlement which the *English* had on the island. While they were intent upon entering the bay, they took an *English* officer, from whom *Brouillon* understood, that there lay at *St. John* forty *English* ships, some of whom mounted from eighteen to thirty-two guns. This did not intimidate *Brouillon*; but the current set so strongly against his ships, that it was with great difficulty he entered the bay, where he made good his landing, and took or silenced some *English* forts. *Brouillon* then advanced against the fort of *St. John*, which he passionately desired to take before the arrival of *Iberville*; but happening to quarrel with the *St. Malo* people, he was obliged to attack fort *Forillon*, which he took sword in hand, and made the *English* commandant, who was captain of the *Zephyr*, prisoner of war with all his garrison. He then advanced against some other *English* posts, which the *French* call forts, and which he found deserted; but the quarrel between him and the *St. Malo* men continuing, all he could do was to pick up about thirty fishing vessels, and he was obliged to return to *Placentia* without taking fort *St. John*. It was the 17th of *October* before he returned thither, where he found *Iberville*, who, for want of provisions, had been unable to join him. At last, receiving provisions and reinforcements from *Quebec*, he was preparing to attack *Carbonniere*, the most northerly post the *English* possessed. When *Brouillon* returned, *Iberville* acquainted him with his intention, which *Brouillon* resolutely opposed, and told *Iberville* that if he was resolved to proceed he would order the *Canadians* not to follow him. *Iberville*, upon this, prepared to return to *France*, as he foresaw that it was impossible for him to act in conjunction with a man of *Brouillon*'s disposition. The *Canadians* hearing of his resolution refused to obey any orders but his, and threatened to return to *Quebec*. The fact was, that *Iberville* himself was a *Canadian* by birth, and being one of the ablest officers that country ever produced, was adored by his countrymen.

THE character of the *Canadian* troops was, that when they were roughly treated they were intractable, when gently, submissive. But, besides them, the *St. Malo* men made bitter complaints of *Brouillon*, who found himself obliged to come to a better temper, and to enter into an accommodation with *Iberville*. At last it was agreed that they should proceed to the attack of *St. John*'s fort in separate bodies; *Iberville* at

the head of the *Canadians*, and *Brouillan* of the regulars and the militia; but when all were united, that *Brouillan* should should have the command, though *Iberville*, who had contributed the most to the expedition, was to have the greatest share of the plunder, when they became masters of *St. John's*. This accommodation being made, *Brouillan* embarked on board the *Profond*, which was still commanded by *Bonaventure*, who, though a *Canadian*, had taken no part of the dispute, and *Brouillan* found means to fix *de Muys*, who sailed in the same ship with himself, by promising him in due time, the command of the *Canadians*. *Iberville* began his march on the 1st of *November*, and after surmounting prodigious difficulties, for nine days, arrived at *Forillon*, where he was joined by the chevalier *de Rangogne*, whom *Brouillan* had sent out with a small party to reconnoitre fort *St. John*. *Rangogne*, in his march, had taken an *Englishman*, who, having escaped, had given the alarm to fort *St. John*, from whence the *English* governor had sent out a detachment in pursuit of *Rangogne*, which killed, wounded, and took prisoners about six of his party. On the 12th *Iberville* went in a sloop to *Rognouse*, which was the general rendezvous of the *French*, where he had an interview with *Brouillan*. He was surprized to find the latter insist upon his (*Iberville's*) division attending him to *Forillon*, and upon his having half the plunder which should be made at *St. John's*. *Iberville* put him in mind of the compromise he had entered into on that head; but the other denied it, and insisted so resolutely on what he proposed, that he resolved to abandon all concern in the expedition: but *Brouillan*, afraid of the consequences, once more desisted from his pretensions, and the whole expedition sailed for the bay of *Touille*, lying between *Rognouse* and *St. John's*. During their march they understood that one hundred and ten *Englishmen* were in the bay of *Touille*, and that such of them as had been conquered by the governor of *Placentia*, and the *St. Malo* men, had lost only their wretched habitations, which they intended to rebuild in the spring. Upon this intelligence, *Iberville* determined to attack the enemy by the wood, and the *Profond* was sent back to *France* with prisoners. *Brouillan* then renewed his pretensions to the command of the *Canadians*, to which he appointed *de Muys*, and treated *Iberville* with great haughtiness. The behaviour of the *Canadians*, however, soon made him resume a better temper, and, a fresh reconciliation taking place between the two commanders, they continued their march towards the bay of *Touille*, in order to attack *St. John's*, which they did after defeating several small parties of the *English*, posted

Surrender
of fort St.
John.

posted to oppose them. Every little skirmish in this expedition is most ridiculously exaggerated, when we consider that the whole garrison of *St. John's* consisted only of two hundred and fifty men, of whom not above ten or twelve had ever seen a gun fired, the rest being poor fishermen; that they were commanded by an inhabitant of the place, who was appointed by the captains of the ships lying there; and that the fort itself was in a most miserable situation, and in want of every thing, not having wherewithal to subsist upon for twenty-four hours, nor a bit of wood to burn. After the *French* had sent in their summons for surrendering, the commandant endeavoured to gain time, because he had seen two large ships, which he thought to be *English*, two days before, endeavouring to make the bay. The *French* officers, having a suspicion of his intention, demanded his answer upon the spot, with which he was obliged to comply. The terms he obtained were, that two ships should be allowed him for carrying his garrison to *England*; that no person should be rifled, and that such of the *English* as had a mind to settle at *Bonaventure* might repair thither with all safety. It was remarkable, that *Brouillan* did not pay *Iberville* even the compliment of desiring him to sign the capitulation.

THE two ships we have mentioned, who were *English*, understanding the place was taken, immediately sailed for *England*. As to the *French* they seem to have behaved in a very unmanly manner to the poor defenceless *English* inhabitants, whom they pillaged and imprisoned. When the division of the booty came in question a fresh misunderstanding, which had almost proved fatal, broke out between the two *French* commanders; but its effects were prevented by a prudent mediation. *Brouillan* proposed to preserve the fort and its dependencies, and to make *de Muys* governor of it, to which *Iberville* consented, provided none of his *Canadians* were left in garrison. *De Muys* refused to accept the command on that condition; upon which a resolution was taken to abandon their conquest, and to set fire to the fort, and all the houses in or near it that were still standing. This being executed, *Brouillan* and *de Muys* returned to *Placentia*, while *Iberville* ^{which is burnt by} ~~the captors.~~ and his *Canadians* carried on their operations in the eastern parts of the island; so that in two months time the *English* lost all their settlements in *Newfoundland*, but those of *Bonavista* and the island of *Carboniere*. The first of those posts was too well fortified to be surprized by the handful of *Canadians* and savages that *Iberville* commanded. As to the isle of *Carboniere* it is almost inaccessible in the winter, and it contained above three hundred *English*, who had flocked thither from

from all parts of the island, and had put it into so good a posture of defence, that *Itherville* durst do nothing against it. His scheme was to have attacked it first; in which case, it probably would have fallen into his hands. The *French* pretend that during this campaign they made six or seven hundred *English* prisoners, who, being sent to *Placentia*, escaped from thence, there being there no place of safety for their confinement; an excuse so frivolous that it renders the other particulars of their relation^o the more questionable (I). After all, *Itherville's* boasted conquests in *Newfoundland* on this occasion seem to have been little better than roving from one post to another; for he was obliged to abandon them all, and to return to *Placentia*, in hopes of succours from *France*, which never arrived; those which came being destined, as we have already seen, for another expedition, which proved unsuccessful.

A new
fishery pro-
jected. IT is of importance to this history now that the *English* are masters of *New France*, to mention that in the year 1697, one *Riverin*, an active enterprising *Frenchman*, projected, at *Mount Lewis*, which lies on the south coast of the river *St. Laurence*, about half way between *Quebec* and the sea, and is provided with a noble harbour, a fishery. A society of *French* merchants had formed themselves for improving those kinds of fisheries upon that river; and this situation was particularly proper for such a settlement; but when the undertakers had provided ship-salt, with every thing necessary for their purpose, and were ready to embark, the governor-general, in consequence of his orders from *Europe*, laid an embargo upon their voyage, which discouraged the society so much, that for that time they gave over their undertaking. *Riverin*, however, was not discouraged, but by the assistance of the few settlers at

• CHARLEVOIX, Vol. II. p. 289.

(I) The jesuit, in this period of his history, takes occasion to extol the intrepidity, valour, and the good qualities, both civil and military, of his countrymen in *North America*, and, at the same time, represents the *English* and their governors as so many brutes, intent only upon cultivating their lands, and improving their commerce, which, by the bye, we apprehend to be the chief, if not the sole end of all colo-

nies. The event of the conquest of all *French North America*, by those *English*, whom he represents as being so despicable, shews how very fallible the father's judgment of the two people was. The truth is, men, who, as officers, would be but barely mentioned in an *English* history or narrative, are magnified by the *French* into heroes, philosophers, the wisest of men, and the best of Christians.

St.

St. Lewis, prosecuted it with so much success that it was afterwards resumed.

ALL the spring of this year *Frontenac* had on foot a respectable body of regulars and militia in *New France*, to be in readiness to execute the orders of his court when he should be called upon; and thereby he kept the *Iroquois* in awe; by which his government was restored to a tolerable state of tranquillity. He had made propositions to the four superior cantons, and had given them till *June* this year for returning an answer: after which, he threatened to march against the *Iroquois* with the whole of his force, and to begin with the *Agniers*, against whom he was to send five hundred men. His threats seem to have had no meaning; for, making no impression upon the *Agniers*, he countermanded the expedition, and was obliged at the same time to support, with the necessaries of life, the *Iroquois* Christians, who, by holding themselves ready to serve in the expedition, had neglected their hunting, and were in a most deplorable condition. Matters were in this situation when he received from *Old France* a fresh ordonnance, by which all officers in out posts were prohibited, under pain of cashiering and degradation, and the soldiers under pain of the gallies, to carry on any commerce whatever. The same ordonnance extended to travellers and rangers of all denominations, who, when detected, were to be sent prisoners to the government, and if found guilty, were to be condemned to the galleys. This ordonnance aimed so considerably a blow against the governor-general's power as well as profit, that he made remonstrances against it at court. But all was to no effect. *Pontchartrain* repeated the orders, and maintained that they were for the interest both of the colony and the savages; who would thereby have *French* goods at the first hand from the northern company. Notwithstanding this, it appears pretty plain that the commerce still continued, and *Frontenac* either paid very little regard to the ordonnance, or found means to elude the execution of it.

THE advantage which the *Abenakis*, and the other *French* *The Black Indians* had obtained the preceding year over the *English* and *Cauldron* their savages allies, still continued to flatter *Frontenac* with killed. the hopes that fear would prevail upon the *Iroquois* to join the *French*. The *Black Cauldron*, who continued to be in high credit with his nation, and to be the irreconcilable enemy of the *French*, at the head of a party advanced towards fort *Cataracouy*, where he informed *la Gemberaye*, the *French* commandant, that the elders of the four superior cantons were set out to treat of a peace at *Quebec*. *La Gemberaye* suspected his sincerity; and *Frontenac* sent him orders not to provoke

The peace
of Rys-
wick con-
cluded.

provoke the *Iroquois*, but without any noise to endeavour to get into his hands one or two of the chiefs of the *Black Cauldron* party. Before this order came, thirty-four young *Algonquins* attacked and cut in pieces the *Black Cauldron* and his party, excepting a few whom they made prisoners. *Charlevoix* calls this a noble action of the *Algonquins*, though he seems to own, at the same time, that the *Black Cauldron* and his party, depending on the faith of the negotiation, were hunting without any mistrust in the neighbourhood of *Catarocouy*, and were there destroyed. Soon after, *Oureoubaré* came to *Quebec*, where he gave *Frontenac* the strongest assurances of the good disposition of his canton of *Goyogouin* towards the *French*; but in a few days after he fell ill of a pleurisy, which carried him off, to the vast regret of *Frontenac* and all the *French*, who bestow extraordinary encomiums upon his piety, fidelity, and virtues. In the month of *February* 1698, the *French* in *Canada* had advice by four *English* traders of the peace of *Ryswick* being concluded, which, in *May* following, was confirmed by colonel *Schuyler*, who arrived at *Quebec* with nineteen *French* prisoners, and a letter from the earl of *Bellamont*, governor of *New England*, demanding the release of all the subjects of the king his master, who were detained prisoners in *New France*, *English*, as well as *Indians*, promising to send all the *French* savages who were prisoners in his government, under a good escort, if necessary, to *Montreal*. *Frontenac* agreed to the release of the *English* prisoners; but evaded the other demand of releasing the *Iroquois*, as the reader may see in the history of *New England*. He likewise pretended that he had no power to oblige the *Canibas*, and the other *French* savages who were settled on the borders of *Acadia*, to release the *English* prisoners. In short, the whole of *Frontenac*'s answer was a piece of mere chicanery; and it is plain from the relation of *Charlevoix* himself, that his great intention was to make use of the peace to divide the *English* from their *Indian* allies. *Schuyler*, and one Mr. *Dellius*, who was joined with him in the negotiation, were obliged to be contented with this answer; and two months after their departure, the fruits of *Frontenac*'s artifices and infidelity were seen by the *Agniers* throwing into the fire all the papers which passed between them and the *English* government, relating to the purchase or payment of their native lands, as an evidence that they looked upon all such negotiations to be invalid, and that they were resolved to be independent of the *English*. This ceremony being over, they offered to detain all the *Iroquois*

of *St. Lewis's* fall, who were with them till *Frontenac* should send back their countrymen, who were prisoners in his government. The earl, as appears from the accounts of the *French* themselves, honestly rejected the proposal, and offered to negotiate a peace between them and the *French*. *Frontenac*, who was informed of all those particulars by the savages of *St. Lewis's* fall, resolved to improve the misunderstanding between the *Agniers* and the *English*. Being informed that some of the *Agniers* were paying a visit to their countrymen of the fall of *St. Lewis*, between whom a very tender affection still subsisted even during war-time, he gave those savages a most polite invitation to repair to *Montreal*, where they were for some weeks highly caressed, and nothing was wanting that could inspire them with a jealousy and hatred of the *English*. It is sufficient, at this time, to add, that *Frontenac's* conduct on this occasion drew from the earl a very severe letter, which was answered in the same terms. The *Frenchmen*, however, failed in his main point.

WHILE this controversy was on foot another started up. *New* *dis-* Mr. *Dellius*, in his return from *Quebec*, stopt at *Montreal*, where he roundly demanded *Michillimackinac*, and all the lands to the southward of that post, in the name of the *English* governor; as having formerly belonged to *New* *Belgia*, now *New* *York*; of which the *English* had obtained the full cession from the *Dutch*. *Callieres*, on the other hand, pretended that those posts had belonged to the *French* long before the *Dutch* had a foot of ground in *America*; nor do we find that the demand was farther insisted on. Of all the thorns to the *English* government in *America*, the savages on the side of *Acadia* were the most severe; which induced the former to think of rebuilding fort *Pemmaquid*, and to people both sides of the river *Kennebeck*, both which projects met with strong opposition on the part of *Villebon*, the *French* governor of *Acadia*. All this while the courts, both of *France* and *England*, were in the dark as to the limits between the two nations in *Canada*, and commissaries were named for fixing them by both crowns. As that dispute is now at an end by the cession of the whole country to the *English*, it is needless to resume the argument here. The *Iroquois* acted more wisely than either of those nations, and, at this time, actually held the balance of power in *North* *America*. They declared themselves independent of both, and neither cared to provoke them, for fear of throwing them into the arms of the other. This year died count *de Frontenac*, in the 78th year of his age, after supporting, under prodigious disadvantages, the interests of *Canada* during his long government. It is certain, that the

Death and
character
of Fronte-
nac.

the court of *France* had received from the jesuits, and the northern company, very false impressions of that colony, and *Frontenac* was often obliged to encounter vast difficulties, and, which a man of any other character but his, must have sunk under. But though he could not always surmount them, he always was equal to them. One amazing reflexion arises from the history of his administration; which is, that though *France* then boasted itself to be the most powerful kingdom on earth; yet she never was able to furnish that public support to the government of *Canada* which its affairs required. This was owing to two causes, the first was, that the perpetual wars his most Christian Majesty was engaged in *Europe*, did not admit of his sending but very few troops to *New France*. The second was, the inconstant volatile temper of the *Canadians*, and the *French* themselves, who could not conform themselves to those painful industrious habits, which alone can render a colony powerful and flourishing; and which were so natural to the *English*. But what is still more extraordinary is, that the toil and fatigue, which those very people suffered in their marches against the *Indians* and the *English*, were greater than all that was necessary for cultivating, improving, and fortifying their country.

Farther
transac-
tions with
the sav-
ages.

So great was the reputation, which *Frontenac* held in his life-time amongst the savages, that upon his death the *Iroquois* thought of breaking the treaty, or, rather, the neutrality they had entered into with him. *Callieres*, during the vacancy of the government, acted as governor-general; and those savages in the month of *March* sent deputies to *Montreal*, on pretence of bewailing the late governor's death; but, in reality, to learn the state of the colony, now that he was no more. They presented to *Callieres* three *French* prisoners, and promised to send him all the others they detained, provided he would set at liberty all he had of their countrymen. They begged him, at the same time, to send *de Mascaricourt*, a *Canadian* gentleman, and two of the *French* *Indians* with them to *Orange*, where they proposed to make the exchanges, and to conclude the peace. In short, they represented to him, that as long as he suffered the war kettle to remain on the fire, and his allies to keep their hatchets in their hands, they could not trust him. *Callieres* replied; that he was determined to treat at *Montreal*, and not at *Orange*; and that before he entered into any negotiation, he must be satisfied that they were sincerely disposed to fulfill all the terms that had been imposed upon them by the late governor-general. He then, at their own request, gave them a truce for sixty days, and indulged them in some other mat-

ters

ters of small consequence; but in the main was very ill received, having some reason to believe that all their intention was, by degrees, to draw their own prisoners out of the hands of the *French* before they entered upon hostilities. They then took their leave, promising to return before the month of *June*. By this negotiation it appears pretty plain, that after the death of *Frontenac* the *English* recovered their ascendancy over the savages; for the earl of *Bellamont*, at that very time, was in treaty with their heads, or sachems at *Penobscot*, and they had promised to be directed by him in their future negotiations with the *French*.

THE chevalier *de Callieres* was nominated by the court of *France* to succeed the count *de Frontenac* as governor-general of *Canada*, to the disappointment of *de Campigny*, the intendant, who expected the preference. His promotion, on account of his well known abilities and valour, was extremely agreeable to the colony. As he had neither birth, rank, nor alliances equal to those of his predecessor; neither did he possess his violences, haughtiness, and prejudices, and his great moderation gave the colony hopes of living at more ease under his government, than they had done under that of his predecessor. About the same time, *Vaudreuil*, who had lately returned from *France*, and was likewise an officer of great merit, was appointed to the government of *Montreal*. Fort *Catarocouy* was now become a post of so much importance, that his most Christian majesty left the nomination of its commandant to the governor-general, who had it in charge to bestow it on none, whom he could not depend on for acting without orders, if accidents and circumstances of affairs should so require. Those precautions were the more necessary as the governor of *New England* had brought a claim against some of the *Abenakis* tribes, the most faithful allies the *French* had in *America*; as if the *Caribas*, by being settled on the river *Kennebeck*, were actual subjects of *England*. *De Callieres* received orders from his court to conclude nothing definitive with the savages till after the limits in *North America* were fixed; but he had so good an opinion of the *Abenakis*, that he left the management of their negotiation with the *English* to themselves. The preliminaries they insisted upon with the *English* governor were, first, that he should order all the *English*, to retire out of their country. Secondly, that he was not to pretend they owed any allegiance to the crown of *England*, because they professed themselves to be the voluntary and faithful subjects of his most christian majesty, from whom alone, and his generals, they were determined to receive orders. Thirdly, that they should be at liberty

His negoti-
ations
with the
earl of
Bellamont

liberty to permit the *French*, and no other nation, not even the *English*, to settle upon their lands. Fourthly, that they heard, with some surprise, the *English* governor intended to send amongst them other missionaries than *French*; but that they never would change their religion; for which they were resolved, if necessary, to fight and to die.

It is certain, that the bickerings between the *French* and the *English* in *North America* hurt both parties, without benefiting either, so that the two courts ordered a cessation of all hostilities to take place there. His most Christian majesty's letter for this effect came under the earl of *Bellamont's* cover, to be by him forwarded to *Callieres*, who, in like manner, was honoured with the delivery of his *Britannic* majesty's letter to the earl. *Callieres*, notwithstanding the confidence he had in the *Abenakis*, was so anxious about the success of the negotiation with the *English*, that he sent *la Valliere*, the major of *Montreal*, with father *Bruyas* to *Boston*, where they were to negotiate the exchange of prisoners, and to inform themselves in what condition the negotiation between the *English* and the *Abenakis* stood, or how the *English* governor was affected as to the proposed reconciliation between the *Abenakis* and the *Iroquois*. The latter had of late committed some hostilities against the *Miamis*, of whom they had killed a number. Notwithstanding this, the *Iroquois*, in general, were well disposed towards peace, and the earl of *Bellamont* omitted nothing to render himself the arbiter of it. It happened that *Callieres* had obtained a duplicate of the orders the earl had received from his master, by which he was instructed to oblige the *Iroquois* to disarm themselves. *Callieres* finding that he could not get the better of *Bellamont's* interest with those savages, sent copies of this letter all over their cantons, that they might see the *English* regarded them only as their subjects. He likewise signified to them that they were to expect no assistance from *New York*, because his *Britannic* majesty had expressly ordered his *American* governors to give them no assistance either directly or indirectly. At the same time, he gave them to understand, that it would be no difficult matter for him to reduce them to accept the terms proposed by his predecessor, now that they were deprived of the assistance of the *English*. The cantons still observed their former policy in endeavouring to live well, both with the *French* and the *English*, to whom they said they would behave as brothers, but not as subjects, which the *English* appeared to be satisfied with; but *Callieres* still persisted to press them to a decisive resolution to accept the terms proposed by his predecessor. To evade this they en-
deavoured,

deavoured to gain time from the 21st of *March* to the month of *July* 1700. Three months after this, a number of the *Outaouais* landed at *Montreal* to justify their conduct towards the *Iroquois*, whose cause *Callieres* espoused. On the 18th of *July* two deputies from the canton of *Onnontagué*, and four from that of *Tsonnonthouan*, had a very formal audience of the governor, to whom they made great professions of friendship, pretending that they had powers of deputa- tion from all the four upper cantons; and that the reason why no deputies were with them from the cantons of *Goyogouin* and *Onneyouth*, was, that they were gone to *New Eng- land* to enquire into the reasons why the earl of *Bellamont* had sent *Schuyler* to dissuade them from repairing to *Montreal*. They then complained that while they thought themselves safe under the treaty between *France* and *England*, in which they were comprehended, they had been attacked by the *Ou- taouais*, the *Illinois*, and the *Miamis*, who had killed them one hundred and fifty men, and they begged of the governor to send along with them father *Bruyas*, *Maricourt*, and *Jon- caire*, who were in great credit with their cantons, and into whose hands they would deliver all the *French* prisoners in their country.

CALLIERES, in answer, expressed his surprise that the deputies of the *Goyogouins* and the *Onneyouths*, instead of com- ing along with their brethren, should wait upon the *English* the Iro- governor upon a point that could require no farther explana- tion, after the conclusion of the treaty between the *French* and the *English*. He added, that what they had suffered was owing to themselves, having at first attacked the *Miamis*, and having so long trifled with him in the affair of the peace, and that he had done all he could with his allies to prevent all hostilities during the negotiations. That he was sorry for what had happened, but that to prevent the like acci- dents in time to come he had ordered all his allies to send their deputies in thirty days to treat; and that if they (the *Iroquois*) were sincerely inclined to peace they would like- wise order deputies from all their cantons to be present. That in such a case, all the war kettles should be overthrown; the great tree of peace established, the rivers cleaned, the roads made strait, and that every one then might go and re- turn as he thought proper. As to the missionary, and the two officers they required, he consented to their going along with them, but upon condition that they should bring back with them deputies furnished with full powers to conclude a durable peace; that upon their arrival at *Montreal* all the *Iroquois* prisoners should be set at liberty; but that some of

MOD. HIST. VOL. XL.

K

the

the deputies there present, should remain as hostages with the three persons who were to go along with the others. Upon this, four of the deputies offered to become hostages; and being accepted of, the rest of the audience passed in good humour; only the *Abenakis* and the *Christian Iroquois* were far from being so complaisant as the governor-general had been to the *Iroquois* deputies, but treated them with great freedom and many reproaches.

A French
embassy
sent to On-
nontague.

WHEN *Callieres* took his leave of this assembly he declared that he would wait till the month of *September* for the grand deputation. The three *French* ambassadors, when they came to the canton of *Onnontague*, were received with unprecedented demonstrations of joy, and conducted to the chief township in triumph. *Teganissorens* on this occasion acted as the mouth of the canton, and harangued them in the most polite, but friendly manner, which was the more agreeable to the ambassadors, as they knew that he was sincere. Being introduced under repeated discharges of a numerous musketry into their grand council hall, they there found deputies from all the upper cantons. There father *Bruyas*, who was the spokesman of the *French*, presented them with three belts. By the first he intimated, that *Ononchio* was their father, and the *English* governor no more than their brother; and that therefore they ought in all events to behave to him as children, whether they were in friendship with the *English* or not. By the second belt he signified the high regard, which his brethren the missionaries still entertained for the *Iroquois* nation, notwithstanding all the sufferings they had undergone, and their condolence upon their losing many of their chiefs of great distinction. The third belt expressed the sincere desire for peace, which they knew *Ononchio* had; and which he was willing to grant them, provided they acted by him with the same candor, and agreed to the conditions which he, the missionary, was ready to lay before them.

Proceed-
ings of the
great as-
sembly of
the Iro-
quois.

THIS speech was received by the assembly with vast seeming satisfaction, and was succeeded by another from *Mari-court*, which turned upon the great power of *Ononchio*, and the inability they were under to resist him if they should reject his terms, which he held forth to be extremely reasonable. As those savages always require time to deliberate on the propositions made to them, they met next day in council, where a young *Englishman* and an old *Onnontague* presented themselves from the earl of *Bellamont*, putting them on their guard against the practices of the *French*, and informing them that his lordship expected them in ten or twelve days at *Orange*, where they should know his farther pleasure.

So

So imperious a message, far from winning over the assembly, disgusted them entirely. "I know not (said *Teganissorens*) what my brother can mean in endeavouring to dissuade us from hearing the voice of my father, and in singing the war song, at a time when every thing invites us to peace." This temper of the assembly was improved by the missionary to his own purposes. He animadverted on the haughtiness of the *English*, who wanted to treat them as their subjects; and what they were to expect should they let slip the opportunity now offered them, and this point was farther pressed by *Foncaire*, who observed that the view of the *English* in being so solicitous to dissuade them from peace, could only be, that they might weaken themselves by war, so as to be unable to resist their tyranny.

NOTHING decisive seems to have happened that day; for upon the assembly's breaking up, *Foncaire*, who had his cabin among the *Tsonnonhouans*, that is, who was adopted into that canton, and had all the privileges of a native, set out thither, and was received with the highest demonstrations of regard and affection. His business was to reclaim the *French* prisoners who were there, and whose liberty was immediately granted them. What followed, though extraordinary, is natural. Most, or all, of those prisoners had been adopted likewise; and the life of a savage was, in their eyes, so much preferable to that of a *French Canadian*, that they refused to return to their country. This circumstance may be easily accounted for. Amongst the savages they enjoyed in full extent, not only that freedom, which they could not find under *French* government, but, if they were industrious, more abundance; because, what they acquired by hunting and sowing was their own, untaxed and unimpaired by the griping hand of power. Not to mention that the civil and military duties amongst the *French* were more irksome and laborious than amongst the savages. Some of those captives, therefore, rather than follow *Foncaire*, concealed themselves, while others flatly told him they would remain where they were.

MEAN time, the general council of all the *Iroquois* nation was reassembled at *Onnontague*, to pronounce their definitive resolution, and the young *Englishman* was present. *Teganissorens* continued to be the mouth of the assembly, and declared to the *French* ambassadors, that his nation was resolved to hear the voice of its father, and instantly to send two deputies from each canton to *Montreal*. "I do nothing in secret, said he, (addressing himself to the *Englishman*, in the name of his whole nation,) inform my brother *Corlar*, who sent thee hither, that I am setting out for *Quebec*, there to receive

Their resolutions favourable to the French.

ceive the orders of my father *Ononthio*, and to plant the tree of peace. I, after that, will go to *Orange*, and learn the will of my brother *Corlar*." *Teganissorens* then laid five belts at the feet of the ambassadors, and father *Bruyas* pressed the assembly to dispatch the deputation, that they might arrive time enough to confer with the deputies of the upper cantons. But though *Charlevoix* ² has, in honour to his order, one of which was at the head of the embassy, represented this negotiation in a favourable light for the *French*, yet is it highly improbable that matters were carried on so smoothly as he has represented. The declaration which the earl of *Bellamont* had made by his master's order, that he would no longer support the *Indians* against the *French*, no doubt made an unfavourable impression upon those savages; but it is plain that their real intention was not to break with the *English*, if they could avoid it; and, notwithstanding all the jesuits could do, the *English Iroquois* were at least as well disposed to protestantism as to popery; though the bulk of the nation was indif-

The jesuits alarmed.

ferent as to both. The jesuits were alarmed when they understood that lord *Bellamont* had even prevailed upon them to receive protestant missionaries, who had been successful in making proselytes; and that they could not bring the natives to expel them. It must, indeed, be owned that the jesuits, for the reasons we have already given, were far more active, and more pains-taking than the protestants at this time. The zealous sect of *New England* ministers, who made the conversion of the *Indians* a work of conscience, was now worn out, that colony being planted with men, who regarded religion chiefly as it was connected with interest; and the *English* divines lived too comfortably at home to hunt for danger in making conversions abroad.

Grand congress at Montreal.

THE *Onnontagué* and the *Goyogouin* deputies set out with the *French* ambassadors on their return to *Montreal*. They were all of them conducted in great state to *Gannentaba*, where they expected to be joined by the *Onneyouth* deputies; but that canton, which it seems did not chuse to part with their prisoners, only sent them a belt, pretending that their chief deputy was indisposed. Soon after, *Joncaire* joined them with six deputies from the *Tsonnonthouans* and three *French* prisoners, which were all he could deliver. While the ambassadors and the deputies were ready to embark, a *Tsonnonthouan* arrived at *Gannentaba* from *Orange*, with an account that the governor of *New York*, irritated at the proceedings of the *Iroquois*, had not only put in irons an *Onneyouth*, who was suspected of

² CHARLEVOIX, Vol. III. p. 357.

having

having killed an *Englishman*, but had seized upon all the furs belonging to the *Iroquois* at *Orange*; that he had hoisted a red flag, had ordered the *Mahingans* to begin the war against the cantons, and threatened to come in person to chastise them. The *Iroquois* pretended to the *French*, that they received those menaces with indignation. When they came to *Montreal*, where the deputies of the upper cantons were waiting, they were received under a discharge of artillery, which gave offence to the savage allies of the *French*. When the assembly met, the *Iroquois* orator magnified the vast defence which their cantons had paid to *Bruyas*, in having, at his desire, suspended all hostilities against their enemies. He then affected to treat the *New York* governor's menaces with contempt; but artfully added, that as it was probable their nation must now go to war with the *English*; they hoped to find at *Catarocouy* not only the merchandizes they used to be furnished with at *Orange*, but arms and ammunition for their defence. The answer which *Callieres* made to this harangue was very civil, and he gave the deputies to the month of *August* the following year for releasing the remaining *French* prisoners, and those of the *French Indian* allies. In the mean while, he required them upon no account to revenge any private quarrels amongst themselves, but to refer them to him, and promised to do all he could to obtain a like order on the part of the earl of *Bellamont*. As to their request about fort *Catarocouy*, he said he should lay it before the king his master, but that in the mean while he would send thither an officer with some merchandizes, and a smith.

THIS answer highly pleased the assembly, and a provisional treaty was agreed on conformable to what had been communicated by the governor-general. The manner in which this treaty was signed was very particular. After *Callieres* and his officers, civil and military, with the ecclesiastics, had put their hands to it, each of the savage nations signed it with a particular figure peculiar to themselves. The *Onnontaguese* and *Tsonnonthouans* delineated a spider. The *Goyogouins*, a calumet or pipe of peace; the *Onneyouths*, a piece of cleft wood with a stone in it; the *Agniers*, a bear; the *Hurons*, a beaver; the *Avenaquis*, a kid, and the *Outaouais* a hare (K). This treaty is dated the 8th of *September* 1700. It appears

A provisional treaty.

Remarkable signatures.

(K) *Charlevoix* acknowledges that neither the *Agniers* nor the *Onneyouths* had any deputies at this congress; what degree of authority therefore is due to

their signatures, unless it appeared, which, it does not, that they had commissioned some one to sign for them.

K 3

that

that the earl of Bellamont's views were not to excite a war between the *Iroquois* and the *French* or their allies, but to prevent those savages from uniting under the *French* government, whose territories lay much more convenient than those of the *English* did for effecting such an union. *Callieres*, on the other hand, whose views were really pacific, knew the vast advantages, in case of another rupture between *France* and *England*, that such an union would produce to the former. Thus the whole dispute was a kind of a trial of skill between the two governors rather than the two crowns.

CALLIERES, in pursuance of this plan, laboured to make it as extensive as possible. He dispatched *Courtemanche*, and another agent, to the most distant tribes in the north and the west, to persuade such of them as had not sent their deputies, to accede to the provisional treaty, and to send deputies to the meeting, which was to be held the following *August*, that it might be general, in order to conclude a definitive treaty.

Views of
the French
and Eng-
lish.

Those measures being resolved on, *Callieres* gave advice of them to *Pontchartrain*, and informed him, that it would be possible, in the approaching congress about boundaries, to get some signal advantages to *France*. If during the course of the negotiation she could not obtain the property of the *Iroquois* country, it ought at least to be declared neutral; and that it should be unlawful either for the *French* or the *English* to make any settlement upon it. With regard to missionaries, he thought there could be no danger to the *French* interest to admit the *English* ministers to act as such amongst the savages, Lord Bellamont perhaps on this occasion did not act with so much moderation, or indeed justice. The *English* had always sought to avail themselves of the cessions of lands made to them by the savages, who paid very little regard to such deeds, and often pretended that they had been outwitted or intoxicated when they agreed to them, having received for them no valuable consideration. Though there sometimes was but too good foundation for those remonstrances, yet it is certain the *English* were far more justifiable in that respect than the *French*, the latter having never given any consideration for their vast possessions in *America*, while the most considerable of the *English* had been purchased and duly paid for to the natives. The earl of Bellamont demanded (we must think very impolitically, if true, for we have it only upon *Charlevoix's* word) that the *Iroquois* should hang all the jesuit missionaries who came amongst them, and he proposed to build forts in the cantons of *Agnier*, *Onneyouth* and *Onnontagué*; and one particularly at the mouth of the river *Choguen*, lying near lake *Ontario*. But the natives seemed to be so much shocked

Bad policy
of the Eng-
lish gover-
nor.

at

at these propositions, that his lordship did not think proper to insist upon them. About this time, *Riverin* attempted to re-establish his fishery at mount *Lewis*; but through the avarice and villainy of those he was concerned with, his project again fell to nothing. We are now to attend affairs in the other parts of *Canada*.

THE *English* still continued to fish upon the coasts of *Acadia*, but it appears as if the *French* court had cooled in its zeal for the re-establishment of that colony. A son or relation of *le Borgne*, whom we have already mentioned about the time of the peace of *Ryswick*, in right of his predecessors of that name claimed the property of all the peninsula of *Acadia*, reaching from cape *les Mines* towards *L'isle Verte* to the west; and in consequence of this claim the *English*, notwithstanding the peace, continued still to trade upon the coast of *Acadia*, on pretence of being authorized by *le Borgne*, to whom they paid fifty crowns for each ship. All that *Villebon* could do was to erect fort *de Naxoat* on the river *St. John*; but receiving no assistance from *France*, it was of very little use. He continued, however, to make such representations to the *French* court, that an engineer was sent over, by whose advice, in the year 1700, the inhabitants of *Naxoat* were transported to *Port Royal*. No care, however, being taken to fortify that settlement; or any part of the coasts of *Acadia*, the *English* still went on to engross the fishing trade there, and are charged by the *French* with the same practices they themselves have ever been charged with by the *English*, and in almost the same terms. Upon the breaking out of the war in the year 1702, no care had been yet taken to fortify *Port Royal*, and the other posts on the coast of *Acadia*; but the importance of that province appeared now so evident to the *French* court, that *de Callieres* received the strongest assurances that new missionaries should be sent to *Acadia* for converting the natives, and that proper measures should be taken for peopling the colony with *French*. The bishop of *Quebec*, who was then in *France*, undertook the former province, as the court did the latter; but such was the state of the *French* affairs in *Europe*, that both projects fell to the ground.

His administration.

By this time *Villebon* was dead; but was succeeded in his government of *Acadia* by *de Brouillan*, who had been governor of *Placentia*. He found the affairs of his province in a most miserable situation. The *Bostoners* and the *New England* men had ravaged all the sea-coasts, and had either driven the inhabitants into the woods, or carried them prisoners to *Boston*, from whence they sent most lamentable complaints of cruel usage. An order had come from the *English* government,

Brouillan governor.

ment, that none of the *French* prisoners there should be exchanged; and a *French* captain, one *Baptiste*, was threatened with hanging, on pretence of his being a pirate. *De Brouillon* upon this, sent an express, acquainting the *English* governor of *Boston*, that he would make use of reprisals, in case he should put his threats in execution against *Baptiste*; which saved the captain's life. This messenger did a more important service to the *French* in *America*; for while he was at *Boston* he discovered that the *English* were making preparations for attacking *Québec*; and upon his return *de Brouillon* sent advice of the same to the governor-general of *New France*, by which means he had so early an intelligence, that the expedition miscarried. It is certain that the affairs of the *English* government were at that time very ill managed on the coasts of *North America*, where a squadron of their men of war was commanded by admiral *Graydon*, a corrupt brutal officer, and a disgrace to the marine service of his country. It is true, the *New England* men found their account in ravaging the *French* coasts; but only a few particulars were benefited; for the national service was neglected. It may be proper to inform our readers, that we have carried the affairs of this province thus far, that they may not interfere with the more general history of *Canada*, to which we now return.

Quarrel
amongst
the sa-
vages.

DE CALLIERES continued his indefatigable endeavours to effect his favourite measure of uniting all the savages of *North America*, and thereby establishing a general peace amongst them; but an unforeseen accident had almost ruined his labours. The *Iroquois*, after their deputies had returned to their own country, had gone to hunt upon lands which had been appropriated immemorially to the huntings of the *Outaouais*, and had there destroyed some beaver huts. The *Outaouais*, provoked by so unjust an invasion of their property, fell upon a party of the *Iroquois* hunters, killed some of them, and carried off their chief, prisoner. The *Iroquois* in their turn resented this hostility, and would immediately have made severe reprisals, had not their deputies put them in mind of their promise to refer all their differences to *Ononthis*. This pacified them for the present, and a fresh deputation was nominated, which, on the 2d of *March*, 1701, reached *Montreal*, where they found the governor, and laid before him their grievances, praying that he would interpose for the delivery of their chief, who had been carried prisoner to *Michillimakinac*. *Callieres* endeavoured to excuse the *Outaouais* for what had happened, as the party who had committed the hostility did not then know of the treaty that

had been concluded. He promised, at the same time, to procure the release of their chief, and assured them, that they should not suffer by referring their complaints to him. The deputies found no fault with this answer. But on the 5th of May, *Teganissorens*, attended by a good number of *Iroquois* chiefs, arrived at *Montreal*. Their business was not only to renew the complaints against the *Outaouais*, but to be informed whether there was any truth in the report, that the governor-general intended to make a settlement upon the strait, that communicates between lake *Huron* and lake *Erie*, which, by way of eminence, is called *Detroit*? and whether the war was ready to break out again in *Europe* between *England* and *France*? With regard to the *Outaouais*, *Callieres* answered as he had done before; but the settlement was a matter of more importance, because it was a measure he actually had resolved upon. All he would say was, that he could not perceive how either the cantons or the *English* could take any umbrage about *Detroit*, as it belonged to himself. That, all he meant by establishing such a settlement was to preserve all the nations in peace, and that he had given orders to the person who was to act for him at the settlement in question, to accommodate all the differences that might happen amongst his allies. During the course of this conversation, it appeared that lord *Bellamont* had at that time the very same design, and that *Detroit* was one of the places he had mentioned to the *Iroquois* deputies for erecting a fort. The knowledge of this rendered *Callieres* still more obliging to the deputies; assuring them that he would treat them as his own children; and that all he was doing was for their good. *Teganissorens* replied nothing on this head, and frankly owned that the elders of his canton would report his answer to the *English*; but *de Callieres* made very light of that circumstance, and gave no direct answer to another request made by *Teganissorens*, that in case the war should be renewed between the two crowns, the cantons might not be obliged to take any share in it. *Callieres*, upon *Teganissorens* leaving *Montreal*, sent his three former ambassadors along with him to *Onnontague*, both to do him honour, and to assist in bringing back the *French* prisoners, who still remained in that canton. The ambassadors were surprized when they arrived at *Onnontague*, to find *Englishmen* mingled with the savages who came out to meet them. The truth was, that an *Englishman*, whom *Charlevoix* calls *Abraham*, had arrived at *Onnontague*, on the part of lord *Bellamont*, to endeavour to dissuade the elders of the canton from sending their deputies to the *August* congress; and some

*Apolog
Callic
who
pressed by
the Indian
deputies.*

some of this *Abraham's* retinue had gone out with the savages to meet the ambassadors.

Proceed- THE latter were conducted into the principal village with
ings of the the same honours as before, and the ambassadors were intro-
Onnonta- duced alone into the assembly of their elders. There, father
guefc, *Bruyas* spoke very sharply on their negociations with the
English, and threatened that *Ononthis* would no longer treat
 with the *Iroquois*, if they did not send their deputies along
 with those of the other nations to the grand congress, which
 was to establish a general peace amongst them all. He
 added, that very possibly wars might be renewed between the
French and the *English*, but that the interest of the cantons
 led them to observe a strict neutrality. It was three days after
 this speech was made, before the subject of the embassy was
 resumed; and the *English* were introduced into the meeting,
 where *Teganissorens* immediately presented a belt to *Abraham*,
 exhorting him not to oppose the accommodation that was
 ready to be concluded between the canton and the *French*.
 He then laid another belt at the feet of *Bruyas*, giving
 freedom to all the prisoners in the canton, and expressed the
 resolution it had come to, in the following lively terms,
 "I open all my gates, (said he, still speaking in the character
 of his canton,) I stop no body. I want to live in good cor-
 respondence with my father *Ononthis*, and my brother *Corlar*;
 I hold each of them by a hand, and am resolved hereafter
 never to divide myself, either from one or the other. Five
 deputies are to go to *Montreal*, and two others to *Orange*.
 For my own part, I will lie still on my mat, to convince all
 the world, that I take no party, and that I am resolved to
 observe an exact neutrality."

concerning
 the pri-
 soners.

THIS declaration from the mouth of *Teganissorens*, who
 was known to have so much authority in his canton, and to
 be a firm friend to the *French*, gave great pleasure to *Bruyas*
 and *Maricourt*, who had already sent *Joncaire* to *Tsounon-*
thouan, as they had another *Frenchman*, one *la Chauvignerie*;
 to *Onneyouth*. Soon after *Villedonné*, a *French* officer, arrived
 with the agreeable news, that the deputies of all the nations
 were on the road to *Montreal*. This intelligence, however,
 was somewhat qualified by the return of *Chauvignerie* from
Onneyouth, with an account that he had found that canton in
 a very bad disposition towards the *French*; and that he was
 not able to bring from thence a single prisoner. This was
 likewise the case with the *Onnontaguefc*. *Teganissorens* declared
 to the deputies, that all the *French* who lived in the canton
 had been adopted by the natives, and most part of them

being married, their friends and relations refused to consent to their release; and they themselves being equally averse, nothing could be done in the affair; and that he was much grieved to find himself under the dismal necessity of being worse than his word to his father. The ambassadors knew the character of *Teganifforens* and his canton too well to endeavour, to reason either the one or the other out of what had been resolved on. They were therefore obliged to dissemble, otherwise all the credit of *Teganorissens* could not have prevented his countrymen from throwing themselves into the hands of the *English*. The whole of this negotiation appears to have been conducted by the savages with exquisite address, and proves of what singular advantage their personal independency upon all superiors was to them in the affairs of government; because if their deputies ever exceeded their instructions, or concluded any thing disagreeable to their constituents, the latter always thought themselves at liberty to withhold their consent.

THE ambassadors, for obvious reasons, still concealed their discontent, but *Foncaire* succeeded better with the *Goyogouins* and the *Tsonnonthouans*, from whom he brought deputies with several prisoners; and their example had such an effect upon the *Onnontaguese*, that they gave up five *French* captives. The *Onneyouths* likewise sent deputies, and the ambassadors, attended by two hundred *Iroquois*, arrived at *Montreal*, the 21st of *July*. We have already mentioned *Courtemanche* and father *Anjelran* having been sent by *Callieras* to *Michillimakinac*, where *Anjelran* treated with the *Oûtaouais* and the *Hurons*, while *Courtemanche* went to the river *St. John*, where he found the *Miamis*, the *Pouteonatamis*, the *Sokokis*, the *Outagamis*, the *Hurons*, and the *Mahingans*; and most of them preparing to go to war with the *Iroquois*. *Courtemanche* threatened them, the *Miamis* in particular, with the governor-general's indignation if they did not alter their intention, upon which they not only countermanded their warriors, but recalled their war-parties. He had more difficulty in persuading them to give up the *Iroquois* prisoners, whom they had adopted, but he succeeded even in that; and all of them promised to send deputies to the general congress. *Courtemanche* then visited the *Illinois*; all of them, excepting the canton of *Kaskaskias*, were likewise preparing to go to war with the *Iroquois*, but he reconciled them to more pacific intentions by the same arguments he had used with the *Miamis*; as he likewise did the *Ouyatanons*, a *Miamis* nation, who were going to war with the *Sieux* and the *Iroquois*; and all of them, in like manner, promised to send deputies to *Montreal*. He had the same suc-

Success of
Joncaire
with the
Onnontaguese.

cess,

cess, but with more difficulty, with the *Mascoutins*, amongst whom he arrived the 5th of *May*. He then continued his route to the bay of *Puantes*, where he arrived the 14th, and there found the *Sakis*, the *Otchagros*, the *Malhomines*, the *Outagamis*, the *Pouteouatamis*, and the *Kicapous*; and, reconciling all differences amongst them, he persuaded them likewise to send their deputies to *Montreal*. On the 2d of *July*, he returned to *Michillimakinac*, after travelling above four hundred leagues. Every thing there having been settled by *Anjekran*, he set out for *Montreal*, with two *Iroquois* prisoners, whom he had recovered out of the hands of the *Outaouais*, while *Courtemanche* remained at *Michillimakinac*; from whence he set out for *Montreal* with a fleet of a hundred and eighty canoes carrying between seven and eight hundred savages: but thirty of the canoes were sent back with their sick. When they arrived, on the 22d of *July*, at *Montreal*, they were received under a discharge of the artillery; and the *Rat*, in the name of all the other savages, complimented the governor-general.

Policy of Callieres. *CALLIERES* thought proper, before he held the general congress, to sound all the deputies one by one; and then a kind of preliminary congress was held, in which an *Outaouais*, called *John the White* from the fairness of his complexion, made presents to *Ononchio*, and harangued him with great applause. He was followed by other *Algonquin* chiefs. The drift of all their speeches was, that he should diminish the prices of the *French* merchandizes, and take off their hands the smaller furs, because the beaver-skins were becoming scarce. The *Rat*, on whom *Callieres* depended greatly for the success of this congress, then presented his *Iroquois* prisoners, but demanded why all the rest of the nations had not done the same. The chiefs of the *Pouteouatamis* then, in the name of all the western savages, declared, that their nations were so zealous to fulfil the will of their father *Ononchio*, that they had not been deterred from it, even by the report of a contagious distemper reigning at *Montreal*. The *Miamis* chief made his harangue to the same effect. He then drew forth a calumet or pipe of peace for all the nations to smoke at, declaring, that, if he made peace with the *Iroquois*, it was not because he feared them, but in obedience to his father's will. The deputy of the *Sakis* next, by means of *Onanguice*, the *Miamis* chief, made presents of atonement for a *Frenchman* they had killed. The general gave many other separate audiences, and acquitted himself with great dexterity with all, but *John the White*, who was too clear-sighted to be so easily satisfied as the others were. When the *Iroquois* deputies made their ap-

appearances before him, their orator endeavoured to shew how impossible it was for his nation to send back all their prisoners, many of whom, being taken in their infancy, knew no other parents, but those who adopted them. He then insinuated, that he thought such a restitution immaterial, because *Marricourt* and *Foncaire* had not much insisted upon it. This apology gave great distaste to some of the other cantons, and it was for some time before they could be reconciled.

THE conferences opened on the first of *August*; and while *The general* a *Huron* chief was haranguing, the *Rat*, who had been the principal instrument in effecting this wonderful congress, fell ill, to the great concern of *Callieres*; but, being somewhat recovered, he was placed in an elbow-chair in the middle of the assembly. As he was the greatest orator and the most acute wit of all the *American* savages, they flocked round to hear him; and he delivered a discourse upon the benefits of peace, which drew the loudest applauses from all present. At last, his voice failed him, and he never spoke more in public, for he died soon after the breaking up of the conference. *Charlevoix* speaks of this savage, as if he had been an ornament to human nature, and superior in wit even to the *French* themselves. At the time of his death, he had the rank and pay of a captain in the *French* army, and therefore received a noble military funeral; at which the governor-general and all the chief officers assisted. *Foncaire* on this occasion covered him, that is, made presents to his nation on account of his death, at the head of sixty warriors of the fall of *St. Death and Lewis*. The inscription upon his tomb-stone was, "Here lies the *Rat*, a *Huron* chief." His death was an irreparable loss to the *French*; but his countrymen promised to follow his example in an inviolable attachment to *Onanthio*. *magnificent burial of the Rat*.

THE ceremonies of the *Rat's* burial, which took up some days, being over, the *Iroquois* complained of their being distressed in the affair of their prisoners, and promised that, if the governor-general would give them back their captive countrymen, he should have no reason to repent of having trusted them. *Callieres* had, before the *Rat's* death, consulted him upon that subject; and it was not only his opinion, that they should be gratified, but he brought over several of the deputies to the same. *Callieres* therefore, after endeavouring to make the *Iroquois* sensible how unreasonable both their complaint and request were, promised to lay the latter before the general assembly of the deputies; which he did, and they agreeing to it, he trusted them, and was justified by the event.

Mean time, an epidemical distemper breaking out amongst the savages swept off great numbers of them, of the *Hurons* particularly, who attributed it to witch-craft, and applied to the jesuits for destroying the enchantment. According to *Charlevoix*, all who died were baptized. This accident, however, obliged the governor to press the finishing of the treaty, and on the 4th of *August*, it was agreed that the articles should be signed, and the peace published with the greatest solemnity. For this purpose, a theatre of one hundred and twenty-eight feet long, and seventy-two broad, was erected on a plain without *Montreal*. At the end of this theatre was raised a large box for the ladies, and all the people of fashion in that city. *De Callieres* was attended by *Vaudreuil*, and all his principal officers, and 1300 savages were seated in order within the rails of the theatre, which were surrounded by soldiers under arms.

*Progress
of the
congress.*

THE meeting was opened with a speech made by *Callieres* upon the benefits of peace, and of their being under the protection of their father the great *Onanthio*, and his words were repeated to the several nations by proper interpreters, and received with the highest acclamations. This being finished, each chief received a belt of wampum, and rising one after another they marched gravely up in their long fur robes to the governor-general, and each presented him with his prisoners, and a belt, besides their compliments, some of which are said to have been very fine; but all of them took great care to make him sensible how much they suffered in their private interests, by their compliance with his will in trusting the *Iroquois*, whom they neither feared, nor expected to be grateful. *Callieres* received each in the most gracious manner, and consigned the prisoners as he received them, to the *Iroquois*. The finery of the savages, their different manners of address, the oddities of their devices in their attire, and the whimsical state they assumed when they spoke to the governor, formed a scene of ridicule, that exceeded all belief. *Charlevoix* has been very minute in describing them. The ingrossed treaty of peace was then brought, and signed by thirty-eight deputies, but with other devices than those they made use of when they signed the former treaty. They brought at the same time, the great pipe of peace, out of which the governor-general smoked first, the intendant after him, and then *Vaudreuil*, and lastly, all their chiefs and deputies, each in his turn. After this, *Te Deum* was sung, and then the great kettles were produced, in which thirty oxen had been boiled. The meat was served up to each in order, without noise or confusion, every thing passed with great cheerfulness, and

*And a
peace
concluded.*

and the whole ceremony was concluded by discharges of artillery both great and small, bonfires and illuminations.

Two days after, *Callieres* had a particular conference with the deputies of the upper nations, whom he warned against committing any depredations upon the *French*, in which case he threatened to chastize them; but, in the mean while, he gave them presents in the name of the king. The *Outaouais* begged that he would send with them father *Anjelran* and *Nicholas Perrot*, to which the governor agreed. Their deputy then most earnestly begged of the governor, that he would suffer no brandy to be imported amongst them, on account of its fatal effects upon their youth. This request was highly applauded by all present, except one *Huron* chief, who, being a great drunkard, had provided himself with a large stock of that liquor. Next day, *Callieres* gave audience to the deputies of the *Iroquois* cantons, whom he ordered to deliver their prisoners into the hands of *Joncaire*, who was to return with them, and promised, that if any of them should desire to return to the cantons they should have full liberty; he having granted the same to the *Huron* prisoners. He then recommended to them a strict neutrality between the *French* and the *English*; and endeavoured to make them sensible how much it was against their interest that the *English* should build any forts upon their lands. He next informed them, that the settlement at *Detroit* was far advanced under the inspection of *La Motte Cadillac*, who had with him a hundred men and a jesuit; adding that his motive for making this establishment was to be beforehand with the *English*, who intended to do the same. Every thing being thus amicably adjusted, the deputies took their leave of the governor, but scarcely were they gone, when deputies came from the *Agniers*, who had sent none to the congress, and signed the treaty. Soon after *Joncaire* returned, but brought with him very few prisoners; the captives, for the reasons we have already seen, refusing to attend him. Next year the *Iroquois* sent a solemn deputation to *Callieres*, and the upper nations did the same, to thank him for having given them peace. The *Iroquois* even requested him to send jesuits amongst them. This gave great pleasure to *Callieres*, who, for many reasons, had not ventured to offer them any of those fathers; but he most passionately desired, that they would voluntarily apply for them. Those deputies informed him at the same time of the death of *Garakonthie*, who, to his last, had continued faithful to the *French* interest, and presented to the governor his nephew, who offered to supply the place of his uncle, which the governor agreed to. The request of the deputies

Con-
ferences
with the
deputies.

1702.

deputies for the jesuits was instantly complied with, and *Moricourt* introduced them to the cantons, where, even (according to *Charlevoix*,) their business was rather that of spies than missionaries.

War declared
between
France
and
England.

By this time the war was declared between *France* and *England* in *Europe*, and *Callieres* received the strongest assurances from his court that *Acadia* should be peopled and fortified. This was the only province of *New France*, that gave *Callieres* disquietude, because, now that the *Iroquois* were secure, it was the most exposed to the invasion of the *English*. This project went so far with the court of *France*, that the bishop of *Quebec*, who was then there, was endeavouring to provide a plentiful supply of ecclesiastics, without being obliged to part with any in *Canada*, for the new colony. This passion for the establishment of *Acadia* soon cooled, and it still remained exposed to the ravages of the *New England* men. It was not long before the *Iroquois* grew heartily tired of their new alliance with the *French*, and not only they, but some of the *French* savages, by their agency, renewed their intrigues with the *English*. The truth is, that, though the measures *Callieres* had taken were wise and happily executed, and though he had greater abilities than any governor of *New France* ever had, yet it was not in his power to keep those savages in the *French* interest, for this plain reason, among many others; because his *Canadians* were so miserably needy, that the barbarians could get nothing by trading with them; so that mere indigence, had there been no other cause, obliged them to trade with the *English*. *Callieres* in vain represented to his court, that the source of all the danger of his government lay in its poverty and weakness, which could only be remedied by supplies from *Old France*. But, while he was endeavouring to encrease the fortifications of *Quebec*, to disconcert the intrigues of the *English* amongst the *Iroquois*, and to re-establish the system he had so wisely planned, he died on the 26th of *May*,

Death of
Callieres, 1703.

1703.
who was
succeeded
by *Vaudreuil*.

VAUDREUIL, who was then governor of *Montreal*, took upon him, of course, the government of *New France*, till the pleasure of his court should be known. He had great experience in the manners of the savages, had always discovered resolution and address in every thing he undertook; and, by his his polite, generous, and affable behaviour, he had gained the esteem and affections of all the colony, who unanimously applied to the *French* court, that he might succeed *Callieres*. *Champigny*, the late intendant, having now returned to *France*, and given over all concern in *American* affairs,

affairs, the marquis de Vaudreuil was without a competitor; and the French king, who had a personal knowledge of Vaudreuil's courage in Europe, shewed great satisfaction in appointing him to the government of New France, the news of which was received with raptures by the Canadians, whom he had endeared to himself by his government during the inter-reign. His first care was to make sure of the Tsonnon-thouans. This canton had sent a deputation to him upon the death of Callières; and, when the deputies returned, they were accompanied by Joncaire, who brought back one of their chiefs. This savage, after making many compliments upon the governor's taking his canton under his protection, appeared highly offended that the Onnontaguense had not sent the governor-general a deputation likewise to pay him their compliments, and this he attributed to the bad designs they had. According to Charlevoix, whose relation, on this occasion, is not only unauthenticated, but improbable, the deputy made a formal cession of the property of the Tsonnon-thouan canton to Vaudreuil, but in so secret a manner, that none but themselves were to know any thing of the matter; and, for this purpose, he presented the governor with three belts: the first signifying the absolute cession of their country to him; the second, to express that his countymen would rather lose their lives than suffer any harm to come to the jesuits; and the third, to obtain permission for Joncaire to go along with them and spend the winter. Vaudreuil granted those requests with better will than they were asked. We are, however, to observe that the savage, in making the cession of his country to the French, signified that he expected the latter would protect him in all the differences he might have with his neighbours. Upon the whole, therefore, it is reasonable to believe, that there either never was such a sham cession, or that it was made entirely for the conveniency of the savages, who had already sufficiently disclaimed all such transactions, if found inconsistent with the general good. But the jesuit had a view in entering such claims, which, absurd as they were, were afterwards often insisted upon by the ministers of his court merely from his authority in the American disputes between the French and the English. Soon after this deputy's return to his own country, Teganissorens arrived at Montreal. This savage, though strongly attached to the French, shewed the greatest affection for his country. He honestly told the governor, that "the Europeans were a wicked set of people; that when they made a peace, a very nothing made them take up the hatchet again. We, continued he,

Falsities of the French historians.

Disgust of the savages.

do not act in that manner. When we once have signed a treaty, we must have very important reasons for breaking it." He then declared that his canton would take no part in the war, either on one side or the other. *Vaudreuil* approved of this resolution, and *Teganissorens* promised that the missionaries should remain in his canton. For that reason, and lest any pretext should arise for breaking the neutrality, *Vaudreuil* delayed sending any expedition against *New York* for that time. Mean while, the *Boston* men had endeavoured to engage the *Abenakis* into a like neutrality; but without effect. *Vaudreuil* had engaged a party of them to make an irruption into *New England*, and had joined to them some *French* with a *French* officer, one *Beaubassin*, at their head. The *French* historians ridiculously say, that this party, in the incursion they made, killed three hundred *English*; but, that otherwise they did very little damage to the colony. *Beaubassin* might make such a report upon his return; and very possibly none contradicted it. But besides the silence of the *English* accounts, it is well known, that, had such a slaughter happened, the booty must have been very considerable to a people so needy as the *French Canadians* and savages were, and in a colony so rich and flourishing as that of *New England*. But, in reality, *Vaudreuil* had scarce any view in this expedition, but that of exasperating the *English* against the *Abenakis*, so as to render them irreconcilable enemies to each other. Towards the end of autumn, the *English* repaid the visit by invading the country of the *Abenakis*, where they put many of those savages to death. The latter, upon this, applied to *Vaudreuil* for assistance; and he sent them, in the winter-time, two hundred and fifty men commanded by one *de Rouville*, who, as *Charlevoix* pretends, killed a great number of the *Englishmen*, and took a hundred and fifty prisoners. We shall here, once for all, observe, that any one who knows the spirit of the *English* colonists in *North America*, how apt they are to exaggerate the loss they suffered from the *French*, and to call out on their mother-country for protection and assistance, will easily see the improbability of those *French* accounts, as no such losses are to be met with on the face of the *English* history, or even in the common gazettes of the time, which are always very full of such incidents.

IN the year 1704, amidst all those fancied triumphs over the *English*, *Vaudreuil* was alarmed by the dispositions which the *Hurons* of *Michillimakinac*, who went to visit *Detroit*, discovered against the *French*. They were headed by a chief who was nick-named *Forty-pence*, and who was a friend of the

Irruption
of the
French
into New
England.

The sa-
vages
break
with the
French.

the *English*. The *Outaouais*, part of whom likewise visited *Detroit*, and the *Miamis*, were equally exasperated, and wanted to renew the war against the *Iroquois*, who, they thought, were the only gainers by commerce with the *French*. The *Outaouais* even attacked a party of the *Iroquois* under the cannon of fort *Catarocouy*, and killed a considerable number of them. Upon this, *Schuyler*, governor of *New York*, an active *English* officer, but of *Dutch* extraction, had no great difficulty in persuading the *Iroquois* to break with the *French*, after so notorious a violation of all their promises of protection. He carried his views so far that he startled a great number of the Christian *Iroquois*, who had been in a manner naturalized with the *French*, and who insisted upon their chief's representing, what had happened, to the governor-general, and demanding satisfaction. *Ramezay*, the governor of *Montreal*, did what he could to avert the blow; but all must have been in vain, had it not been for the *Abenakis*, who were then at *Montreal*, and represented the *English* as not being Christians; which deterred those pious savages from all communication with them. *Foncaire* had been again sent by *Vaudreuil* along with father *le Vaillant*, where they learned that *Schuyler* had succeeded in obtaining a general assembly of all the *Iroquois* at *Onnontague*; where the following capital points were to be insisted upon. First, that the cantons should banish all the missionaries. Secondly, that the *Abenakis* should be obliged to discontinue their hostilities. Thirdly, that the *Mahingans*, who had for some time been settled in the country of the *Agniers*, should be obliged to return to their former habitations near *Orange*. And, fourthly, that a free passage should be given through their cantons for the upper savages to trade with the *English*. But this intelligence was not the only subject of vexation which the *French* governor had at this time. Some of the savages at *Detroit* had visited *New York*, where they were greatly caressed, while others set fire to *Detroit* fort, which was saved from being burnt down with some difficulty. The meeting of the assembly, that was summoned to *New Orange*, was put off on the news of the hostility committed by the *Outaouais* at fort *Catarocouy*; and the *Tsonnonthouans*, who had been the sole sufferers, sent *Vaillant* and *Foncaire* to *Vaudreuil* with complaints of what had happened. So dutiful, but so unexpected, a proceeding gave great pleasure to the governor-general, and he promised the *Tsonnonthouans* ample satisfaction. It now appeared that the building the fort at *Detroit* had given rise to the quarrel between the *Outaouais*

and the *Iroquois*; and the governor general came to a resolution to abandon it. He desired the *Tsonnonthouans* and the *Onnontagueſe*, of whoſe fidelity he now was well aſſured, by all means, to repair to the meeting at *New Orange*, that they might oppoſe any reſolution propoſed to the prejudice of the *French* intereſt. They managed ſo well, that even the baron de *Longueil*, who had ſucceeded his brother *Maricourt*, now dead, as reſident with the *Onnontagueſe*, *Joncaire*, and father *Vaillant* were admitted to the aſſembly, notwithſtanding all that *Schuyler* could do to prevent it; ſo that the meeting broke up without coming to any reſolution. *Schuyler*, upon his return to *New Orange*, happening to meet ſome *Iroquois* of the fall of *St. Lewis*, engaged them by preſents to follow him to *Corlar*. There, after mentioning that they had been the authors of the war, he offered them lands if they would ſettle within the *English* government, and preſented them with a belt for their own village, and two others for thoſe of the mountain and the *Recollet*-fall, by which he exhorted them to remain in peace, and to open a correſpondence with him. Thoſe belts were delivered to the ſeveral villages; but *Ramezay*, coming to the knowledge of the tranſaction, dealt to effectually with their elders and their chiefs, that they were ſent back without any answer, and three villages agreed to raiſe men to make war upon the *English*.

The *Abenakis* relieved and ſettled.

SOME time before this, the *English* having ſurprized and killed ſome of the *Abenakis*, the latter demanded aſſiſtance from *Vaudreuil*, who ſent them the ſieur de *Montigny* and four or five *Canadians*. *Montigny* ſoon put fifty of the *Abenakis* in arms, and, leading them againſt the *English*, he pillaged and burnt a fort, (more probably a farm-houſe) and carried off ſome priſoners. At this time, other *Abenakis* were ſo cloſely hemmed in by the *English*, that, receiving no ſupplies from the *French* ſettlements, they were in danger of perishing through famine. *Vaudreuil*, hearing of their ſituation, immediately reſolved to execute a deſign, which he had formed ſoon after he came to his government. He propoſed to the ſavages, that they ſhould come and live in the colony, to which they conſented, and they were ſettled on the river *Bekancourt*, where they ſerved as a very uſeful barrier againſt the *Iroquois*, when the latter were perſuaded to take arms for the *English*. Though this was not eaſy for the *English* to bring about, yet *Vaudreuil* plainly ſaw that the great diſt of the *Iroquois*, the *Tsonnonthouans* in particular, in ſo ſtrictly adhering to their neutrality, was, that they might be able to hold the balance between the *French* and the *English*, whom they

they made it a point of honour to include in the neutrality (L). Nothing could be more easy than this, but it crossed *Vaudreuil's* views, and he sent to his court for instructions how to behave. He was answered in terms perfectly conformable to his own insidious intentions; "that, if he thought he could make war with success, without engaging the king his master in any extraordinary expences, he was to reject the proposal of the *Iroquois*, otherwise he was to conclude the neutrality. But it was by no means for the honour of the crown of *France*, that he should make the first advances, and far less that the *Iroquois* should be the sole mediators." The minister, therefore, proposed that the missionaries should deal with the savages to persuade the *English* to desire a neutrality, in which case, *Vaudreuil* was to hear what they had to offer; but he was to conclude nothing without orders from court.

THE tentative proposed by the minister proving of no effect, all that *Vaudreuil* could do was to endeavour to keep the *Iroquois* in good humour, and a very happy incident for that purpose presented itself. The chief of the *Outaouais* party, which had attacked the *Iroquois* under fort *Cataracouy*, in his return to his own country passed near fort *Detroit*, where he displayed the trophies of his victory, and summoned all the *Outaouais* settled there to join him. *Tonti*, who commanded there in the absence of *la Motte Cadillac*, to chastise this gross insult, ordered an officer with twenty men to attack the barbarians, who, though they were supported by their countrymen at *Detroit*, were put to flight and obliged to leave behind them all their prisoners; who were immediately delivered back to the *Tsonnonthouans*. This seasonable check not only established the *French* interest amongst the savages, but entirely disconcerted the measures of the *English*, who were equally unfortunate in other parts of *Canada*.

• CHARLEVOIX, Vol. III. Page 436.

(L) We have here followed *Charlevoix*, who has inadvertently discovered the meaning of a *French* neutrality in *North America* to be no other, than that the *Indians* should abstain from attacking them, but, if required, should assist them in cutting the throats of the *English*. The savages, in the passage before us, appear very sen-

sibly to have considered this as no neutrality; and that they could not be neutral, unless they were so between the *English* and the *French*, which bound them up from attacking the former as well as the latter; nor indeed were they safe unless the *English* were comprehended in the neutrality

1704.
Port
Royal at-
tempted
by the
English.

IN the the year 1704, *July* the 2d, some *English* ships appeared in the basin of *Port Royal*, where they had set some men on shore who made several of the inhabitants prisoners. This armament, according to the *French* accounts, consisted of ten vessels; one carrying fifty pieces of cannon; one of thirty; a *Boston* galley of eight; and seven brigantines; but other *French* accounts make the *English* force upon this expedition to be almost double: nor indeed are the accounts of the *English* themselves consistent with each other; because all parties were ashamed of their management. There is reason, however, to believe that the *French* have greatly exaggerated both the *English* force and their own valour on this occasion. This formidable fleet seems to have been no more than a few *Boston* vessels, with five hundred and fifty volunteers on board, commanded by major *Church*, who visited *Penobscot*, *Passamaquady*, and *les Minas*, and attempted *Port Royal*, but could not take it; though they carried off about a hundred prisoners, *Charlevoix* presents us with a detail of noble actions performed by the *French* governor, and the inhabitants of *Port Royal* against the *English*, whose numbers are represented to have been 1600; and who, after being defeated in repeated attacks, re-imbarked with about fifty prisoners on the 21st of *July*. Before the *English* sailed, they set on shore one of their prisoners to acquaint the inhabitants, that they had nothing to fear provided they kept themselves neutral. Soon after this, *de Brouillan* died, and was succeeded in his government by *M. de Subercase*, who had been governor of *Newfoundland*, where he had done infinite damage to the *English*. *M. de Vaudreuil* was still governor-general of *New France*, and, it is said he had privately entered into a correspondence with captain *Rowse*, an *Englishman* of *Charles Town*, for furnishing the *French* of *Acadia* with provisions, which *Rowse* did under colour of carrying flags of truce into their harbours for exchanging prisoners. *Subercase*, on his part, lost no advantage, which the support of *Vaudreuil*, and the friendship of the *Abenakis*, (who spread their ravages all over *New England*) afforded (M). At last, *Dudley*, the governor of *New England*, resolved upon an expedition for driving the *French* entirely out of *Canada*. His preparations for this purpose were carried on with the utmost secrecy. Two regiments of militia; those of *Wain-*

Subercase
governor,

(M) The neglect of the *English* writers in mentioning few *The British Empire in America*, particularly) is unaccountable.
here mentioned (the author of

wright

wright and Hilton were embarked on board transports under the command of colonel March; and covered by the *Deptford* man of war, and the *Province* galley. The entrance of what is called the basin of *Port Royal* is very narrow, and *Subercase* had placed there, in a watch-tower, fifteen men, with orders to alarm *Port Royal*, on the first appearance of ships approaching the basin. On the 16th of June, perceiving the *English* squadron, they retreated to the fort of *Port Royal*, but had scarce entered it, when the *English* squadron was seen at anchor within a league of the place. Next day, according to *Charlevoix*¹, the *English* landed 1500 men on the side of the fort, and 500 on that of the river, which struck such a terror into the garrison, that it was with difficulty they could be kept to their arms; especially as the fort had several breaches in its walls. The *English*, who had landed, had very thick woods to pass through before they could attack the place, and *Subercase* having called in to his assistance all the inhabitants of the neighbouring country, a resolution was taken to harass and cut off the *English*, on their march, in detached parties. This ill-advised march, however, of the *English*, though not taken notice of by the *French* historian, was occasioned by the obstinacy and want of discipline of the officers of the *Deptford* man of war, who refused to come nearer the fort; and, to say the truth, the marine of *England* was then under a miserable direction. It was no wonder, if this disagreement between the sea and land forces rendered this expedition, as it has since done many others, ineffectual. The *English*, in marching through the woods, were dreadfully harassed, and lost many men without being revenged on the inhabitants, who were provided with canoes, that, whenever they were pressed, carried them back to the fort. At last, the five hundred *English*, who had landed, with great difficulty, arrived on the banks of a river, which they had still to pass; while the governor, and a *Canadian* officer, one *de la Ronde*, kept the main body of the *English* in play, but, at last were obliged to retreat into the fort, which was now in excellent order, all its breaches having been repaired.

THE *English* had suffered so much in their march, and had so ill an opinion of their seamen, who covered the siege, that they lost all spirit, and for two days remained entirely inactive. So that it was the night between the 10th and 11th of June, when they broke ground before the place. Next day, the governor ordered fourscore of the garrison, who were best acquainted with the country, to march

¹ CHARLEVOIX, Vol. IV. p. 17.

out, and to intercept a convoy of six hundred *English*, who were bringing in live cattle. This detachment, which consisted of *Indians* as well as *French*, placed themselves in ambuscade so conveniently, that they interrupted the march of the *English*, and forced them back with some loss to their camp. We are not, however, to imagine that the *English* detachment was so numerous, as they are represented to be by the *French*. Every thing contributed to disappoint the *English* in this expedition. Some pretended *French* deserters, who had gone over to them, had given them great hopes of a mutiny in the garrison ; but had concealed from them, that the breaches had been repaired. The *English*, therefore, imagining that the place was in a very bad state of defence, attempted to storm it in the night of the 16th, but were received by so brisk a fire of the *French* great and small arms, that they were obliged to retire from the assault. Notwithstanding this disappointment, they completely invested the place, and must have taken it, had they not been seized with a panic on seeing the *French* governor still hold it out, which they thought he would not venture to do, if he had not some dreadful mine to spring when they approached the walls. This apprehension grew so strong, that, having in vain attempted to destroy some *French* shipping, which was at anchor under the cannon of the fort, they returned to their camp by day-break, and next day reembarked on board their ships. The loss of the *English* in this ill-concerted expedition was about a hundred men, and it is certain that *Port Royal* owed its deliverance to sixty *Canadians* under the baron *de St. Castin*, who had thrown themselves into the fort, the day before the enemy appeared in the basin.

THE *English* fleet on its return to *Boston* touched at some of their settlements, where they understood the people of *Boston* had been so confident of success, that they had made public rejoicings upon the reduction of *Port Royal*. This determined colonel *March* to remain at *Casco-bay*, till he should clear up his conduct to the governor and assembly of *New England*. He accordingly wrote them an account of the expedition, in which he vindicated his own conduct, laying the whole blame upon the disobedience of the forces under him, in which they were encouraged by their officers, who never could be brought to make a general assault. Notwithstanding this apology, it was thought that if *March* had landed at *Boston*, the populace would have torn him to pieces. The governor and the assembly were more just ; and, upon enquiry, acquitted the colonel from all charge of misbehaviour, but sent him orders not to suffer the troops to land, and to remain where

where he was, till, he should hear from the assembly. There the governor *Dudley* represented the danger, as well as disgrace of letting the expedition drop, and offered to go in person, and take the command upon himself; adding, that he rather would die, than that *Acadia* should not be reduced to the subjection of the crown of *England*. The assembly did not think proper to accept of the governor's proposition of heading the expedition in person; but, having confirmed colonel *March* in his command, and cleared him from all imputation of misconduct, they re-inforced him with three large ships, and five or six hundred men, with orders not to return before he had made a fresh attempt upon *Port Royal*. At the same time, to give the greater spirit to the expedition, the governor's son and several of the principal members of the assembly undertook to assist personally in it. On the 20th of *August*, the *English* squadron appeared once more before *Port Royal*; a fight which struck the garrison with such consternation, that *Subercase* the governor was almost single in his opinion to defend the place. His resolution, at last, was approved of; and, though many of the inhabitants were twenty miles distant from the town, the assurance of conquest which the *English* entertained from their armament gave *Subercase* time for making proper dispositions for a defence. All that the *English* had suffered in their late attempt had not taught them experience. *Subercase*, as before, placed ambuscades of *Indians* in their way, which cut off some of them, while others were taken prisoners; and from the latter he understood that the *English* were to bring up their artillery under cloud of night before the fort. This intelligence enabled *Subercase* to disconcert his enemies, who undoubtedly acted in a very unsoldierlike manner, and instead of making one great effort against the town, threw away six or seven days upon little attacks and skirmishes, in which they generally had the worst. On the 30th of the same month, the *English* all re-embarked; but next day landed again to attack the place on a different quarter. Their advanced guard, however, as before, fell into an ambuscade of a hundred fifty *French* and *Indians*, commanded by *St. Castin*, who did so much execution, that *Subercase* was in hopes of forcing the *English* intrenchments. In this he was disappointed; but he succeeded so far as to oblige his enemies with no little precipitation to re-embark on board their fleet.

Defeat
of the
English,
and the
siege of
Port
Royal
raised.

UPON the whole, nothing can be imagined worse conducted than this expedition was, nor indeed is it to be much wondered at, that it is scarcely mentioned in the *English* histories of *America*. The *French*, however, perhaps are not a little partial

Their mis-
manage-
ment.

partial to themselves when they magnify, as they do the valour and good conduct of their governor and countrymen, who they say had only three men killed and fifteen wounded, but killed great numbers of the *English*. The distresses of *France* in her wars in *Europe*, prevented her from making any great advantage from the defeat of the *English* expedition. The colony and garrison who had behaved so nobly, remained neglected by their mother-country so much, that they had not even the necessaries of life; and the complaints which *Subercase* wrote to his court on this head shew to what a poor pass *France* was then reduced; but those were not the only checks the *English* received at this time.

Le Grange's expedition to Newfoundland
 ONE *le Grange*, a *Frenchman*, an excellent sailor, and had served under *Iberville* in *Hudson's Bay*, fitted out two barks at *Quebec*, and manned them with one hundred *Canadians*, with an intention to surprize some *English* ships, which he knew had lately arrived at *Bonavista* in *Newfoundland*. When he came within twelve leagues of that port to prevent discovery, he left his barks, and shifted himself and his men on board two large floats or lighters, in which he entered the harbour in the night time, and according to *Charlevoix*, boarded and made himself master of a frigate of twenty-four pieces of cannon laden with fish * (N). He then burnt two vessels, each of between two and three hundred tons, ran a small frigate ashore, and carried off his prize with a great number of prisoners. There was, at that time, six hundred *English* in fort *Bonavista*, who appeared next day, but too late. *Le Grange* had in the mean while, rejoined his barks, and was under sail for *Quebec*, where he sold his cargo, and freighted his prize for *Old France*. In his voyage thither, he was attacked and taken by the *English*; but after so brave a resistance that he afterwards was raised to a considerable rank in the *French* marine.

Subercase's expedition to the same island.
 THE success of *le Grange* encouraged *Subercase* to resume *Iberville's* and *Brouillan's* scheme for driving the *English* entirely out of *Newfoundland*, and which was approved by his court. *L'Epinay*, commander of the *Wasp*, a *French* ship of war then at *Quebec*, had orders to take on board one hundred *Canadians*, and to carry them to *Placentia*, under the

* CHARLEVOIX, Vol. III. p. 438.

(N) This is a very surprising lading for a ship of such force, and furnishes us with fresh evidence of the jesuit's art of amplifying every circum-

stance in favour of his countrymen, though, upon the main, there is no reason to doubt that this attempt was made and succeeded.

com-

command of *M. de Beaucourt*, who had twelve officers under him; amongst whom was *Montigny*. On the 15th of Jan. 1705, *Subercase* set out from *Placentia* at the head of four hundred and fifty men, all of them resolute and well armed, and each of them carrying provisions for twenty days. In their march they met with four rivers which they were obliged to wade through; the ice not being strong enough to bear them, and encountered other terrible difficulties; but at last they fell into the heart of the *English* settlements at *Rebou*, where all the inhabitants submitted without resistance. Here they found plenty of provisions, and, after sufficiently resting and refreshing themselves, they marched to *Little Harbour*, an *English* post within three leagues of *St. John's*. Here they left the prisoners they had made at *Rebou* under a guard of forty men on the 31st of the same month, in hopes of being able to surprize the garrison of *St. John's*; but they had used so little precaution in their march, that the *English* there were alarmed, and ready to receive them. Being arrived before *St. John's*, they attacked the largest of the two forts they found there; but meeting with a brave resistance, and their powder, part of which had been wetted in their march, failing them, they were obliged to give over their attempt, and to be contented with destroying all the *English* habitations in the neighbourhood of *Little Harbour*. It was the fifth of *March* before they began to move by the coast side towards *Forillon*, another *English* settlement, which they destroyed, and made all the inhabitants prisoners. This struck such a terror into the defenceless *English*, that they suffered *Montigny*, who commanded the savages in this expedition to ravage all their coasts as far as *Bonavista*; so that the *English* trade of *Newfoundland* was for that year almost ruined.

THE *English*, however, received some indemnification for those losses by their taking the *Seine*, a large *French* ship, which was commanded by the chevalier *de Maupeou* bound to *Quebec*, and having on board the bishop of that city, a great number of ecclesiastics and laymen of large fortunes; so that the whole of the cargo amounted to about a million of livres. This prize, which was made by the convoy of the *Virginia* fleet, gave a dreadful blow to the affairs of the *Canadians*; but in the end contributed to their advantage; for the loss they had sustained obliged them to apply themselves to the linnen manufacture, and to raise hemp and flax, which answered wonderfully well on their soil. As to the bishop, he remained eight years a prisoner in *England*; her *Britannic* majesty insisting upon the provost of *Liege*, whom the *French* had made a prisoner, being exchanged for him. All this while

Vau-

Vaudreuil, and *Dudley* the governor of *New England*, were treating about the exchange of prisoners. *Dudley*, for that purpose, sent a gentleman, one *Levingston*, to *Quebec*, and *Vaudreuil* sent *Courtemanche* to *Boston* with his terms, the chief of which was, that no *English* prisoner should be released until all the *French* prisoners, and those of their *Indians*, were set at liberty in *New England*, and till security was given for the release of those who had been sent to *Europe*, and the *American* islands. A negotiation ensued upon this, and young *Dudley*, the governor's son, was dispatched in a vessel to *Quebec* to finish the cartel; but according to *Charlevoix*, in reality, to take the soundings of the river about *Quebec*, and to observe the state of the fortifications; for which that jesuit highly blames *Vaudreuil's* inattention.

Difficulties
of *Vau-*
dreuil,

NOTWITHSTANDING the *Tsonnonthouans* had recovered their prisoners from the *Outaouais*, yet they insisted upon further reparation for their dead, to which they were, it seems, strongly instigated by *Schuyler*, the governor of *New Orange*. This was a very perplexing situation for *Vaudreuil*, as the young *Outaouais* were clamorous for war, and the nation in general refused to treat any more with the *Iroquois*. He therefore dispatched *Louigny* to *Michillimakinac*, who, with great difficulty, persuaded the *Outaouais* there to put into his hands some *Iroquois* prisoners, whom he conducted to *Montreal*, and was in expectation of being followed by deputies from the *Outaouais*. This induced the governor to propose an interview between the *Outaouais* and the *Iroquois* at *Montreal*; to which the latter consented, and waited till the beginning of *August*. No *Outaouais* then appearing, the *Iroquois* were returning to their own country, when the *Outaouais* arrived at *Montreal*. They behaved before the governor in the most submissive humiliating manner; and their orator in the name of the rest applied for pardon both to him and the *Iroquois*, who were so much touched with their expressions, that a reconciliation was soon brought about by the governor-general ordering the *Outaouais* to cover the dead, and feasting both parties. Upon this, all the savages left *Montreal* in perfect good humour with one another.

and di-
stresses of
the *Can-*
adians.

Two dreadful evils, at this time, afflicted the province of *New France*, litigiousness and nakedness. The two *Rau-*
dots, father and son, had succeeded *Beauharnois* as intendant of *Canada*. The son applied himself to the marine, as his father did to the civil, department. The latter found the inhabitants were daily ruining themselves in law-suits, insomuch that their lands lay uncultivated; upon which he very laudably abridged the forms, and retrenched the expences of the courts,

courts, and even applied himself to compromise differences amongst the inhabitants, without putting them to law charges. As to the other evil, that of nakedness, he endeavoured to remedy that likewise, by applying to the *French* court for leave that the inhabitants should manufacture the hemp and flax they raised, into linnen and stuffs; those imported from *France* being so excessively dear that they were unable to purchase them. The minister, in his answer to this application, refused to grant such a permission, because it tended to injure the manufactures of the mother country. He, however, greatly extolled the inhabitants for the attention they, at last, had paid to the cultivation of their lands; recommended to them ship-building, and the improvement of their fisheries, and concluded by giving the poor leave to manufacture their own hemp and flax. This permission was, in fact, the greatest benefit that the *French Canadians* had ever yet received from their mother-country; and, in a short time, they set themselves to manufacture their own linnens and stuffs, from which the colony reaped vast advantages.

THE *Outaouais*, notwithstanding all their professions of repentance, had never yet performed their promises to the *Iroquois*, and even the missionaries found them so untractable, that, after burning their own habitations, they came down to *Quebec*. The *Iroquois*, on the other hand, prepared to do themselves justice by force of arms; but *Vaudreuil*, by employing *Foncaire* amongst the latter, and *Montigny* amongst the former, soon reconciled all differences. Scarcely was this affair made up when another quarrel, of a still more interesting nature, broke out amongst the savages. The *Miamis* had killed some *Outaouais*, who, on applying for satisfaction, received a very slighting answer from the elders of the former, and they even killed another *Outaouais*, one of the chief of the nation, for whose death they likewise refused to give any atonement. The *Outaouais* upon this, applied to *de la Motte Cadillac*, the *French* commandant at *Detroit*, where were three townships of *Miamis*, *Outaouais* and *Hurons*. Soon after, *Cadillac*, having occasion to go to *Quebec*, told the *Outaouais* at parting with them, that as long as his wife continued at *Detroit* they had nothing to fear, but if she should leave them they must take care of themselves. About two months after his departure she left *Detroit*, which struck the *Outaouais* with the notion that their ruin was resolved on, in revenge of the hostilities they had committed against the *Iroquois*; for as those barbarians themselves never sincerely forgive, they imagine all other men, in that respect, like themselves. In the mean while, an officer, one *Bourgmont*, arrived

Attempt of
the Outaouais
against the
Miamis.

The Outaouais
massacre
the Miamis.

arrived at *Detroit*, to relieve *Tonti*, *Cadillac's* lieutenant there, and upon the *Outaouais* coming as usual to pay him their compliments, he told them for news, in a rough manner, that *Cadillac* would return in the spring well attended. This redoubled the suspicion of the savages, and it was confirmed by some words of discontent at his being recalled, that fell from *Tonti*. In short, they took no pains to conceal their apprehensions. *Bourmont*, understanding how matters went, assembled them, and proposed that they should march with the *Miamis*, the *Iroquois* and the *Hurons*, upon an expedition against the *Sieux*. They appeared to consent; but they were, in their own mind, convinced, that the proposal was made with an intention to cut them off in their march, and that the *Iroquois* were parties in the design. Every trifling accident now confirmed them in their belief; and though the wisest amongst them were for applying to the *French* for an explanation, yet the general voice was for putting all the *Miamis* to death by way of prevention, but in the mean time to seem as if they were ready to set out on their march against the *Sieux*; and they actually began it. Having reached a wood, their chiefs, who were in the secret, acquainted the common men with what they intended, and all of them marched back with a full resolution to massacre all the *Miamis* who fell in their way, but without doing any violence to the *French* or the *Hurons*. Five of the *Miamis*, whom they met on their return, were immediately put to death, others took refuge in the fort, which fired upon the *Outaouais*, who, in their fury, inadvertently killed a recruit, and another *Frenchman*. Upon this, *Bourmont* ordered the gates of the fort to be shut, and thirty of the *Outaouais* were shot dead by the fire of the fort, or by that made upon them by the *Miamis* and the *Hurons*. While this disorder was at the highest, the *Outaouais* unexpectedly retired to their township, as did the other savages to theirs.

Conduct of
Vaudreuil
on that oc-
casion.

VAUDREUIL, who was then at *Quebec*, hearing of this disturbance, was at a loss how to behave. His perplexity was increased by a deputation he received from the *Iroquois*, who required him to abandon the protection of so faithless a nation as the *Outaouais* were, and declared that they were ready to make war upon them. By this time, *Cadillac* had returned to *Detroit* with all his family and a large convoy of men and provisions; so that *Vaudreuil* could not consult with him. All he could do was to talk to the *Iroquois* in so resolute a tone, that he diverted them from their design to the great disappointment of the *English*. At the same time, he resolved not to suffer the *Outaouais* to be ruined or driven to despair,

despair, because of their importance to the fur trade. Soon after, one of the chiefs of that nation came to *Quebec*, and acquainted him that all the *Outaouais* had removed from *Detroit* to *Michillimakinac*, where they were well received by their brethren there, and that they were resolved to stand or fall by one another. Notwithstanding this important advice, *Vaudreuil*, as a mark of his resentment, ordered all the *French* at *Michillimakinac* to withdraw into the colony in hopes that such an order might divide the savages; and he commanded *Cadillac* to act upon the defensive only, till it could be known what turn affairs would take. Those orders came too late to have effect. While he was upon his march he had heard what had happened at the fort, and he summoned the *Tsnonthouans* and the other *Iroquois* chiefs, as if he intended to have exterminated the *Outaouais*; but the latter growing bold by despair, he dismissed the *Iroquois*, and remained quiet. In the month of *June 1707*, a deputation, headed by *John the White*, who had been very active in the affair of *Detroit*, waited upon *Vaudreuil*, and made a most artful apology for all that had passed. *Vaudreuil*'s answer was, that the deputies must repair to *Detroit*, and there make reparation for their fault; that he would signify his pleasure to *Cadillac*, and that they must obey whatever he should injoin them to do. He then dismissed the deputies, but without accepting the belt they offered him, and sent *St. Pierre*, one of his officers, along with them to *Detroit*.

1707.

WHEN they arrived, there *Cadillac* told them that they had no mercy to expect unless they put into his hand *Pesant*. This was the name of a savage *Outaouais*, whom *John the White* accused of being, as he really was, the main author of the *Miamis* massacre; for which reason, his countrymen would not suffer him to go along with the deputation. Perceiving in what situation they were, they offered to return to *Michillimakinac*, and either send the criminal to *Detroit*, or take off his head there. They accordingly set out attended by *St. Pierre*, and, in a few days, the *Outaouais* brought *Pesant* to *Detroit*. He was at first put into irons, but the chiefs of his nation interceding for him upon their knees, he was most injudiciously pardoned by *Cadillac*, instead of being given up to the justice of his own nation. This step was the more impolitic, because it gave a handle for the *Miamis* to reproach *Cadillac* for breach of promise, and disappointed them of their revenge; from which they were not to be so easily diverted. Their principal settlement was on the river *St. Joseph*, above one hundred leagues from *Detroit*, from whence *Cadillac* had recalled the missionary *Aveneau*, who

Imprudence of
la Motte
Cadillac.

who had great interest with them; not chusing that a jesuit should have so much influence with so distant a nation. After this recall, all the *Miamis* united in demanding justice upon *Pesant*, and finding that *Cadillac* trifled with them, they killed three *Frenchmen*, and committed some other disorders in the neighbourhood of *Detroit*. *Cadillac* was preparing to chastize them when he discovered, that the *Iroquois* and the *Hurons* had joined them in a conspiracy to massacre all the *French* in *Detroit*; and this obliged him to clap up a dishonourable peace with the savages. The *Miamis* observed the terms of this treaty so ill, that the *French* commandant took the field against them at the head of four hundred men, and obliged them to throw themselves at his feet. They were pardoned, but it was judged proper to send back the missionary, who alone was able to moderate their passions, and to keep their sallies within bounds.

*Success of
Joncaire
with the
Iroquois.*

JONCAIRE, all this while, behaved with so much address, and activity amongst the *Iroquois* cantons, whose language he spoke as if he had been a native, that he disconcerted all the intrigues of the *English*. *Schuyler*, at the same time, was playing the same game amongst the Christian *Iroquois*, who had been colonized in *Canada*. They had for some years sensibly relaxed in their piety, which was attributed to the strong liquors furnished them by the *English*, in defiance of all the orders of their king and governor to the contrary. The plan of an expedition was now formed against *New England* in a great council at *Montreal*, at which the chiefs of the Christian savages assisted. It was to consist of them, the *Abenakis*, one hundred choice *Canadians*, and a considerable body of volunteers, many of whom were officers, the whole amounting to four hundred men; the *French* to be commanded by *Mess. de St. Ours des Chaillons*, and *Hertel de Rouville*, and the savages by *M. le Sieur Boucher de la Perriere*. The two former were to march by the river *St. Francis*, together with the *Algonquins*, the *Abenakis* of *Bekancourt* and the *Hurons* of *Loretto*. The latter were to take the route of lake *Champlain*, and the general place of rendezvous was to be lake *Nikispique*, where they were to be joined by the neighbouring savages of *Acadia*. They set out on the 26th of *July*, but when *Chaillons* and *Rouville* came to the river *St. Francis* they were informed that the *Hurons* had returned, from a superstitious panic they had conceived upon one of their number being killed. The *Iroquois*, who were marching with *Perriere* by lake *Champlain*, followed their example, under pretence of some of their number being sick, and that the rest of the army were in danger of being infected.

V.A.U.

VAUDREUIL, who had advice of those desertions, ordered *Expedition* the commanders, by all means, to proceed, even though they *against* should be abandoned by all the remaining savages, and ra- the Eng- ther than return without doing any thing, to attack some lish, and lone place. When *Chaillons* communicated the governor's let- Haverhill ter to the savages they swore they would follow him to death, taken by and after a most fatiguing march of fifty leagues they ar- the French rived at lake *Nikispique*; but there they were disappointed in meeting with any savages. Hearing of an *English* village in the neighbourhood, called *Haverhill*, consisting of twenty-five or thirty well built houses, under the protection of a fort garrisoned by thirty soldiers, who had been sent thither a few days before by the governor of *New England*, on his being informed of the *French* irruption, the *French* and their savages attacked this fort, took it, and set it on fire with all the houses, and in them a number of *English*, besides about one hundred who were put to the sword. There is, however, great reason, as we have often hinted before, for distrusting the *French* accounts of their expeditions, when they are supported by no other evidence than the report of the officers who carried them on. They tell us that after performing this brave exploit, they perceived by the drums and trumpets * (O) of the neighbouring forts and villages, that they were in danger of being surrounded, that they prepared to retreat, carrying along with them a considerable number of prisoners, and a sufficiency of provisions to subsist them in their return; but that, as for plunder, they never thought of it, till it was consumed in flames. After marching a little way, they were attacked by seventy *English*, who lay in ambush at the entrance of a wood, and soon found themselves surrounded by numbers of horse and foot. Notwithstanding this, they pushed forward, and, after killing or taking prisoners all the seventy *English*, excepting ten or twelve, who ran away, they returned to *Montreal* with the loss of no more than five *French* and three savages killed, and eighteen wounded. We are to observe, however, that of all the boasted number of prisoners that were made, they brought very few to *Montreal*, the rest having made their escape. Upon the whole, there seems to have been no other truth in the account of this pom-

* CHARLEVOIX, Vol. IV. p. 36.

(O) A slight view of the map must convince any one of the improbability of this relation. *Haverhill*, or as *Charlevoix* calls it, *Hevreuil* lies considera-

bly to the north of lake *Nikispique* according to his own map and consequently on the borders of *French Canada*, without any *English* settlement near it.

MOD. HIST. VOL. XL,

M

pout

pous expedition, than that a body of *French* and savage rangers attacked a little out-settlement of the *English* under the guard of a block-house, garrisoned by twenty five or thirty men; and that they most inhumanly burnt the place, and butchered or carried into captivity the inhabitants. Neither the *French* nor their savages are so regardless of plunder, as to set it on fire when they can secure it to themselves.

Intrigues of THE true secret why the *Iroquois* had abandoned *la Perrière*
Schuyler in this expedition now appeared to be the intrigues which
against the *Schuyler* had carried on with the Christian *Iroquois* of the fall
French. of *St. Lewis* and the highlands. But *Schuyler* seems to have depended too much upon the assurances they had given him, that neither they nor any of their nation should serve any more against the *English*. All this intelligence came from an *English* prisoner, who had been taken at *Haverhill*; and *Vaudreuil*, who was perfectly well acquainted with the nature of those savages knew so well how to pique their pride by affecting a neglect and contempt for all they could do, that, instead of observing their promises to *Schuyler*, they took arms, and joining the *Abenakis*, they filled all *New England* and *New York* with their ravages. *Vaudreuil* complained of *Schuyler's* tampering with the colonized savages of *New France*, and of his instigating the other savages to take arms, while he himself was willing to grant *New York* a neutrality, which was as advantageous to that colony as to *New France*. *Schuyler* honestly avowed that the reason of his corresponding with the savages for a neutrality, was from the Christian motive of preventing their committing those excesses in war which were shocking to humanity itself, and which his own mind could not bear to reflect on without pain and horror. The reply of the *French* to this candid declaration consisted not in denying the facts, but in recriminating upon the *English* for the encouragement and protection they had formerly given to the *Iroquois* against the *French*. We may here remark one particular arising from this altercation, which is, that *Schuyler*, and perhaps, all the *English* in *North America*, were of opinion, from experience, that the heathen savages were far from being so barbarous as the popish. But in the main, however the *French* may recriminate on this head, it is certain that they themselves were the fundamental aggressors, and that they were, at this very time, establishing their colony of *Louisiana* upon lands that were the undoubted property of the crown of *England*. It ought, therefore, to be no surprize if the government of *Old England* did endeavour to form a party amongst the *French American* allies. With regard to the *Iroquois*, of whom the *French* complained so much as their
being

*His honest
 declaration.*

*General
 view of
 the French
 and Eng-
 lish go-
 vernment
 in North
 America.*

being instigated to their barbarities by the *English*, nothing could be more groundless than that charge. The *English*, it is true, had bargained and honestly paid for great part of their lands, and therefore had a right to claim a property in them, as well as to account those savages, who remained upon them, and had put themselves under the protection of their government, subjects to the crown of *Great Britain*. But they enforced even this claim so gently, that their *Indians* scarcely felt subjection, and they had treated the *Iroquois* as a free and independent people, even when they were paying them for serving in the field. The *French*, on the other hand, on the strength of the fictions of their missionaries, the impudent assertions of their ministers; with a thousand other delusions and fallacies, claimed a direct dominion over all the *Indians* in *North America*, even over those, who, by length of time, had become naturalized subjects of *Great Britain*; because they were of nations who had formerly submitted to the *French* government. Having established this system of power, their next step was to endeavour to persuade not only the savages but the *Europeans* into a notion that all the settlements of the *English* in *North America* were so many usurpations and encroachments upon their property. To support those unwarrantable claims, they invented boundaries. They changed the names of places, and even delineated charts with such fictitious longitudes, latitudes, and situations, as best suited their views.

THE importance of the *Newfoundland* fisheries becoming *St. John* every day more evident; a *French* officer, one *St. Ovide*, in *New-* a lieutenant of *Placentia*, and nephew to *Brouillon*; formed a *soundland* project, which he communicated to another *Frenchman*, one *taken and* *Costebelle*, then governor of *Placentia*, for destroying all the *demolished* remaining *English* settlements in the bay of *St. John*; and, *by the* that too, at his own expence. The project was approved of, *French*. and *St. Ovide* soon mustered about one hundred and twenty-five men, exclusive of twenty-four of the garrison of *Placentia*, lent him by *Costebelle*. On the 14th of *December* they began their march; on the 20th they came to the lower end of *St. Mary's* bay, and, by the assistance of some shipping, sent them by *Costebelle*, they arrived on the last day of the year; within five leagues of *St. John's*, without being discovered. As the commandant (who it seems had some secret ill wishes amongst the adventurers) could hope to succeed only by surprise, he advanced within three hundred feet of the first palisade he was to attack, and though some shot were fired at him, pushing forward, he entered by the gate which had been left open, and calling out *Vive le Roy*, the *English* were so dispirited;

rited, that he and his friends had time to fix their scaling ladders to the main body of the place, which they mounted; and became masters of, after a very faint resistance on the part of the *English*, who begged for quarter; so that in less than half an hour the *English* governor of fort *William* being wounded they took possession of both forts. This was the more extraordinary as one of them mounted eighteen pieces of cannon and four mortars, besides other artillery, and had a garrison of one hundred men under a good officer. In the other fort were six hundred inhabitants; but according to the *French* accounts, they could not force open the door of a subterraneous passage, which communicated with the first fort time enough to come to the assistance of the garrison there. A third fort, which was likewise well provided with artillery, and a garrison lying on the other side of the harbour, surrendered upon being summoned. *St. Ovide* dispatched an account to *Costevelle* of this success; but in the mean time without his order he sent off one *Despensens* in a small vessel he found in the harbour with a like account to *Europe*. His triumph was of no long continuance; for he received orders from the governor of *Placentia* to dismantle the forts, and to return to *Placentia* by the end of *March* at farthest. *Costevelle*, at the same time, sent a frigate to bring the *English* governor and the garrisons of the forts, with all the ammunition, of which there was a great quantity, to *Placentia*; which, had not *St. John's* not been surprised by *St. Ovide*, was to have been attacked by three hundred *English*, who had their magazines there. *St. Ovide* was obliged to obey those mortifying orders, and it is said that the *French* court afterwards repented their having approved of the advice of *Costevelle* for demolishing *St. John's*.

The conquest of Quebec resumed by the English.

WE have, in the history of *New England*, mentioned a scheme that was formed by the whig ministry for the conquest of *Quebec*, and the reason why it was then laid aside. It is to the reproach of the *English Americans* that they have taken so little care of ascertaining their transactions at this period, that we must, in a great measure, depend upon the *French* for our information. We shall proceed as cautiously as possible where any thing occurs that clashes with the *English* accounts. Before the news of *St. Ovide's* success in *Newfoundland* reached *Quebec*, *Vaudreuil* had been alarmed with advices from all hands of the vast preparations that were making in the *English* settlements against *Canada*. Father *Moreville*, the *French* missionary at *Onontagué*, had endeavoured for several months past to put *Vaudreuil* upon his guard; but his intelligence was disregarded on account of the great opinion the

governor-general had of an *Iroquois*, who was the secret agent of the *English* in his canton. Notwithstanding this, all the *Iroquois* cantons, except the *Tsonnonthouans*, entered into a treaty at *Onnontagué*, and set up the war-song against the *French*; so that it was with vast difficulty that father *Moreville* escaped to *New Orange*, where, though he was a prisoner, he was treated by *Schuyler* with the utmost indulgence and humanity. In the month of *June* 1710, *Vaudreuil* having now 1719. certain intelligence of the designs of the *English*, put every thing into a posture of defence at *Quebec*, and repaired to *Montreal*, from whence he sent *de Rouville* with a party of two hundred and fifty men, to reconnoitre towards lake *Champlain*, where the *English* were expected; but *Rouville*, hearing nothing of them, returned, without doing any thing, to *Montreal*. On the 10th of *May* colonel *Vetch*, whom we have mentioned in the history of *New England*, and who was joined with governor *Nicholson* in soliciting the expedition against *Canada*, arrived from *England* at *Boston*; from whence he proceeded to *New York* to expedite the levies that were destined against *Montreal*. We shall not here examine the detail given us by *Charlevoix* concerning the views of the whig ministry in fitting out at this time an armament against *Canada*; because they are of very little importance, and all he speaks of them is uncertain. There is no doubt that they would have been extremely glad to have carried it into execution; and there is as little, that when they saw it fall into the hands of their enemies they took but small concern in its success. Two thousand *English*, and an equal number of *Miscarri-* vages, were to attack the government of *Montreal*, and their *age of Ra-* rendezvous was fixed to the river of *Chicot*, two leagues from *mezey a-* lake *Champlain*; from whence they were to fall down, in ca- *gainst the* noes and boats, to *Chambly*. *Vaudreuil*, upon this intelligence, *English*; resolved in a grand council of war to march a considerable body of troops towards *New York*, there to dissipate the gathering storm. *Ramezay* offered his service to command in this expedition; but, several differences subsisting between him and *Vaudreuil*, it was not accepted of till some time after. He then understanding that the *English* were actually upon their march gave *Ramezay* the command of 1500 men; of whom one hundred were regulars, and the rest militia and savages. The governor then went down to *Quebec*, where he laid an embargo upon all the shipping in that harbour. It was the 28th of *July* before *Ramezay* began his march with his army, which was commanded by the best and most experienced officers in *Canada*; but each envied the other, and there was neither subordination nor authority amongst the

commanders. It is true they marched forty leagues in three days; but when they were upon the point of entering upon action, a thousand false reports were spread, and difficulties occurred, which determined the savages not to advance farther. *Ramezay*, who thought himself secure of his blow, would have proceeded, notwithstanding the report that 5000 *English* were well entrenched only a few miles distant; but the backwardness of the savages, and the dread of not being obeyed by his own officers, determined him to a retreat. While he was upon his march in the middle of *September*, he received advice by an *Iroquois* from the *English* camp, that 2500 men had been detached to build a fort at the extremity of lake *St. Sacrament*, and that six hundred *English* and their allies had been sent to take post upon lake *Champlain* at a place from which they were no more than two days journey from *Chambly*. To this place *Vaudreuil* immediately repaired with a considerable body of regulars and militia: but after remaining there for some time he heard nothing of the enemy, and this brings us to the history of the *English* in this their unfortunate expedition.

and of the
English
against
Montreal.

THE four *Iroquois* cantons, who had pretended to declare for the *English*, were so far from being sincere in their professions, that they intended nothing more than to follow their old policy, and to render themselves so necessary to both parties, that they could always cast the balance between them. This maxim was so forcibly explained by the orator of the *Onnontagué*, or one of their elders, that a resolution was taken to remain inactive till they could see what turn affairs would take, and then to follow that course that could most effectually contribute to their interest and independency. In consequence of this plan they indeed joined the *English* army; but finding that it was strong enough to take *Montreal*, thought of nothing but how they could most effectually destroy it. According to *Charlevoix*, (who had his information from father *Morevillie*) the *Iroquois*, to compass this end, threw the skins of all the creatures they killed in hunting into the river, on which the *English* lay, a little above the place of their own encampment; and this infected the water so much that above 1000 *English* died of drinking it. But without having recourse to so extraordinary a fact, we may without any breach of probability suppose, that the *Iroquois* began to cool in their zeal for the *English* so visibly, that the latter were disheartened from proceeding; that diseases making havock in their camp, that the numbers of the *French* coming to attack them being exaggerated, and that misunderstandings prevailing amongst themselves, determined them to retreat to

New

New York, which they did. But the most probable reason of all seems to have been the failure of their appointment with their fleet and the people of *Boston*. Whatever may be in this, it is certain that *Canada* was then delivered from a most dreadful blow. When the *English* returned to *New York*, they understood that their fleet, which was destined for the siege of *Quebec*, was not yet arrived at *Boston*, and was employed in *Portugal*, where that king, without their assistance, must have otherwise been reduced to make a separate peace with *Spain*.

IN the following winter the *Onnontaguèse* applied by their deputies to *Vaudreuil*, begging him to receive them again into favour, and even apologized for the conduct of *Schuy-guèse* and *ler*, and the people of *New York*, who had obliged them *Agniers* to break the peace. It is probable that *Vaudreuil* was fully sensible of the treachery of the *Iroquois* towards the *English*; for he gratified the barbarians in all they required, and particularly in an exchange of prisoners; but he told them at the same time, that the rest of the allies had long demanded his permission for making war upon them, and, if they would avoid that destruction, they must live in peace, otherwise, he would most certainly let loose all his children upon them. The *Onnontaguèse* were scarcely gone, when a deputation came from the *Agniers* with the like professions, and protesting that they never would, from that time forward, take up the hatchet against the *French*. Though *Vaudreuil* was sensible that their connexions with the province of *New York* were so strong they could not fulfil their promises, yet he was extremely civil to the deputies, and sent them away in very good humour.

THE news which arrived from *Hudson's Bay* somewhat damped the joy of the *Canadians* upon the disappointment of Mr. *Vetches's* expedition against *Montreal*. *Mantet* had undertaken, with a party from *Canada*, to render himself master of fort *St. Anne* in that bay, but failed, and was killed in the attempt, through the cowardice of the party he commanded, and his own imprudence in not having sufficiently reconnoitred the place. Things were more happily managed on the part of the *French* in *Newfoundland*. The only post of consequence which the *English* now held there was the isle of *Carboniere*, which *Costebelle* laid down a scheme for reducing, in which he was promised to be supported by the *French* court, if he could entirely drive the *English* from that coast. But as the reinforcements from *Old France* were long upon their voyage, *Costebelle* resolved to attempt their reduction with the force he had with him; of which he made two detachments, the one to march by land, the other to be carried in two

small sloops by sea, and the whole to be under the command of one *Bertrand*, a *Placentian*, a man of courage and experience. The two detachments were fitted out, and proceeded with so much secrecy, that they arrived at *Trinity bay*, which is in the neighbourhood of *Carboniers*, without being discovered. Here they found an *English* frigate carrying thirty cannon, and one hundred and thirty men. The *French* sloops, who had on board but five and twenty men a piece, immediately boarded and took the frigate; but with the loss of their leader *Bertrand*, whose place was supplied by a resolute young man, named *Dacarette*. Soon after, two *English* pirates came in sight. One mounted twenty-two guns, and the other eighteen, and making up, began to fire upon the prize. *Dacarette* would willingly have engaged them both: but his crew being discouraged by the death of their leader refused to stand by him; so that all he could do was to cut his cables, and to run out of the bay; by which he cleared himself of the two pirate ships. The other detachment all this time were waiting on shore; and seeing no probability of their being joined by those on board, they fell upon the defenceless inhabitants, whose houses they demolished and plundered, and then retired to *Placentia*, where the two sloops arrived soon

Misconduct
of the
French
and Eng-
lish.

after. Such were the unmanly expeditions of the *French* against the *English*, and indeed both courts were at this time highly blameable with regard to their *American* settlements. The possession of the fisheries of *Newfoundland* were acknowledged by *French* writers to be of infinitely more value than all *Canada*, and yet the efforts they made to keep possession of them were despicable beyond expression. The *English*, on the other hand, were as sensible, as the *French* were, of the value of those fisheries; but suffered their ships to lie rotting in their harbours, and their sea-commanders to prey upon their *American* subjects rather than make any national efforts to secure so invaluable a treasure. Upon comparison, therefore, the *English* appear most to blame, being far superior to the *French* in wealth and numbers upon the continent of *America*, not to mention the superiority of their marine both there and in *Europe*.

Port Roy-
al conquer-
ed by the
English.

IN the year 1710 six men of war with a bomb ketch, and some troops, arrived at *Boston* upon a new expedition against *Acadia*; which, if successful, was to have been the prelude to the conquest of all *New France*. *Subercase*, on the other hand, invited to *Acadia* all the freebooters, pirates, and men of desperate fortune on the continent of *America* and its islands, with a view of making a strong settlement at *la Hève*;

Y CHARLEVOIX, Vol. IV. p. 58.

but

but his project was disappointed by the inability which *Old France* was under to support them. He had better success in spiriting up the *Abenakis* and the savages of *Canada* against the *English*, whom they murdered wherever they had an opportunity. According to the best accounts, the court of *England* was much better informed than that of *France* was with regard to the importance of *Acadia*; which queen *Anne's* ministry continued in their resolution to conquer, cost what it would. *Subercase* was not ignorant of this, and had sent repeated advices of the danger of that province to *Vaudreuil*, the governor of *New France*, and to the court of *Old France*, but with very little effect; so that *Subercase*, though undoubtedly a very able officer, became indifferent as to the fate of the province. The *English*, ignorant of his dispositions, continued to make preparations at a vast expence for the reduction of *Acadia*; and in *July* 1710 general *Nicholson* arrived at *Boston* from *England* with some *British* officers, and colonel *Reading's* marines. He brought with him instructions for all the governments in *New England* to assist him in his expedition; and adjutant general *Vetch* was joined with him in the command. In *August* an *English* man of war of sixty guns, with a brigantine, and a sloop, blocked up *Port Royal* in such a manner that it could receive no supplies by sea, which obliged the garrison, who every moment expected a general attack, to perform very severe duty. On the 18th of *September* the grand armament sailed from *Boston*². It consisted of the *Dragon*, *Falmouth*, *Leostaff*, and *Feversham* men of war, the *Star* bomb, and the *Massachusetts's* province-galley, with transports, in all thirty-six sail; the land forces aboard, were, one regiment of marines from *England*, two regiments of *Massachusetts's* Bay, one regiment of *Connecticut*, and one regiment of *New Hampshire* and *Rhode Island*, commissioned by the queen, and armed by her gift. On the 5th of *October* the whole armament, amounting, according to the *French* accounts, to fifty one ships arrived in the basin of *Port Royal*, and threw anchor before the fort. *Subercase*, who very justly thought he had been neglected by his court, made no dispositions for defence, and suffered the *English* to land next day without opposition. He had under his command no more than three hundred effective men, but all of them as well as the inhabitants of the place disaffected to a service, in which they considered themselves as being sacrificed. The besiegers, on the other hand, are said to have amounted to 3400 men, exclusive of officers and sailors; so that *Subercase* only thought of making such a defence as might

² DOUGLASS's Summary, Vol. I. Page 308.

enable him to come off with honour. As soon as the *English* came up to the fort he made a general discharge of his artillery, which obliged them to retire. A brisk cannonade on both sides then followed, and some bombs were thrown into the place from the *English* bomb ketches. One of their fire-ships blew up, in attempting to enter the harbour, with all its crew, consisting of forty men. On the 10th, the bombardment again began; but with very little effect. The inhabitants, however, knowing that the place was not defensible, above fifty of them left it: and they who staid behind presented a petition to the governor, requesting him to take their situation into his consideration, and expressing their apprehensions, that they would be put to the sword, in case the place was taken by storm. *Subercase*, upon this, summoned a council of war, where it was concluded to make the best terms they could with the *English* general. At first, they demanded liberty for all the women to leave the fort, which being refused, *Subercase* desired an interview with *Nicholson*, and the latter sent into the fort a subaltern, who regulated the articles of capitulation; the circumstances of which are differently related by the *French* and the *English*. According to the *English** they were, that all the *French*, being four hundred and eighty one persons within the *Banlieu*, or three miles of the fort, shall be put under the protection of *Great Britain*, upon their taking the proper oaths of allegiance; the other *French* settlers left to discretion; that, in case the *French* make incursions upon the frontiers of *New England*, the *British* shall make reprisals upon the *French* in *Nova Scotia*, by making some of their chief inhabitants slaves to their *Indians*. The garrison was allowed to march out with six cannon and two mortars; but the inhabitants having driven away all the cattle, *Subercase* could only retain one mortar, and was obliged to sell the rest to *Nicholson* for about 350*l.* sterling. According to the *English* accounts, the garrison consisted of two hundred and fifty-eight soldiers, with their officers and other inhabitants, in all four hundred and eighty one persons, male and female. The *French* historian says, that the garrison consisted only of one hundred and fifty-six men, and that *Nicholson* repented of having granted a capitulation to a place, which, upon taking possession of it, he found must have surrendered in twenty-four hours for want of provisions. The garrison were sent to *Rebelle* in *France*, but were replaced by two hundred *English* marines, and two hundred and fifty *New England* volunteers, while the name of *Port Royal*, in com-

Terms of
the capitulation.

* DOUGLASS'S Summary, page 309.

pliment to queen *Anne*, was converted into that of *Annapolis Royal*. The charge of this expedition cost the people of *New England* 23,000 l. sterling, which was afterwards repaid by parliament.

SOME disputes between *Nicholson* and *Subercase* happened with regard to the capitulation. *Nicholson* sent major *Livingston*, and *Subercase* the baron *St. Castin*, to *Vaudreuil*, then governor-general of *New France*, with a copy of the capitulation. *Livingston* insisted that all the country, except that part which was within reach of the *Port Royal* artillery, was excluded from any advantage of the capitulation; and that the rest of the province with its inhabitants was at the discretion of the *English*. *Livingston* added great complaints upon the cruelties of the *French* savages, and threatened, that, if they should continue to exercise their barbarities on the subjects of *Great Britain*, reprisals would be made on the *French* inhabitants of *Acadia*, and then he proposed an exchange of prisoners. It must be owned, that, if Mr. *Livingston* made those demands upon the *French* governor, in consequence of *Nicholson's* instructions, the latter was not a little unacquainted with the rules of war, unless he could have proved that the cruelties committed by the *French Indians* were either perpetrated by the orders of the *French*, or could have been prevented by them. *Vaudreuil* took care to inform *Livingston* of this, and appealed to the good treatment which the *English* prisoners had always met with from the *French*, and imputed all the miseries that had happened, in the course of the war, to the *English* having formerly rejected a proposal for a neutrality between the subjects of the two nations in *America*. *Livingston* had threatened that a number of *French* prisoners equal to those of the *English* should be put into the hands of the *English Indians*. *Vaudreuil* threatened to do the same by putting his *English* prisoners into the hands of the *French* savages.

VAUDREUIL, on this occasion, wrote both to *Nicholson*, and *Dudley*, governor of *New England*; and sent his letters by the two best partizan-officers he had, that they might have an opportunity of seeing the country. In the mean while, he nominated the baron *de St. Castin*, then commandant at *Pentagoet*, to be governor of all that remained to the *French* in *Acadia*. Mr. *Vetch* was the *English* governor of *Annapolis*, and the *French* inhabitants of *Acadia* made lamentable complaints of his severity. It must be acknowledged, that the *French* governors and officers on this occasion, acted with more policy and wisdom than the *English*. The latter had little or no intelligence of the weak state of their enemies,

enemies, and were at an immense expence, which they might have spared, in guarding against them. The *French* knew the real strength of the *English*, whom they took care to keep in ignorance of their condition. *Vaudreuil*, however, perceived that all his art could not conceal from his savage allies the weak condition of his government; and was obliged to have recourse to his missionaries for fixing them in his interest, in which he succeeded beyond expectation, notwithstanding the great power of the *English*, and the vast presents they lavished amongst the savages.

Defeat
of the
English.

ON the 4th of *August*, 1711, *Vaudreuil* received a letter from one of the *French* missionaries, informing him that forty savages, having defeated a numerous party of *English*, had joined with some *French*, and that they had invested the fort of *Port Royal*, where above half the garrison had died during the winter. Upon this intelligence, *Vaudreuil* detached the marquis *D'Alogniers*, at the head of twelve of his best officers and two hundred men, to press the siege; but while they were upon their march, advice came of the *English* preparations against *Quebec*, and they were countermanded. Nothing is more certain, than that, had the *English*, at this time, acted with common sense in *North America*, the *French* might have been entirely driven out of it. *Pontchartrain*, in all his dispatches addressed to the *French* officers there, manifested the utmost uneasiness at *Port Royal* being in the hands of the *English*, and pressed *Vaudreuil* to raise all the force of *Canada* to retake it, which the latter offered to do, provided he was assisted only by two ships from *Old France*; but so desperate were the affairs of his most Christian majesty at that time, that that request, despicable as it was, could not be complied with. *Pontchartrain*, however, from time to time, received from the *French Acadians* the strongest assurances of their affection to the crown of *France*, and that necessity alone obliged them to submit to the *English*. Upon this, he negotiated with the merchants of *Rochelle*, *Rochfort*, *St. Malo*, *Nantes*, *Bayonne*, and other places for erecting a company strong enough to people *La Heve* and *Chedabouctou*, and to recover *Acadia* from the *English*. But, though his most Christian majesty offered all the encouragement that was in his power to give to the adventurers in such an undertaking, the credit of his crown was then so low, that the project came to nothing. In the mean while, so artfully had the *French* missionaries spirited up their savages, that they acted with the most determined inveteracy against the *English*. The latter, in consequence of the surrender of *Port Royal*, considered themselves as masters of *Acadia*; and the *English* governor

governor there sent out sixty of his soldiers, under the command of captain *Pigeon* with proper officers, in canoes to burn the habitations of the *French*, who refused to submit to the *English* government. The savages, hearing of this, watched their opportunity, and formed an ambuscade, which cut off all the *English* party, but one man. This success encouraged the *French* and their savages so greatly, that in the month of *June*, five hundred of them invested the fort of *Port Royal*, and one of their missionaries offered to be responsible for taking the place, if *Costebelle*, the *French* governor of *Placentia*, would send him a proper officer to command the siege. This could not be obtained; upon which the *French* and savages broke up the siege; though the garrison was reduced by sickness from five hundred, to one hundred and fifty, men. Notwithstanding this, the *French* inhabitants continued to harass the *English*, whenever they had an opportunity.

Acadia
yielded by
the treaty
of Utrecht.

At last, the government of *England* began to open their eyes with regard to the necessity of conquering *Canada*. The acquisition of *Port Royal* had struck the savages with terror, and many, even of the *French* Christian converts, began to look coldly on the interests of *New France*, which occasioned *Vaudreuil's* encreasing the number of missionaries and agents, amongst them, to rekindle their zeal. He ordered all the well affected to his government, that lived amongst the northern and western savages, to rendezvous at *Montreal*, to which he himself repaired on the ice. This was the more necessary, as he had intelligence, that the governor of *New York* was endeavouring to engage the *Iroquois* in an offensive league against the *French*, and none could answer for the consequences. The baron de *Longeul*, lieutenant for the king at *Montreal*, attended by *Foncaire* and *la Chauvignerie*, undertook to treat with the *Iroquois* to preserve their neutrality. But, though the cantons of *Tsonmonthouan* and *Onnontague* sent deputies to *Montreal*; they gave them no great satisfaction as to the other five cantons, who, they said, were intimidated by the success and debauched by the presents, of the *English*. Preparations for war went on at a great rate in *New York*, which, *Vaudreuil* being no stranger to, he issued the most vigorous orders for putting *Quebec* in a state of defence, and he effected a reconciliation between the two *Iroquois* deputies, and the upper savages, who had come down to *Montreal* to the number of about five hundred. It was not long before *Vaudreuil* had accounts from *Costebelle* of general *Nicholson* arriving from *England* at *Boston*, with two seventy gun ships, which were to be followed by the grand armament destined for

for the conquest of *Quebec*; the particulars of which are to be found in the preceding volume. The news of this force arriving before *Boston* was carried by a *Martinico* privateer to *Placentia*, and soon after *Vaudreuil* had intelligence of its having left *Boston*, and that two hundred battoes were ready at *New York*; besides a hundred more daily expected for embarking two thousand *English*, who were to proceed against *Montreal*, while the fleet and the land forces from *Europe* were acting against *Quebec*.

*Expedition
of the
English
against
Quebec.*

VAUDREUIL, on this occasion, omitted no duty of a brave and prudent officer. He confirmed the two *Iroquois* cantons in their neutrality; and, notwithstanding the great advantages, which the upper savages had in trading with the *English*, they joined the colonized *Indians* in the war long against the *English*; and the governor-general even obtained hostages from the *Algonquins* for their fidelity, as he did from the *Abenakis*. All which pieces of good fortune for the *French* government, *Charlevoix*, (perhaps, not without reason) ascribes to the labours of the missionaries. When *Vaudreuil* returned to *Quebec*, he not only found the fortifications in excellent order through the skill and application of *Beaucourt*, who served as engineer, but the place provided with every thing for holding out a long siege, and the garrison with the inhabitants, even to the women, resolved to defend themselves to the last. All the proper dispositions being made by the governor-general, who placed his own son in the most dangerous part, on the 25th of *September*, advice came of the *English* fleet being seen to the number of ninety-six sail; but, some days after, intelligence came of their having returned. The particulars may be seen in the preceding volume. At last, it was reported, that the fleet had been shipwrecked near the *Seven Islands* in the river *St. Lawrence*; upon which *Vaudreuil* sent thither some vessels, who found the hulks of seven or eight large ships, but with all their guns and furniture taken out, and printed copies of the manifesto, that general *Hill* was to have distributed amongst the *Canadians* and the inhabitants of *New France*.

THIS is a curious piece, but far from being well drawn up. It roundly asserted, in general terms, that all *North America* originally belonged to the crown of *Great Britain*, which, from time to time, had portioned part of it to that of *France*, in the nature of fiefs; that the *French*, having broken the terms of those concessions, had forfeited all their right to the country, which the queen of *England*, as paramount of the same, had now sent to take possession of; and, that she looked upon all the *French Canadians* to be as much her subjects, as

If they were born in the dominions immediately depending on herself. There is nothing very particular in the remaining part of this manifesto, which is of an uncommon length, but heavy charges brought against the *French* and their *Indians* for their unheard of cruelties upon the *English* subjects. Nothing could be more injudicious, or more shocking to the descendants of the original natives, than the terms of this manifesto; for whatever encroachments the *French* might have been guilty of with regard to the *English*, it was highly imprudent in the latter to pretend that they had a direct dominion over the lands of the original proprietors, and contrary to the tenor of all the settlements they had made amongst the natives. In short, the mischief, which this ill-judged manifesto did to the *British* interest in *America* is inconceivable. *Charlevoix* blames the distrust and obstinacy of the *English* admiral for the loss of his ships; but he undoubtedly exaggerates, when he says that 3000 *English* were found dead upon the shores; the loss not amounting to above eight hundred men. The *English* were equally unfortunate in their expedition by land; for, though no fewer than six hundred *Iroquois* had joined the *English* under general *Nicholson*, yet they all left him, even before they heard that the *English* fleet had miscarried.

It miscarried.

THE chief object of the *English* armament was *Quebec*; As does its secondary one was *Placentia*; the conquest of which by their design the people of *England* was deemed, of the two, to be by far sign upon the most practicable and profitable for them. When the *New-English* fleet was under sail for *Quebec*, it intercepted a packet found-land from *Costebelle* to *Pontchartrain*, complaining of the dismal state of *Placentia*, and of the *French* in general in *Newfoundland*, where, he said, he could not muster a hundred men in all the island. It is certain, that when the *English* returned to *Spanish Bay*, they had on board above seven hundred and fifty men; and, granting their provisions could not have lasted for above ten weeks, the conquest of *Placentia* could not have cost them above three days. But, when a council of war was summoned, as if the members of it had been more than infatuated, they not only voted against any attempt being made upon *Placentia*, but that *Nicholson* should be ordered to desist in his expedition by land against *Montreal*, which accordingly came to nothing. All the advantage the *English* derived from this expensive expedition was the preservation of their new conquest of *Port Royal* in *Acadia*, the recovery of which became now to be a very serious consideration with the *French* ministry. *Pontchartrain* again pressed *Vaudreuil* to undertake it with the force he could raise in *New France*; *Vaudreuil*

Vaudreuil, to shew his zeal, had nominated the *marquis d'Alagnies* to the command of some troops, who were to assist the savages and *French of Acadia* in a kind of blockade, they had formed of *Port Royal*, but upon the news of the *English* invasion he was recalled.

1712.
Quebec
new fort-
ified.

IN the beginning of the year, 1712, the merchants of *Quebec* raised the sum of 50,000 crowns for completing the fortifications of that city. The late miscarriage of the *English* had now rendered the *French* more respectable than ever in the eyes of the savages. The deputies of the *Iroquois* made, in the name of their cantons, the most sincere professions of their attachment to the *French*, and *Vaudreuil* answered them with a tone of authority; but, before he dismissed them, gave them considerable presents. It was about this time, that the *Outagamis*, (vulgarly called the *Foxes*,) who for twenty-five years had scarcely been heard of, began to make a great figure in *North America*. They were accounted to be more fierce, resolute, and vindictive, than even the most savage of the *Iroquois*, and, by mingling with them, they had come over to the interest of the *English*, to whom they promised to surprize fort *Detroit*, and to put it into their hands. With this view, they lay very near the place, and omitted no opportunity of insulting the garrison, which was commanded by one *Du Buiffon*. Two other savage nations, the *Kicapois* and the *Mascontins* were confederated with them in the same design, which was discovered to *Du Buiffon*, by one *Joseph*, a christian *Outagamis*, who informed him that they were farther exasperated by their receiving intelligence that a hundred and fifty *Mascontins* had been cut off, as they were coming to join them, by the *Outaouais*. *Buiffon*, who had but twenty *Frenchman* in the fort, sent out to inform the *French Indians* of his danger; but they were gone a hunting. At last, having taken all precautions against a surprize, he understood that they were on their march to relieve him. They consisted of the *Outaouais*, headed by a chief, one *Saguima*, who had cut off the *Mascontins*; the *Hurons*, the *Pouteouatamis*, the *Sakis*, the *Malbomines*, the *Illinois*, the *Osages*, and the *Missourites*; each of whom had a particular standard. "See'st thou that smoke, *Saguima*, said the *Hurons* to him, (to animate him the more to vengeance,) it rises from the flames that are now consuming thy wife." When the confederates approached the fort, *Du Buiffon* ordered them to be admitted, and, after addressing them in a most affectionate pathetic manner, they were furnished with refreshments of all kinds, besides powder and ball.

THE

THE *Outagamis* had reared a fort within musket-shot of that of *Detroit*, where they waited for their enemies with the most astonishing intrepidity, till they were invested on all hands, and attacked with a very brisk fire. The brave defence they made obliged the assailants, at last, to raise two stages, each twenty-five feet high, from whence they battered the *Outagamis*, who now suffered every extreme of hunger and thirst. So great, however, was the affection of those poor wretches for the *English*, that they hoisted red coverlets by way of colours upon their palisades, calling out with all their might, that they had no other father but the *Englishman*, who would not fail to come to their relief, or revenge their death; at the same time, they advised the confederates to follow their example. It appears, as if those exclamations had made no inconsiderable impression upon the rest of the savages; and, of this *Du Buiffon* was so apprehensive that he ordered all conversation between the assailants and the besieged to be broken off. This could not be done before the latter had sheltered themselves in an adjoining house, against which *Du Buiffon* ordered cannon to be brought. After this, the *Outagamis* demanded a parley, which he would not grant without consent of the chiefs of his allies, whose opinion, upon consultation, was for it, that they might draw from their hands three of their women, whom the besieged held prisoners. Next morning *Pemoussa*, the chief of the *Outagamis*, was admitted into the assembly of the confederates, where he presented *Du Buiffon* with two captives and a belt, and the chiefs with the same, and begged for a delay of two days, that they might consult their elders upon the means of appeasing their father's wrath. The manner in which he spoke touched the savages so much, that they were dumb, till *Du Buiffon* told *Pemoussa*, that he could enter into no farther treaty with his people, till they sent him the three women, one of whom actually was the wife of *Saguima*. *Pemoussa*'s answer was, that he could say nothing on that head, till he had consulted the elders; and, having obtained a farther respite, he returned with a white flag in his hand, attended by two *Mascoutin* chiefs, and the three women whom he presented to the governor, who referred him to the chiefs of his allies, for what was farther to be done, upon the *Outagamis* demanding liberty to be gone. Upon this, the chief of the *Illinois* gave *Pemoussa* to understand that his people were to expect no mercy unless they surrendered at discretion; but he gave them liberty to enter the fort, and to make the best defence they could. They accordingly did so, and the fire on both sides being retarded, the besieged made so vigorous a resistance, that, by

Desperate
defence of
the Outa-
gamis,

discharging arrows with lighted matches, they set on fire several houses in the *French* settlement, which obliged the besiegers to cover the remaining with skins. This resolute defence so greatly dispirited the *French* and the savages, that the latter were on the point of re-imbarking for *Michillimakinac*. *Du Buiffon* found means to detain them by presenting them with every thing he was master of, and then the war-song was renewed, which gave the besieged to understand that they had now no safety to expect, unless they accepted of the terms proposed. They begged for some farther time; and they were permitted to send a fresh deputation to the camp of the besiegers, who, notwithstanding all their earnest instances, still insisted upon their surrendering at discretion; and it was with great difficulty that *Du Buiffon* hindered his savages from putting the deputies to death. They were suffered to return to their fort, from whence all of them escaped under the favour of a tempestuous night, after enduring for nineteen days, under all the pressures of nature, a most vigorous siege by very superior numbers.

who are
subdued.

In the morning, the *French* and their savages pursued them; and found them entrenched on a little tongue of land near the island of *St. Clare*. Here they were again besieged; but their defence for four days was so brave, that the *French* commandant was obliged to bring up the heavy artillery to force their entrenchments, upon which they surrendered at discretion. All who were found in arms were immediately put to death; the others were divided as slaves amongst the confederate *Indians*, who cut their throats likewise; so that few or none escaped the massacre; and it was computed, that upon the whole about 2000 of those brave savages were cut in pieces. It is impossible to read even the account in *Charlevoix* of this little campaign, without horror. The *Outagamis* appeared to have done nothing farther than to have declared themselves friends to the *English*, which was crime enough for their savage enemies, less barbarous than their *French* commander, under whose orders they acted, to put them to a general massacre after performing actions; that must have entitled them not only to pardon, but to esteem, from any but *Frenchmen*; or a *French Canadian*. Perhaps the reader will scarcely believe, what is true, that this horrible massacre has, with the *French* historian, raised *Du Buiffon* to the character of a good officer; and a man of honour.

State of
New
France at
the time of
the treaty
of Utrecht.

NEW FRANCE being now delivered from all its dangers, *Vaudreuil* applied himself to the re-establishment of the post of *Michillimakinac*, which had suffered greatly during the late commotions; and to which he sent proper officers and

agents,

Agents, to re-unite the savages in one common interest; in which they succeeded in appearance, but failed in reality. The natives there could not be persuaded to forbear their traffick with the *English*, in which they found so great advantage, and in which they were followed, even by the colonized savages; while the state of the *French* affairs in *Europe* was so low, that they could receive from thence no relief. The goods sent from *France* to *Canada* were so trifling in their value, that the merchants there had no returns to make equal to the furs imported by the savages, who, for that reason, were obliged to throw into the hands of the *English* by far the greatest part of the fur trade. Before the treaty of *Utrecht*, in the year 1713, was concluded, the governors of *New France* and *New England* received positive orders from their respective sovereigns to desist from all hostilities. It cannot be dissimbled, that the conclusion of that treaty was highly for the interests of the *English* in *America*, where they had been miserably mismanaged. The *Abenakis*, who remained firm to the *French*, were then carrying their ravages into the heart of *New England*; and, though by that treaty *Lewis XIV.* ceded his pretended superiority over the *Iroquois*, yet, by that time, the *French* had obtained such an ascendancy over them, that they declared they would maintain their own independance upon the *English*. All that the latter could do was to build a fort at the mouth of the river *Choguen*, where it discharges itself into the lake *Ontario*, in the country of the *Onnontague*; while the *French* obtained from the *Tsonmonthouans* a permission to build another at the mouth of the river *Niagara*. As to the *Abenakis*, whose land fell within the cession of territory made to the *English* by the twelfth article of the treaty of *Utrecht*, as being comprehended within the limits of *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, great difficulties occurred in the execution of that article. They were, of all the savages, the most irreconcilable to the *English* government, and the most wedded to popish absurdities. Nothing was omitted on the part of the *English* to win them over. They erected a free-school at the mouth of the river *Kennebeck*, and appointed a minister, who was to board and teach their young at the public expence. But all was in vain, so strong was the delusions of their missionaries. The governors of *New England* and *New York* very wisely bore this with patience; so that the savages, by degrees, even encouraged the erecting of store-houses upon their lands, till they saw them multiply so fast, that they expressed their jealousy of them. The *English* then could not help signifying to them, that their whole country had, by treaty, become the property of the crown of *England*.

1713.

Disputes
between
the Eng-
lish and
the sa-
vages.

The savages, though amazed at this, very sensibly complained to *Vaudreuil*, who made use of an evasion, unworthy a man of honour, and yet well adapted to encourage and confirm their dislike of the *English*; for he told them that no mention was made either of them, or their lands, in the treaty of *Utrecht*. When the governor of *New England*, in a conference he had with them, had convinced them of the truth, one of their chiefs replied with great spirit, That his majesty of *France* might dispose of what was his own as he pleased, but that the *Abenakis* held their land from nature, and that they would maintain their independency to the last child of their nation, who should be left alive. After this, upon some differences in matters of property, which were fomented by the popish missionaries, their deputies were arrested at *Boston*; and this, about the year 1721, produced some warm remonstrances on the part of the *Abenakis*. The case was perplexing. There could be no doubt with regard to the spirit and meaning of the treaty of *Utrecht*; but, from the moment that peace was concluded, the government of *New France*, from considering the *Abenakis* as slaves, affected to treat them as independent, and maintained amongst them an interest separate from the crown of *England*, which was extremely pleasing to the natural vanity of those savages. The *English*, on the other hand, could appeal only to the *French*, who denied their having had any authority over the savages, and maintained that they therefore could transfer none. They carried this insolent evasion so far, that when colonel *Shute*, then governor of *New England*, proposed a friendly conference for accommodating all differences, two jesuits and baron *St. Castin* proposed to be present on the part of the savages; and, therefore the governor very properly refused to attend the conference in person. This *St. Castin* had great credit with those savages. His mother being an *Abenakis*, and he himself bred up all his life amongst them, they had appointed him to be the commander in chief of their nation, and he affected on all occasions to appear as an *Abenakis*; but he wore a *French* uniform, as having a commission from his most Christian majesty, whom he acknowledged to be his sovereign. As his local allegiance undoubtedly was due to the crown of *England*, the governor of *New England* ordered him to be arrested, and he was carried in a ship of war to *Boston*; but so cautious were the *English* of offending the *Abenakis*, that, though he talked in a very independent tone, he was released.

Intrigues of a jesuit. THE *English* found a still greater obstacle to the conformity of those savages, in the person of one *Rafle*, an active zealous jesuit,

jesuit, who had long resided amongst them as a missionary, and had got so entire a possession of their affections, that they implicitly followed his dictates in every thing. Being an enthusiast for his country, as well as religion, he omitted nothing that could keep up the aversion of the *Abenakis* towards the *English*. It was in vain the latter, (who every day felt his influence with the savages,) insisted upon his being dismissed out of their nation, and sent to *Quebec*; and, at last, they were obliged not only to set a reward on his head, but to make an attempt to possess themselves of his person, in which they failed. This attack upon their favourite jesuit exasperated the savages more than that which had been made upon their independency. They sent deputies through all their brethren and allies to meet them at *Narransjouak*, their chief village, which they accordingly did; and nothing now but the war-song was to be heard, from the *Hurons* of *Loretto* to the savages of *New England*. They began by demolishing the *English* settlements on the banks of the rivers, where they destroyed all the lands and houses, but without offering any farther violence to the persons of the inhabitants than by confining five of them as hostages for their deputies, who were prisoners at *Boston*. It was impossible, and indeed would have been dangerous, for the *English* to have been longer passive. They broke into *Narransjouak*, where they shot the pestilent missionary dead, burnt the cabins, plundered the church, and killed some of the inhabitants, who opposed them, while others fled; and this severity, for some time, restored tranquillity to *New England*, but was far from reconciling the *Abenakis* to the *British* government. The *English* pretended they were in danger of losing all the acquisitions they had made in *Acadia*, and *Newfoundland*, by the treaty of *Utrecht*, through the inhabitants, *French* as well as savages, making use of the liberty which that treaty gave them, to retire to *Cape Breton*, and therefore they gave them such indulgences, that they did not seem to remember, their having changed their sovereign,

WHEN Mr. *Richards*, in 1720, took possession of the government of *Acadia* and *Newfoundland*, he was astonished to find part of his government living independent, not only of him, but of the crown of *England*. They openly traded with *Cape Breton*, then in the *French* possession. They acknowledged neither laws nor language, but what were *French*, and their priests publicly performed their sacerdotal functions, as if popery had been the established religion of the country. *Richards* very sensibly endeavoured to abridge those impolitic indulgences, both in *Acadia* and *Newfoundland*; but he was

1720.

not supported in this wise measure, which, if executed, might have prevented a vast effusion of blood and treasure, by the government at home. The truth is, king *George I.* at that time, had great connexions with the regent of *France*; but it was an unpardonable oversight to dispense with the *French Canadians* and *Acadians*, as well as the savages, who had become subjects of *Great Britain*, taking an oath of fidelity to that crown (P). As we intend to give, under a separate head, the history of the settlement on *Cape Breton*, which the *French* now projected, and carried into execution, as the most proper means for indemnifying themselves for the loss of what they had given up by the treaty of *Utrecht*, we shall only say, that that settlement; as well as that of the island of *St. John* was left entirely to the care of *Costebelle* and *St. Ovide*; the latter of whom proved a very active agent for *France* in all her differences with *Great Britain*.

The force
of Cana-
da.

It is equally astonishing, that the province of *Canada*, planted by a great and numerous people, should remain so long thinly inhabited, so poor, and so uncomfortable, as that it should, after so long a war as that which was terminated by the peace of *Utrecht*, be able to make head against the *English*, who were able, at that time, upon the same continent, to bring 60,000 fighting men into the field. As to the state of *Canada*, in the year 1714, we can have no better authority than the words of *Validreuil*, the governor-general, in his letter to *Pontchartrain*, the *French* minister. "Canada," says he, contains actually no more than 4484 inhabitants, able to bear arms from the age of 14 to 60; and the 28 companies of marines, paid by the king, amount to no more in number, than 628 soldiers." In the same letter, he lays down a scheme, the particulars of which are immaterial here, for the better peopling of his government, by transporting thither convicts and galley-slaves; and his advice appears to have been followed with success. His government, however, after the peace of *Utrecht*, was far from being tranquil. The *Outaouamis*, notwithstanding the blow they had received in the affair of *Detroit*, were more exasperated than ever against the *French*. They infested all the communications;

CHARLEVOIX, Vol. IV. Page 150.

(P) The argument, we have mentioned, about the danger of *Acadia* becoming uncultivated, in case the *French* had been forced out of it, has in it no manner of weight. Their set-

tlements were all cultivated lands, conveniently situated, and well improved; and never could have been without occupiers, both from *Great Britain* and the continent of *America*.

between

between the colony and its most distant posts, robbing and murdering passengers, and in this they succeeded so well, that they brought over the *Sieux* to join them openly, while many of the *Iroquois* favoured them underhand. In short, there was some danger of a general confederacy amongst all the savages against the *French*. This made *Vaudreuil* resolve, if possible, to exterminate the *Outagamis* out of *Canada*, and invited all his savage allies to join him. *Louigny*, the king's lieutenant at *Quebec*, was named to command the expedition, and he was soon at the head of eight hundred men, so determined against the *Outagamis*, that the extirpation of the race was no longer doubted of. They were themselves of the same opinion, and they lay intrenched, to the number of 500 warriors, and 3000 women, in a kind of palisadoed fort, before which *Louigny* formally opened trenches, having with him two field pieces, and a mortar for throwing grenades. The besieged, at first, defended themselves with great vigour; but, when *Louigny* was preparing to spring a mine, they desired to capitulate, and their terms were rejected. They afterwards proposed others; viz. First, that the *Outagamis* and their confederates should make peace with the *French* and their allies. Secondly, that they should previously release all their prisoners. Thirdly, that they should replace the dead by slaves, whom they were to make prisoners from the distant nations they were at war with; and, fourthly, that they should pay the charge of the war. *Louigny* had private instructions from his principals not to push matters to extremity. In this, they undoubtedly acted wisely, and by making presents to the chief leaders of his allies, he brought them to consent to the terms proposed. This, however, was an insidious negotiation. He obliged the *Outagamis* to give six sons of six of their chief leaders, as hostages for their sending deputies to ratify the peace at *Montreal* with the governor-general; and the treaty, being ingrossed, contained an express cession of their country to the *French*; of which, it is probable, the savages knew nothing. Unfortunately the small pox, which raged next winter, carried off three of the hostages, together with the famous *Outagamis* chief, *Pemoussa*, before the treaty was ratified. This alarmed *Vaudreuil* so much, that he went upon the ice to *Montreal*, from whence he dispatched *Louigny* to *Michillimakinac*, with an order to execute the terms of the treaty, and to bring the chiefs of the *Outagamis* to *Montreal*, together with all the rangers in those parts, to whom his most Christian majesty had granted a free pardon for what had passed. *Louigny* set out at the end of *May*, 1717; and very prudently carried along with him one of the

surviving hostages, who had lost an eye by the small-pox, that he might bear testimony to his nation, with what tenderness he and his companions had been treated. As soon as he arrived at *Michillimakinac*, he dispatched the hostage, attended by two *French* interpreters, with presents for covering the dead hostages, to the *Outagamis*. This was so agreeable to those savages, that they immediately raised the song of peace, or the calumet. They then declared to the interpreters their gratitude to *Onanthio*, but added, that, for some particular reasons, they could not wait upon him till next year: that they never would forget that they owed their lives entirely to his clemency. The hostage and the interpreters then set out to rejoin *Louigny* at *Michillimakinac*; but, after travelling about twenty leagues, he left them, it being proper, as he said, to return home that he might keep his countrymen to their promise.

and dis-
bodge the
Illinois.

THE event shewed how little *Vaudreuil* and his assistants, notwithstanding all their experience, understood the nature of those savages. The hostage was never heard of after, neither did they send any deputies to the governor-general; so that all the fruit, which *Louigny* and *Vaudreuil* reaped from this laborious journey, was the bringing back the *French* rangers, and engaging some of the savages to bring their furs in greater quantities to the colony, than they had done for some years before. The reason the *Outagamis* gave for this breach of faith, when they afterwards met with the *French* in their excursions, was, that they had no idea an enemy, who had been provoked beyond a certain measure, could ever be a reconciled friend. They were afterwards beat in several encounters, and yet they forced the *Illinois* to abandon their settlements upon their river; where they formed a plantation, which rendered all communication between *Canada* and *Louisiana* extremely dangerous, notwithstanding all the losses they had sustained. The reader is, however, to observe, that they had, by this time, formed an alliance with the *Sieux*, the most numerous nation belonging to *Canada*; and with the *Chichacas*, or *Chickesaws*, the bravest nation in all *Louisiana*. In the year 1725, *New France* enjoyed a tranquillity, that it had seldom known, and which greatly advanced both its populousness and prosperity; but the loss of the *Camel*, a *French* ship of war, which was wrecked near *Louisbourg*, with every soul on board, gave it a great blow. Besides its rich cargo, the intendant of *Canada*, *Louigny*, who had been appointed to the government of *Trois Rivières*, a son of *Ramezay*, who the year before had died governor of *Montreal*, together with a great number of the officers of the colony,

colony, and ecclesiastics of all denominations, perished in the wreck. To crown this misfortune, the marquis de Vaudreuil himself died in the *October* following, greatly lamented by the whole colony. He, as well as his predecessors, gave signal proofs of that secondary genius, which prefers the smiles of a court to all other considerations. Under vast disadvantages, arising from the weakness or inattention of the *French* ministry, he most surprizingly upheld the credit and interest of his government; and, notwithstanding the incredible disproportion of force between *New France*, even taking it in its utmost extent, and the *English* settlements on the continent of *America*, he had the address to conceal the weakness of his government; so that he left it, if not envied, yet respected, by its neighbours.

Death
of Vau-
dreuil,

He was succeeded in his government by the chevalier de *who is* Beauharnois, who had none of his predecessor's difficulties to succeed struggle with; and nothing occurs remarkable in the history by Beauharnois. of *Canada*, but that, by the tranquility it enjoyed, in the year 1751, its *French* inhabitants amounted to above 70,000. It does not belong to this part of our history to retrace the various situations of the courts of *France* and *England*, during this long interval; but, it is certain that the government of *England* was lulled into a most fatal security, whilst that of *France* was making wide strides towards a total acquisition of *North America*. In the year 1746, the encroachments they made upon the undoubted property of the *English* in *America* awakened our government to a sense of its danger. A *British* secretary of state, by order of his majesty, required all the *British* governors in *North America* to raise as many independent companies as they could, of a hundred men each. Those of *New York*, *New Jerseys*, *Pensylvania*, *Maryland*, and *Virginia*, were to be formed into one corps, under the command of brigadier *Gooch*, lieutenant governor of *Virginia*. The colonies were to furnish levy-money and victualling; but his majesty was to be at the charge of arming, paying, and cloathing those troops. It was no secret, that those vast preparations in *America*, which were to be seconded by a suitable armament from *Europe*, were destined for the reduction of *Canada*; and that the whole was to be under the command of general *Sinclair*. The *English* colonies, therefore, proceeded with infinite spirit in their levies. *Virginia* sent two companies, *Maryland* three, *Pensylvania* four, the *Jersseys* five, and *New York* fifteen; all to be under the command of *Gooch*, and first to reduce *Crown Point*, and then *Montreal*. The yellow fever then prevailing at *Albany*, the place of rendezvous for the troops was appointed at *Saratago*, twenty miles

miles higher up *Hudson's river*. For this service, *Massachusetts Bay* raised twenty companies, *Connecticut* ten, *Rhode-Island* three, *New Hampshire* two, in all thirty-five companies, who were to attack *Quebec*, under general *Sinclair*, while *Gooch* was proceeding against *Montreal*. It was the misfortune of the *British* government at that time, that few qualifications, besides the date of a commission, were required in a commander. *Sinclair* had age and rank to recommend him; but he had neither activity, spirit, nor capacity, for so arduous an expedition, the miscarriage of which has never to this day been accounted for. The true state of the matter seems to have been, that the general, not being very fond of the service, did not expedite the preparations early enough in the year, and very possibly the ministry, even at that time, had their reasons for not provoking *France* beyond certain bounds. *Lestock*, the same officer who was so well known by his differences with admiral *Matthews*, was to command the fleet; but the public need not be informed, that the whole of the mighty preparations in *England* ended in a most scandalous pusillanimous attempt, under the same *Sinclair* and *Lestock*, upon *Port L'Orient* in *Old France*.

Expedition of the duke D'Anville. THE *French* were not ignorant of the storm that was hovering over their *American* colonies. They sent all the force they could spare from *Canada* to *Minas* and *Chiconecto*, and omitted no opportunity of harrassing and destroying the *English* settlements. In the summer of 1746, the *Canadians* receiving intelligence of the vast preparations making against them in *England*, *Ramezay* arrived at *Minas* at the head of 1600 men, consisting of marine regulars, *Canadian* militia, wood rangers, and *French Indians*. This body was to act in concert with a strong squadron, then fitting out at *Brest* under the duke *D'Anville*. That armament consisted of eleven line of battle ships, some frigates, two fire-ships, transports, &c. having 3150 land forces aboard. It was the 22d of *June*, before this squadron sailed from *Roehelle*, and the public of *England* were amazed that it was suffered to proceed unmolested, though Mr. *Martin* was then lying with a strong squadron of observation in the channel. The plan of *D'Anville's* instructions seems to have been formed upon those of *Frontenac* and *Pontchartrain*. He was ordered to retake and dismantle *Louisbourg*, which was then in the hands of the *English*. He was then to proceed against *Port Royal*, now called *Annapolis Royal* in *Acadia*, which he was to take and garrison. He was next to destroy *Boston*, then to range along the coasts of *North America*; and, at last, to pay a visit to the *British* sugar islands. *D'Anville*, setting sail, detached three

three of his capital ships and a frigate, under the command of M. *Conflans*, to convoy the *French* trade to *Cape François* in *Hispaniola*. The orders of *Conflans* were to return, and join the grand squadron under *D'Anville*; but, after cruising upon *Cape Sable* shore, between *Cape Negro* and *Cape Sambro*, without receiving any intelligence of *D'Anville*, he bore away directly for *France*: where, to the reproach of the *British* marine, he arrived in safety,

As to the main fleet under *D'Anville*, it was unfortunate ^{miscarries,} almost beyond example. After undergoing a most tedious passage, and suffering in a storm near *Cape Sable*, it arrived on September the 10th at *Chebueto* in *Nova Scotia*, where *D'Anville* himself died, as did half of his people of scorbutic putrid fevers and dysenteries. Their faithful *Abenakis*, now called the *Nova Scotia Indians*, paid them so many visits, that they at last caught the infection of their diseases, and were reduced almost one third. It would appear as if the *British* marine had been afraid of the infection likewise; for though an *English* Squadron was then lying at *Cape Breton* under admiral *Townshend*, the *French* remained unmolested at *Chebueto* amidst all their distress. In the mean while the *Canadians*, under *Ramezay*, were highly caressed by the *French* of *Nova Scotia*, who, as we have already observed, were, in fact, subjects to the crown of *Great Britain* by the treaty of *Utrecht*; but having spent the summer at *las Minas*, without receiving any intelligence of *D'Anville* or his squadron, they set out on their return for *Canada*. While they were upon their march *D'Anville* arrived at *Chebueto*, and immediately dispatched an express requiring them to return, which, about four hundred of them did, under *Ramezay*. About the end of September *Ramezay* encamped near *Annapolis* with a shew of besieging it; but the *Chester* man of war of fifty guns, a frigate and a sloop being in the harbour, and the *French* fleet departing, shattered and inglorious to *France*, he decamped on the 22d of October and returned to *Minas*. There, and at *Chiconeto* he wintered, that he might be in readiness to join the *French* fleet and land troops that were expected in the spring from *France*, to reduce *Annapolis*, which, by this time, was reinforced by three companies of volunteers from *Boston*. *Mascarene* was then the *English* governor of *Annapolis*, and laid a scheme for preventing the bad consequences of *French* influence in that neighbourhood, by procuring 1000 men as a reinforcement from *New England*. The assembly of the *Massachusetts Bay* accordingly voted five hundred, *Rhode Island* three hundred, and *New Hampshire* two hundred. Of those the *Rhode* islanders were shipped near *Martha's vineyard*. The
New

New Hampshire men never arrived at the place of their destination; but the *Massachusetts Bay* men, amounting in the whole to four hundred and seventeen, besides officers, arrived under captain *Morris* at *Minas* on the 12th of *December*, after a fatiguing march of thirty leagues by land; which they performed in eight days, though each man had fourteen days provision upon his back.

The
French
defeat the
English,

It must be acknowledged that those troops had more courage than discipline. They were commanded by one colonel *Noble*; but a detachment of them set out for *Annapolis* on the 29th of *January*, while the others were quartered at *Grand Pre* in a loose, scattered, and unsoldier-like manner. The *French* were sufficiently informed of this irregular cantonment, and on the 8th of *January* they set out from *Chiconecto*, and arrived at *Minas* the 31st of the same month. About three in the morning having distributed their force, which consisted of about six hundred, into small parties of fifty or sixty each, they attacked the *English* and murdered many of them in an inhuman manner. Colonel *Noble*, and the lieutenants *Lechemere*, *Jones*, *Pickering*, ensign *Noble*, with about seventy serjeants, corporals, and private men, were killed, and about as many taken prisoners. Despair, however, at last brought the *English* into a body, and they surrendered upon the following capitulation, first, to march off with arms shouldered, drums beating, colours flying, through a lane of the enemy with rested firelocks. Secondly, to be allowed six days provision, one pound of powder with ball; and thirdly, not to carry arms within the bays of *Minas* and *Chiconecto* for six months. After this, the *French* retired to *Chiconecto*, where they lay most part of the summer in expectation of *Fonquiere's* Squadron, which was to bring a large reinforcement that was to enable *Canada* to give laws to all *North America*.

1747.
but are de-
feated at
sea.

ACCORDINGLY in the spring of 1747 the junction of the *Brest* and *Rochfort* Squadrons was effected at *Rochelle*. Their destination was to the *East Indies* and to *Canada*. The fleet consisted in the whole of thirty-eight sail, of which seven were ships of war from seventy-four to forty-four guns, and the *Invincible* of seventy-four guns, with a frigate of forty-four were appointed to convoy six *East India* ships, while the rest, with the transports and merchantmen full of soldiers, stores, and goods, were destined for *Canada* and *Nova Scotia*. The equipment of this squadron was no secret in *England*; and as it was big with destruction to our *Asian*, as well as *American*, settlements, the admirals *Anson* and *Warren* sailed from *Plymouth* to *Cape Finisterre* on the coast of *Galicia*, and on the

3d of May they fell in with the *French* squadron. The latter immediately formed a line of battle, consisting of their chief ships of war, while the others, under the protection of their frigates, made all the sail they could to the place of their destination. The *English* ships, in like manner, were drawn up in line of battle; but *Warren*, who, to all the virtues that any man could possess, added as much ability to the seaman as any one ever exerted, observed, that the real design of the *French* was rather to fly than to fight; and therefore he persuaded *Anson*, who was his superior in command, to haul in the signal for the line, and to hoist out one for the chase. This proved a most masterly manœuvre. The *French* fought bravely, but were at last obliged to strike their colours. Six of their men of war were taken with all their *East India* ships, and between 4 and 5000 *French* were made prisoners; amongst whom was *la Jonquiere* the admiral. About seven hundred of the *French* were killed and wounded, as were about five hundred of the *English*. *Ramsay*, who continued still at *Minas* and *Chiconets*, received advice of this dreadful defeat by some straggling shoreships, which escaped. An end was now put to all his towering hopes of reducing *Nova Scotia*, and he was obliged to return to *Canada*, while the treasure taken by the admirals *Anson* and *Warren* was conveyed in twenty waggon to the bank of *England*.

It appears from the efforts made by the *French* towards the *They* enclose of the war, which was terminated by the peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, that they at last became sensible as to the importance of *Canada*, and they even strained their mother country to support it. During the short interval between that peace, and the eruption of the late war, they constructed a number of forts, which bade fair for engrossing the whole of the *American* inland trade. One of their capital aims was to get possession of *Nova Scotia*, and to annex that extensive province to *Cape Breton* (Q). They founded this scheme chiefly upon the affections of the *French*, who remained in *Nova Scotia* after the treaty of *Utrecht*, and who acted so much as *French* subjects, that they refused to take the oath of allegiance to the government of *Great Britain*. They endeavoured to join the two colonies of *Canada* and *Louisiana*, the former in *North* and the latter in *South America* by communications, which effectually cut the *English* from all the back settlements, and confined them to a very small portion of

(Q) See a very sensible work on this subject, intitled, with its consequences and importance, &c." Printed for "The Contest in America between *Great Britain* and *France*, *Millar*.

terri-

territory on the sea-coast; which in time they must likewise have been master of. For this purpose they seized upon the river *Ohio*, by which they bounded the *English* possessions in the South, as they had done before by *Crown Point* and *Niagara* in the North. In the year 1749, immediately after the peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, they began to make good their unjust and scandalous claim upon that river, by sending five hundred men under M. *Celeron* to take possession of both sides of it. The *English* had a preferable right; but the natives thought that none had a title to their country but themselves, and therefore drove the *French* from their intended settlement. Upon this the *French* sent numbers of their disbanded soldiers to lake *Erie*, and formed settlements about *Detroit*, the river *Miamis*, and *Sandoski*. The uncertain condition in which the limits of *Nova Scotia* was left by the treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, the shameful prevarications of the *French* commissaries concerning those limits, with all the various elusions they made use of, were the means they used for carrying their ambitious and treacherous designs into execution, in which they were so greatly aided by their mother-country, that at the time of that peace, the *Canadian* militia amounted to 12,000 men; besides 1000 regular troops, and the marine companies. In short, to bridle the *British* settlements, the following forts were erected; first, *Crown Point*, or *Fort Frederick*; which is an intrusion upon the jurisdiction of *New York*; secondly, *Fort Chamblais*, built upon a pass from the *English* settlements to the upper *French* settlements in *Canada*. Third, *Fort Sorel*, where the river *Chamblais* enters that of *St. Lawrence*. Fourth, *Fort Frontenac*, commonly called *Cataracouy*, which we have already so often mentioned. Fifth, *Fort Denonville*, near the great cataract of *Niagara* between the lake *Ontario* and the *Erie*. Sixth, *la Trouette* at *les Detroits*, between the lake *Erie* and the *Hurons*. All, or most of those forts have been occasionally mentioned in the course of this work; but the uses of them were never fully improved till the time of peace.

and dis-
putes with
the Eng-
lish com-
missaries.

BESIDES the forts we have already mentioned occasional stockades were established from *Canada* to *New Orleans*, and the mouth of the *Mississippi*, which generally were garrisoned by a serjeant's command, and, at last, an annual patrolle was settled, reaching all the amazing distance between *Quebec* and *New Orleans*, containing a journey of about six hundred leagues, comprehending the *Detours*. The government of *England* every week received fresh informations concerning the danger of their colonies from their *American* governors; but the imprudent, and indeed fatal stipulation of referring our territorial

territorial disputes to commissaries, who were to meet at *Paris*, prevented any vigorous measures from being taken. The commissaries, on the part of *France*, were *Galiffoniere*, who had been lately governor of *New France* and *la Houettes*. Those on the part of *Great Britain* were Mr. *Shirley* and Mr. *Mildmay*; but the proceedings on both parts were contemptible beyond expression. The *French* most impudently insisted upon the limits of *Nova Scotia* being confined to the peninsula of that name, while the *English* rightly claimed all the ancient *Acadia*, as ceded by the 12th article of the treaty of *Utrecht*, the limits of which are the southern bank of the river *St. Lawrence* to the north, and *Pentagoet* to the west. The particulars of this dispute are now immaterial; so that it is sufficient to say here that the *French* were guilty during those ridiculous conferences, not only of prevarication but of forgery, to support their claims, for they invented terms, limits, and charts, that never had any existence but in their own pretensions. But they did not confine their arguments to mere literary distinctions, for they supported them with arms. *Jonquiere*, then governor-general of *Canada*, actually sent letters to the *British* commandant at *Nova Scotia*, and the governor of *Massachusetts Bay*, by which he claimed great part of *Acadia*; and *la Corne*, a *French Canadian* officer was detached with three companies of marines, about four hundred *Indians* of *Canada*, *St. John's*, *Cape Sable*, and *Penobscot*, some *Canada militia* and *Coueurs des Bois*, and *French* neutrals. The true design of this detachment, which was cantoned on the north side of *Chiconetto bay* and river, was to cover the building of forts, particularly those of *Beaufejour*, and others near bay *Verte* and *St. John's* upon that narrow neck of land, so as to confine the *British* subjects entirely within the peninsula. All that the *British* subjects could do was to summon *la Corne* to retire. But without disowning his quarters of cantonment to be within the *British* dominions, he pretended he resided there only to protect and support the *French Indians*. It soon appeared that the *French* had a more extensive scheme in view. The governor-general of *Canada* formally intimated to the governors of *New York* and *Pennsylvania*, that the *English* inland traders having presumed to trade with the *Indians*, who were under the protection of his sovereign, he would arrest them wherever they could be found. This menace, though an infamous proceeding, was carried into execution by the seizure of three *British* traders, whose effects were confiscated, while their persons were sent to *Quebec*, and from thence prisoners to *Rochelle*. There, with difficulty, an application from them found access to the earl of *Albemarle*

marle the *British* ambassador at *Paris*; and they were set at liberty upon his lordship's remonstrating against the illegality of the proceeding. It must be acknowledged that the resentment of the *British* court at this time fell short of the provocations it received. Mr. *Pelham*, who was considered as the first minister at the court of *London*, had himself upright intentions, and was perhaps a little too backward in believing that the *French* were so ill intentioned as their proceedings but too palpably proved them to be. The assurances of friendship and amity daily thrown out by the ministry of *Versailles* contributed to this delusion; but instead of being followed by suitable effects, their encroachments every day became more bare-faced and intolerable. It unfortunately happened, that they received but too much encouragement from the conduct of the *English* themselves, which makes a retrospective narrative here necessary.

Account of
the Ohio
company.

SPOTSWOOD, the governor of *Virginia*, about the year 1716, was a man of sense and spirit, and finding the *Outaouais*, now called the *Twightas*, extremely well affectioned towards the *English*, he proposed to purchase some of their lands upon the river *Ohio*, and to erect a company for opening a trade to the southward, westward, and northward of that river with the savages. This was at once a rational and a practicable scheme, but the execution of it depended entirely upon the favourable dispositions of the natives for the *English*, which might have been secured by the punctual payment of the purchase money or effects. This noble project clashed with the views of the *French*, who had, by this time, formed their great schemes upon the *Mississippi*, and the ministry of king *George* the 1st, as we have already hinted, having reasons for keeping well with that court, the project was not only dropt, but the *French* were encouraged to build the fort of *Crown Point* upon the territory of *New York*. Upon the conclusion of the peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle* *Spotswood's* scheme was revived: but the most prudent part of it was omitted; for no care was taken to conciliate the affection of the natives to the undertaking. Instead of that, certain merchants of *London* trading to *Maryland* and *Virginia*, being encouraged by the government upon their petition to undertake to settle the banks of the *Ohio*, provided they could exercise an exclusive trade with the *Indians*, employed a surveyor to take plans of the country, as far as the falls of that river. The natives, tho' pacific, were alarmed at this, and their natural jealousy was inflamed by the *French*, who represented the conduct of the *English* in the blackest colours. Even the separate traders of *Virginia* and *Pensylvania*, perceiving the gainful commerce

carried

carried on with the savages on the brink of ruin by a monopoly co-operated with the *French*; so that in fact the undertakers lost all interest in that extensive country, the most beautiful and fertile perhaps of any in *America*. The *French* were not insensible of this, and continued to strengthen themselves at *Niagara* and the lake *Erie*, upon lands that originally belonged to the *British* subjects. Mr. *Hamilton*, who was then governor of *Pennsylvania*, represented these proceedings to the assembly of that province, and proposed erecting truck houses in the nature of small forts upon the *Ohio* for the protection of the *British* traders there. But though the assembly agreed to this proposal, diversity of opinions and interests ruined the execution of it, while the *French* were every day becoming more and more formidable to the *English* settlements. Mr. *Dinwiddie*, the governor of *Virginia*, did not fail by many spirited speeches, messages, and dispatches to alarm the *British* government upon those interesting heads; and at last he sent one major *Washington* with a letter to the *French* commandant of a fort built on the river *au Beuf*, which falls into the *Ohio*, not far from lake *Erie*, and which was unquestionably situated upon *British* territory, complaining of the encroachment, and requiring him to evacuate the place. The only answer which Mr. *Dinwiddie* received to his message from the commandant, was, that he would transmit his letter to *Du Quesne*, the governor-general of *Canada*; but that it not being his business to examine into the property of the lands upon the *Ohio*, it could not be expected that he would leave his post. Mr. *Dinwiddie* upon this projected a fort near the forks of the river; but no care being taken by the *Virginians* for conciliating the affections of the natives, this served to exasperate them, though the province undertook to defray the expence, and the materials were actually provided.

In the mean while, a noble design was formed at home for securing the *British* settlements in *Nova Scotia* by building the town of *Hallifax* there. It is divided into thirty-five squares, each containing sixteen lots, of forty by sixty feet, one established church, and one meeting house, and a small number of houses out of the regular streets, which are fifty five feet broad. The town is surrounded with pickettings, and guarded by forts on the outside. Along the river, to the southward of the town, are buildings and fish flakes, for at least two miles; and to the northward, on the river, about one mile; and behind these several lots of fifteen acres distributed; also a small *Dutch* town, and a large space of land behind the town besides for a common. The river *Chebueto* is at the town three miles broad, and over-against the town is another small town, called *Dartmouth*, up a cove; this is

Mod. Hist. Vol. XL. O very

Settlement
of Halli-
fax.

very thinly inhabited, the *Indians* having often visited it, and done considerable damage. This plan, however, has since received vast improvements, and the whole project was formed by the earl of *Hallifax*, then first commissioner of the *British* Trade and Plantations. The original design of it was to give tracts of land to such officers and soldiers as were willing to go over and settle there. This scheme the government adopted, and began to execute in 1749; and the lords commissioners of trade and plantations issued a proclamation, by which fifty acres of land were offered to every soldier and sailor, who would settle in that part of *America*, without paying any rent or service during ten years, and no more than one shilling *per annum* for the fifty acres afterwards; to every soldier or sailor, who had a wife and children; ten acres more were offered for every individual in his family, and for every increase that should afterwards happen on the same condition. To each subaltern officer eighty acres, and fifteen more for each of his family; two hundred acres to each ensign, three hundred to each lieutenant, four hundred to each captain, six hundred to each officer in rank above a captain, and thirty acres more for every person in his household. The government also engaged to transport and maintain the new settlers one year at its own expence, and to furnish them with such arms, provisions, utensils, implements and tools, as should be necessary to put them in a condition to clear and cultivate their lands, to build them habitations, and commence a fishery. The same conditions that were offered to soldiers and sailors, were also offered to all carpenters, and other handicraftsmen; and surgeons were offered the same conditions as an ensign. Though this proclamation was published so late as *March*, yet in the beginning of *May* following no fewer than 3750 persons embarked and established themselves on the borders of the bay of *Chebueto*; where, under colonel *Cornwallis*, who was appointed governor of the settlement, they built a city called *Hallifax*, in honour of the projector, and before the end of *October* the same year three hundred and fifty comfortable wooden houses were built, as were many more during the winter. Nothing can more effectually shew the difference between the *English* and the *French* genius for colonizing, than the prodigious encouragement given by the *British* parliament to this infant settlement, which, in five years, amounted to a greater sum than all that the *French* had expended for a hundred and fifty years upon their extensive colony of *Canada*. The same year in which the first settlers were embarked, the parliament granted them 40,000*l.* sterling, for the charge of that embarkation and other expences. In the year 1750 they granted

57,582*l.*

57,582l. 19s. 3d. 1q. for the same purpose, in 1751, 53,927l. 14s. 4d. in 1752, 61,492l. 19s. 4d. 1q. in 1753, 94,615l. 12s. 4d. in 1754, 58,447l. 2s. and in 1755, 49,418l. 7s. 8d. We have been the more particular with regard to this new settlement, because it formerly lay within the province of *Canada*, and because it was intended as a bulwark against the encroachments of the *French Canadians* in those quarters. It cannot be said that the success of the settlement answered the sanguine expectations of its patrons; and perhaps after-experience may prove that nothing is more hurtful to projects of that kind, than too great encouragement given by the government, as it tends to render the spirit of industry and agriculture, less necessary to the subsistence of the inhabitants.

No sooner was *Hallifax* peopled than the *French* clan-which is destinely spirited up their *Indians* against the *British* inhabi-infested by tants; some of whom were murdered, while others were car-the *French* ried prisoners to *Louisbourg*, where they were sold to the *French* for arms and ammunition. When the government of *England* complained of this to the *French* court, they pretended that their subjects carried on that traffic to preserve the *English* from the cruelty of their *Indian* captors; but the futility of this pretence was fully demonstrated, by the excessive ransom which they obliged the *British* captives to pay. As it was notorious, that even the *Indian* parties were headed by the *French*, the *British* settlers made repeated complaints on that head to the governor of *Louisbourg*; but all the satisfaction they received in answer was, that those *French* officers were the inhabitants of *Annapolis*, who remained there after that country was ceded to the crown of *England*; and that consequently they were the subjects of *Great Britain*. But at last those very *French* of *Annapolis* avowed their attachment to the government of *Canada* by rising in rebellion against that of *Great Britain*.

In the spring of the year 1750 the government of *Hallifax* detached major *Lawrence* with a small party to reduce those rebels; but upon his approach they burnt their habitations, and fled for protection to *la Corne*, whom we have already mentioned, and who thereby found himself at the head of 1500 men well provided with arms and ammunition. The match therefore between him and *Lawrence* became thereby so unequal, that the latter was obliged to have recourse to remonstrances only, upon the perfidious part the *French* were acting. *La Corne*, as usual, pretended that he could enter into no discussion of the rights of the two crowns: but he declared that he was resolved to obey his orders, and

to maintain his post. Upon this *Lawrence* found himself under a necessity to return to *Hallifax*, while the *French* neutrals, as they were called, renewed their depredations and murders upon the *English* subjects. Major *Lawrence* was then sent with 1000 men by sea to *Chignecto*; and though the rebels were advantageously posted, he killed a considerable number of them, and beating them out of their entrenchments obliged them again to take refuge under *la Corne*, by crossing a river, on the opposite bank of which he stood with his troops drawn up, and received them as friends and fellow subjects.

It cannot be dissembled that the state of parties in *England* at this time was unfavourable to any vigorous measures against the *French*. The *English* Americans were indeed warranted as to their hostilities against the *Indians*, and the *French* neutrals, who, in reality, were rebels; but they had not yet ventured to attack the *French* themselves, and this forbearance laid them under inexpressible disadvantages. All they could do was to act upon the defensive, and they built a fort called *St. Lawrence*, opposite to the *French* fort of *Beausjour* on the neck of the peninsula. Notwithstanding this the *Indians* surprised the little town of *Dartmouth* on the other side of *Hallifax* bay, where they killed and scalped some inhabitants, and carried off others prisoners. Their manner of making war rendered it extremely difficult for the *English* to suppress them. Their natural swiftness and activity were favoured by the *French* lending their arms, ammunition, and canoes, which they did with all imaginable secrecy; and they were sheltered by two additional forts on the neck of the peninsula, one called *Bay Verte*, and the other at the mouth of *St. John's* river to the north of the bay of *Fundy*. The earl of *Albemarle* repeated his memorials at the court of *France* upon those invasions. He insisted upon *de la Jonquiere*, the *French* commander in chief in *Canada*, receiving orders to desist from all hostilities; that fort *Niagara* should be immediately demolished; that all the *British* prisoners in *America* should be set at liberty, and their captors severely punished. The *French*, in pursuance of their schemes, sought to gain time. They sent *Jonquiere* orders in the terms required by the *British* ambassador; but gave him (as appeared by his art and their conduct) private instructions, not to mind them, and all the satisfaction *Great Britain* obtained was the deliverance of six *English* prisoners out of their dungeons.

EVERY day brought fresh instances of the *French* encroachments and invasions in *America*. They surprised *Logstown*, which the people of *Virginia*, for the conveniency of trade, had

The
French
surprize
Loggstown.

had built upon the *Ohio*, on pretence that it was within the government of *Canada*, and plundered its warehouses of skins and goods to the amount of 20,000*l*. Not contented with this booty, they murdered all the *British* traders but two, who escaped. In like manner, one *Coutreccœur*, a *French* officer, came from *Venango*, another of their usurped forts on the *Ohio*, with 1000 men and eighteen pieces of cannon, in no fewer than three hundred canoes, and surprized a *Virginian* fort on the banks of the *Monongahela*. The certainty of these, and many other hostilities arriving in *England*, the government there sent orders for their *American* governors to endeavour to drive the *French* from the *Ohio*, and to oppose force to force; but experience taught the *British* ministry the great superiority their enemies had arising from the constitutions of the two governments in that country. That of *Canada* or *New France* was moved by one direction, which gave it a force that rendered it more irresistible than that of the *English*, who had separate governments, and separate, nay sometimes contradictory, interests in view. This had been an evil long complained of, and it had visibly rendered our superiority of strength on that continent ineffectual, even for our own preservation. Two measures were necessary to be pursued to remedy this inconvenience. The first was a political confederacy amongst all the *British* governments; by which their power should be united in one; and the second was to detach the *Indians* from their connexions with the *French*.

THE *British* colonists were sensible of the wisdom of those *Treaty be-* orders, but for the reasons we have hinted at it was not *tween the* easy to carry them into execution. The governor of *New English* *York*, however, attended by deputies from the other govern- and the ments, gave a meeting to the *Iroquois*, or, as they are now *Iroquois* commonly called, the *Indians* of the *Six Nations* at *Albany*, *ineffectual* where only a few of them attended, and it was evident that all of them were cooled in their affections towards the *English*. This was owing to the powerful, but secret practices of the *French* government, who, of late, had applied themselves in good earnest to the advancement of *Canada*, and had sent thither immense stores of money, arms, and ammunition. The *English*, to counterwork them in the same way, had voted considerable presents (the province of *Virginia* in particular raised five hundred pounds) to the savages of *Albany*; which they accepted of; but could be brought into no other measures for an alliance with the *English*, excepting that they were willing to renew their old treaties, and to join in driving the *French* from the posts they had usurped upon their lands. Major *Washington* had been dispatched by governor

Dinwiddie to the *French* commandant upon the *Ohio*, requiring to know by whose authority and instructions he lately marched from *Canada* with an armed force, and invaded the king of *Great Britain's* territories. An officer, called *St. Pierre* was the commandant, and he returned Mr. *Dinwiddie* an answer dated from the fort upon the river *au Beuf*, full of evasions, but promising to transmit the governor's letter to the marquis *du Quesne* the governor-general of *Canada*. *Washington* having returned to *Williamsburg*, the *British* governors of *Virginia* and *New York*, came to a resolution to send him with some men to maintain their posts upon the *Ohio*. He accordingly encamped on the *Great Meadows*; and at first obtained some advantages, which were but confusedly related in the *English* Gazettes, and the accounts published by their officers. *Washington* had with him about four hundred men, and had thrown up a hasty entrenchment for his own defence, upon what the *French* called their ground. A *French* officer, one *Villier*, then commanded at *Monongahela*, who, according to the *English* accounts, was at the head of nine hundred men; and *Washington* was expecting reinforcements from *New York* which never arrived. *De Villier* sent one *Jamsonville*, with a small party, formally to require *Washington* to abandon his entrenchments, or as he called it, fort. But the whole detachment was destroyed or taken prisoners, if we may believe the *French*, in a most unsoldierlike manner. *De Villier*, upon this, advanced at the head of his main body, and began an attack, after killing all the *English* horses and cattle in the meadows. *Washington*, for some time, defended himself with great intrepidity, and, notwithstanding the inequality of the numbers, the *French* commandant offered him and his detachment a very honourable capitulation, by which both parties were to retire; the *English* towards *Wills's Creek* and the *French* back to *Monongahela*. *Washington* accepted of the terms, and sent two officers as hostages for the re-delivery of some prisoners, who had been made of *Jamsonville's* detachment. The capitulation was scarcely settled, when a body of *French* Indians appeared, and though they were prevented from breaking it, which they were violently inclined to do, yet the *French* commandant very tamely saw them harass the *English* in their retreat, and plunder their baggage.

Defence of
Washington.

THE *French* ministry, by this time, having sent the full complements of reinforcements and supplies to *Quebec*, were at less than usual pains to apologize for this flagrant and unwarrantable hostility, when complained of by the earl of *Albermarle*. The *English* colonies in *America*, instead of
upiting

uniting against their common danger, seemed to be more divided than ever. The *Virginians* laid the blame of *Washington's* misfortune, upon the people of *New York* not having fulfilled their engagements. At the same time, they differed upon some very immaterial points with their governor. The like disputes happened between the government and the people of *Pennsylvania*. The inhabitants of *New York* were exasperated to the last degree, upon their discovering certain instructions, which they knew their new governor, *Sir Danvers Osborn* had brought from *England*; and the other *British* colonies on that continent were in a very little better situation; but they all concurred in sometimes blaming the backwardness, and sometimes imploring the assistance, of their mother country. Orders were at last given by the court of *England* for raising two *American* regiments, the command of which was given to *Shirley*, governor of *New England*, and to *Sir William Pepperel*, a gentleman of that country, who both had served in the same rank in the preceding war. Several stores were likewise dispatched from *England*, for the defence of our *American* plantations, particularly of *Castle William* in *Virginia*; and notice on the 7th of *October*, was given in the gazette of the names of the officers, who were taken from the regular troops, that they might repair to their several stations.

THE duke de *Mirepoix* was then the *French* ambassador at *Negotia-* the court of *London*, and was a nobleman of more than *tions be-* Gallic integrity. The *English* ambassador at *Paris* being now *tween* dead, and *Mirepoix* being witness of the great preparations *France* making in *England* for *America*; his court, who did not think *and Eng-* that that of *England* would proceed with so much vigour, *lish at* employed him to renew their assurances, that no hostilities *London.* were intended. They knew *Mirepoix's* character too well, to believe that he would give insincere assurances, and therefore carefully concealed from him their true intention, which made the ambassador enter very earnest protestations of his court's good faith; and offered to be answerable for it with his private honour. The *British* ministry had better intelligence than he imagined, and he was confounded when they answered all his protestations of cordiality, by producing copies of the orders sent to the governor-general and their officers in *Canada*, which flatly contradicted him. The proofs were too flagrant to be denied, and all he could do was to upbraid the *French* ministry in person, but they referred him to the king, who sent him back with orders from himself to assure the court of *England* of his pacific intentions. Before he could well reach *London*, undoubted intelligence arrived of a

powerful *French* armament being ready to sail from *Brest* and *Rochfort*. Upon this, admiral *Boscawen*, towards the end of *April*, 1755, sailed with twelve men of war for *Plymouth*, where they were to take soldiers on board, and from thence to proceed to watch the progress of the *French* fleet. The latter appeared to be stronger than was at first apprehended; for it consisted of twenty-five ships of the line, besides frigates and transports, and had on-board 4000 regular troops, commanded by baron *Dieskau*, bound for *Canada* with vast quantities of warlike stores. Upon this intelligence, the *British* naval preparations were redoubled, and admiral *Holbourne* was sent with six ships of the line and a frigate to reinforce *Boscawen*.

French
fleet sails
for Cana-
da.

MAGNAMARA was appointed to command the *French* fleet, and, in the beginning of *May*, he sailed with it from *Brest*, his course being directed for *Canada*; but, after seeing it out of the chops of the *English* channel, he returned with nine of the capital ships, while the rest continued their course under the command of M. *Bois de la Mothe*. *Mirepoix* no longer depending upon the faithless *French* ministry for his instructions, still continued his negotiations; but, being made acquainted that *Boscawen*'s instructions were to act offensively, he declared, that his master would consider the first gun that was fired in a hostile manner, as a declaration of war, which would set all *Europe* and *America* in flames. It is foreign to our subject, to trace the many operations that were designed at this time, farther than they relate to *Canada*, and the war between the *French* and the *English* on that continent. *Boscawen* arrived on the banks of *Newfoundland*, and took his station off *Cape Race*. In a few days after, M. *Bois de la Mothe* arrived with his Squadron upon the same coast; but the thick fogs prevented either Squadron from discovering the other, by which, part of the *French* escaped up the river *St. Lawrence*, and part went round to the same river by the straits of *Belleisle*. Two of their ships, however, the *Alcide*, of sixty-four guns, and four hundred and eighty men, and the *Lys* pierced for sixty-five guns, but mounted only twenty-two, with four companies of land-forces on board, were separated by the fog from the rest of the fleet, and fell in with the *Dunkirk*, commanded by captain *Howe*, and the *Defiance*, commanded by captain *Andrews*, both of them sixty-four gun ships; and, after a brisk engagement, they were both taken, with about 8000 l. on-board. Various were the accounts which party began the attack; but, though the dispute is

The *Lys*
and *Alcide*
taken.

London Gazette, July 15, 1755.

imma-

immaterial, it is probable the *French* fired the first gun, though the *English*, it is said, gave the first provocation.

THE principal effect which this blow had (though it fell short of the public expectation) was to alarm the *French*, as much as it animated the *English*. The two *French* ministers, *Mirepoix* at *London*, and *Buffy* at *Hanover*, (where his Britannic majesty then was) were recalled, and the people of *Great Britain* being now convinced that their government was in earnest in their war with *France*, their preparations, both by sea and land, were continued with a spirit and expedition beyond example. The assembly of *Massachusetts-Bay* prohibited all commerce with the *French* at *Louisbourg*; and, early in the year, they raised a body of troops, which they sent to the assistance of Mr. *Lawrence*, governor of *Nova Scotia*, who had formed a plan, the execution of which was committed to colonel *Monckton*, for driving the *French* from fort *Beaufejour*, and the other posts they held upon the isthmus. The *French* had foreseen this attempt, and had made preparations, but ineffectually, to resist it. While colonel *Monckton* was employed by land upon this service, captain *Rous* was dispatched up the bay of *Fundy*, with three frigates and a sloop. The first resistance the *English* met with was at a block house upon the river *Massaguash*, where about four hundred and fifty rebel *Acadians* and *Indians* were posted with cannon behind a strong breast-work of timber. From this post they were driven, in an hour's time, by the *English* provincials, and the passage of the river was left free. The colonel then on the 12th of *June* invested fort *Beaufejour*, which mounted twenty-six pieces of cannon, with store of ammunition; and, after a bombardment of four days, before he had mounted a single cannon upon his batteries, he obliged it to surrender, though his force was so small, that he could not invest it. About a hundred and fifty regulars and three hundred inhabitants were found alive in the fort; the name of which the colonel changed into that of *Cumberland*. The capitulation granted to the garrison was, that it should not bear arms in *America* for six months; that they should be sent, at the king of *Great Britain's* expence, to *Louisbourg*; that the *Acadians*, in consideration of their having been compelled by the *French* to rebel, should be pardoned.

NEXT day, the colonel reduced the other *French* fort upon the river *Gaspereau*, running into *Bay Verte*, which was chiefly considerable by the large magazines of provisions it contained for the supply of the *Indians*. He then disarmed the *Acadians*, to the number, as is said, of 25,000. Captain *Rous* then sailed with three twenty-gun ships and a sloop, to look

look into *St. John's* river, where they found no ships; but the *French* in the fort there, upon their appearance, burst their cannon, blew up their magazine, and marched off. The native *Indians* upon the place, next morning, invited captain *Rous* on shore, and gave him the strongest assurances, that they intended to live in peace and friendship with the *English*; and that they had refused to assist the *French*, though greatly pressed by them to do it. We are now to attend another *English* expedition in *America*, which was as unfortunate, as that we have been describing was successful.

*Vigorous
Prepara-
tions of the
English
against
Canada,*

THE war with *France* being now declared, the *English* ministry, after almost ruining the *French* commerce by sea, came to a resolution of pushing them with the utmost vigour by land. For this purpose, other expeditions were marked out; one under general *Braddock*, who was to be sent from *England* against fort *du Quesne* upon the *Ohio*. Colonel *Johnson*, a *British American*, and an excellent officer, was to march against *Crown Point*, while general *Sbirley* was to attack their fort at *Niagara*. *Braddock* had little to recommend him, but great courage and some experience in war; tho' of a very different sort from that required to succeed in *America*. In other respects he was very ill qualified to act in concert with the *British Americans*. It was agreed, that the general should sail from *Cork* in *Ireland*, with colonel *Dunbar's* and Sir *Peter Halket's* regiments of foot for *Virginia*, where he arrived before the end of *February*. This first part of his destination is thought to have been injudicious, and to have been owing to certain partialities at home for the *Virginians*. *Braddock* himself, as well as the public, knew that the success of his attempt depended chiefly upon his being able to take the field early; but, when he arrived at *Virginia*, where the contractors with the government had engaged to provide him with provisions, and carriages for his army, he found none in readiness, which seems to have rendered him desperate, and he was at very little pains to conceal his resentment against the provincials. Encamping at *Wills's Creek* he had a hundred and thirty miles to march from thence to fort *du Quesne*, but the disappointment of his provisions and carriages, both which are very scarce in *Virginia*, retarded his army for some weeks. At last, the back settlers of *Pennsylvania* were applied to, and they furnished some provisions, but those so bad, that they could scarcely be made use of, together with fifteen waggons, and a hundred draught horses, instead of a hundred and fifty waggons, and three hundred horses, which the *Virginians* had contracted for. All that the general, and the officers of the expedition, could do, in this

this case, was to apply to some private gentlemen of *Pensylvania*, whose zeal for the service supplied him with what he wanted; though the principles of the *Pensylvanians*, in general, are known not to be very favourable to offensive operations in war. *Braddock*, being now plentifully supplied with provisions and carriages, on the 12th of *June*, set out upon his march, and passed the *Alleghany* mountains at the head of 2200 men, till he came within five days march of fort *du Quesne*. Here he laboured under two great disadvantages, which he could not remedy, besides many that he could. In the first place, he could receive no certain accounts of the state of the enemy's garrison at *du Quesne*, or of their forts in the neighbourhood. In the next place, the advanced season of the year had brought out the leaves of the trees, and the other verdure, which concealed the ambushes of the enemy^d. With regard to the other disadvantages he was under, they were owing chiefly to himself. Though he had been furnished by the duke of *Cumberland*, then commander in chief of the *British* forces, with a set of instructions, so wise and seasonable, that it seemed as if his royal highness had foreseen his conduct, and every step that brought on his fatal catastrophe, yet he treated the *Indians* with the utmost contempt, without employing them in guarding against what his royal highness principally cautioned him, ambushes and surprizes. He even not only neglected and disobliged the *Virginians*, but behaved with insupportable haughtiness to his own officers; and the rather, as they urged the necessity of a circumspect march. When he came to the *Little Meadows*, where *Washington* had been defeated the year before, about twenty miles beyond fort *Cumberland*, at *Wills's Creek*, he received advice, that the *French* at fort *du Quesne* expected a reinforcement of five hundred men. Upon this, he left the greatest part of his waggons, with about eight hundred men, under the command of colonel *Dunbar*, with orders to follow him as expeditiously as he conveniently could; and with the main body of the army, and twelve pieces of cannon, he encamped the eighth day of *July*, within ten miles of fort *du Quesne*. Sir *Peter Halket*, a brave but prudent officer, took that opportunity of putting the general in mind, that it was not even then too late to employ the few friendly *Indians*, that remained with them in the camp, in reconnoitering the woods and passages, and marching upon the flanks of the line. *Braddock* rejected this advice, not without some con-

^d See the state of the Disputes in *Pensylvania* between the governor and assembly.

and Brad-
dock de-
feated and
killed.

temptuous insinuations, as to *Halket's* caution; and, on the ninth, he continued his march, and fell into an ambuscade of *French* and *Indians* in the woods, planted in a manner peculiar to the *Canadians* and their savages, so as that they could do execution, without being themselves exposed to danger. About noon, a general fire upon the front, and upon the left flank of the *English*, was the first intimation which the general had of the attack. By this time, he was in the very middle of the defile, where the ambush had been so artfully placed, that not a man of the enemy was to be seen; but where they could take unerring aim from behind trees and in thickets. The van of the *English* fell back upon their center; and the panic of the whole was proportioned to the suddenness of their danger, so that a general route ensued, and *Braddock* was left with only his officers, and a few brave men about him, who, in vain, attempted to engage an enemy they could not discern. The officers, who behaved on this trying occasion admirably well, endeavoured to stop or to rally the men; but the general gave no orders for a regular retreat, or for bringing up his cannon to scour the woods and bushes with great shot, which might have dislodged the enemy. Instead of that, he remained on the spot, and ordered the officers and soldiers about him to form in regular platoons against the invisible enemy, whose every shot did execution, especially on the brave officers, who were known by their dresses. The general himself, after having five horses killed under him, was shot through the arm and lungs, and he died on the fourth day after; having been carried off the field, with great affection and courage, by lieutenant colonel *Gage*, and another of his officers. Sir *Peter Halket* was killed on the spot, as were two captains and ten or twelve subalterns; and many other brave officers were wounded. In short, the loss of the *English* was about seven hundred.

Bravery of
the Virgi-
nians.

It is remarkable, that the *Virginians* and other provincial troops who were in this action, and whom *Braddock*, by way of contempt, had placed in the rear, far from being affected with the panic which disordered the regulars, offered to advance against the enemy, till the others could form and bring up the artillery; but the regulars could not be brought again to the charge, where, as they said, they were butchered without seeing their enemy. Notwithstanding this, the provincials actually formed, and behaved so well, that they brought off the remaining regulars; and the retreat of the whole was so unintermitting, that the fugitives never stopped, till they met the rear division, which was advancing under colonel *Dunbar*. All the artillery, baggage, ammunition,

and

and papers, of the division under the general, fell into the hands of the enemy, even to his own cabinet, with his letters and instructions. Colonel *Dunbar*, upon whom the chief command of that army then devolved, rendered unserviceable all the artillery that remained with his division; and the *French Indians*, after sharing the booty, which fell into their hands, returned to *Canada*. This fatal defeat made no impression upon the friendly *English Indians*, who, when they heard of it, said, that they expected nothing else from the conduct of general *Braddock*, who was unacquainted with their manner of fighting.

It was naturally expected that the colonel would have passed the remainder of the summer at *Cumberland* fort, where he might have fortified his little army, and prevented the excesses of the *French Indians*, on the western borders of *Virginia* and *Pensylvania*. But it is said he found himself under two disadvantages: the first was, that the panic continued so strong upon the regulars, that they refused to remain in that inhospitable country, which had already proved so fatal to their brethren; and the next was, that they were in danger of perishing for want of provisions, which could be obtained only from *Pensylvania*, with great trouble, expence, and danger. He therefore left the sick and wounded at that fort, together with two independent companies of the provincial militia, by way of garrison, and returned with the remainder of the army to *Philadelphia*, where the general assembly of *Pensylvania* had voted 50,000 l. and 3000 men for defending the colony; but both were rendered ineffectual by the disputes that were renewed between the governor and the assembly. Soon after, Mr. *Shirley*, upon whom by the death of *Braddock*, the command of the *British* troops in *America* devolved, ordered the troops under *Dunbar* to remove to *Albany* in *New York*; and thus *Virginia*, *Maryland*, and *Pensylvania* were, for the remainder of the year, left entirely exposed to the barbarities of their enemies, who were not wanting in harrassing them.

It appeared evidently, from the conduct of the *Pensylvanian* assembly, that their members considered no evil so great as that of submitting to their governor, who pretended that, by his instructions, he was disabled from passing the bill for raising the 50,000 l. if the estates of the proprietaries were to be affected by it. Thus each party risked the safety of its country to a foreign enemy, rather than comply in a few immaterial points with the other. The rest of the *American* colonies observed a conduct somewhat more rational. Upon the defeat of *Braddock*, they saw the necessity of exerting them-

themselves. The people of *New York* voted the sum of 40000 l. for the public service; passed an act against all intercourse or trade between the *French* and them in *America*; and the rendezvous of the troops destined for the reduction of *Crown Point* and *Niagara*, was appointed to be at *Albany*, where most of them arrived before the beginning of *July*. The *French* all this while, by their scalping parties, filled all the out-settlements of the *English* in *North America* with the most horrid murders, but after the rendezvous of the troops at *Albany*, it was perceived that the artillery and provisions, with the battoes that were to carry them and the men, could not be ready before the eighth of *August*. As a great deal depended on the success of this expedition, the *American* governments began to open their eyes to the necessity of postponing all the little differences amongst themselves, that they might pursue the wise plan of union recommended to them from *Great Britain*. The governments of *Boston*, *Connecticut*, *New Hampshire*, *Rhode-Island*, and *New York*, accordingly applied themselves with great spirit; and Sir *William Johnson* found at lake *George*, to which he set out from *Albany*, between 5 and 6000 men, besides *Indians*, that had been raised by those governments. Every thing then being ready for the grand expedition, *Johnson*, after advancing about fourteen miles, chose a strong camp, defended on its flanks by swamps, in its rear by lake *George*, and in its front by a breastwork of trees. In this camp, he was to wait for his battoes, that he might proceed to *Ticonderoga*, the strong pass, that, when taken, was to open his way to *Crown Point*, from which it was about fifteen miles distant. He soon received intelligence, that a body of the enemy were on their march to attack fort *Edward*, at the carrying-place, in which was a garrison of between four and five hundred *New Hampshire* and *New York* men. *Johnson*, having advertised *Blanchard*, the *English* commandant of that fort, of his danger, resolved next morning to send out, under colonel *Williams*, a detachment of 1000 men, and about 200 *Indians*, which force he thought was sufficient to cope with that of the *French* at fort *Edward*. They had scarcely left the camp when *Johnson* and his men heard a regular firing; the meaning of which was soon explained by the detachment under *Williams* returning in the utmost confusion, pursued by a regular body of the enemy, under general *Dieskau*, who seemed to point their march to the very center of the *English* camp. Had those *French* immediately attacked the wooden intrenchment, during the consternation of the *English*, and before they had been able to draw up the heavy cannon for its defence, they probably

probably would have succeeded in their attack, to the entire destruction of the *English* army. But, halting about a hundred and fifty yards from the breast-work, and beginning to fire at too great a distance to do execution, the *English* plied their great guns and musketry so warmly, that the central body of the *French* regulars, who were all of them pickt men, began to flag in their fire, while the *Canadians* and *Indians*, who formed the flanks of their army, fled into the woods, from whence they could not be drawn to support *Dieskau's* attack.

THAT general varied his dispositions. Finding he could make no impression upon the center of the *English*, he made two different attacks on the right and left of the camp, and with vast obstinacy he continued those attacks from twelve at noon to four in the afternoon, till his fire became so feeble, that the *English* and their *Indians* compleated the rout of their enemies, by jumping over the breast-work, and, after slaughtering numbers, they took prisoner *Dieskau* himself, whom they found leaning on a tree, and wounded in his leg and through both his hips. Of the *French* were killed in this action about eight hundred, but those the flower of their troops. The greatest loss of the *English*, which in the whole did not amount to above a hundred and eighty men, fell upon the detachment under colonel *Williams*, who was himself killed, with his major, *Ashley*, six captains and subalterns. Among the slain on the side of the *Indians* was old *Hendrick*, the great *Mohawk* sachem, who, with his men, fought like a lion, and whose death was afterwards severely revenged on the *French*. Of the *English* within the breast-work, few were killed, but among them was colonel *Titcombe*; and the general and major *Nichols* were wounded.

THIS action, however important in its consequences, did no great honour to the military abilities of the *French* general. *Dieskau*, like *Braddock*, bred a regular soldier, like him owed his defeat to a ridiculous attachment to camp and field discipline, against an enemy, and in a country, where both were not only useless but prejudicial. When he left *Quebec*, he had with him about 3000 regulars, great part of whom he had placed in *Crown Point*, and at other important passes. Had he executed his original plan of seizing fort *Edward*, the *English* army must have been greatly distressed, as they could not have advanced farther, and had they retreated great part of them must have been cut off. His leaving his design against fort *Edward* unexecuted, was owing to his receiving intelligence, that *Johnson's* camp was destitute of heavy artillery, which indeed was true, the *English* cannon having

The
French
defeated
by Sir
William
Johnson.

Consequences of
that defeat.

having arrived but a very short time before the attack was made, and were only mounted that very morning. Obstinacy, misinformation, and a contempt for the *English* provincials, occasioned his continuing his ineffectual attacks, without heavy artillery, after he saw his enemy so well prepared to receive him. With regard to *Johnson*, he seems to have been too late in sending out the detachment under *Williams*, for the relief of fort *Edward*, and it is amazing that he should hazard such a body, without being informed of his enemy's numbers. But the greatest blame he incurred was his not pursuing the victory he had obtained, which it was generally thought he might have done (R). Next day, a body of the defeated enemy fell upon a detachment of a hundred and twenty of the *New Hampshire* men, who had been ordered by the general to reinforce his camp, and who were under the command of captain *Magennis*. That brave officer, perceiving he was to be attacked by numbers far superior to his, made so noble a disposition, and was so well seconded by a lieutenant under him, one *Van Schaack*, that he defeated and dispersed the enemy with the loss only of two men, eleven wounded, and five missing; but he himself was mortally wounded, and carried, but just alive, to the camp at lake *George*.

It was with difficulty, that Sir *William Johnson*, who had more influence over the *English* Indians, than any *British* colonist ever was known to have, prevented them from putting to death *Dieskau*, and the other *French* prisoners, in revenge of their sachem *Hendrick's* death; nor was it the least important consequence of his victory, that it regained to the *English* the esteem and confidence of their *Indians*. This, indeed, with the defeat and disappointment of the *French*, was all that the *English* colonies acquired by this expensive expedition. The battle being fought on the ninth of *September*, the proceeding to the attack of *Crown Point* was thought impracticable; especially as no care had been taken to secure a communication between the army and *Albany*. *Johnson*, therefore, leaving a small detachment to garrison a stockaded fort, at the hither end of lake *George*, carried back his troops to their respective homes. But, whatever mistakes

(R) The apology the general makes for this, in his letter to the governors of the *English* colonies, is, "Our men, by so much fatigue, are almost worn out; and, as the enemy have

considerable reinforcements at hand, we are in daily apprehensions of a more formidable attack, and that they will then come with artillery."

he

He might have been guilty of during this campaign, it is certain that his services were much considered in England, where the sound of victory had not for a long time been heard, that he was created a baronet, and received from the parliament a gratuity of 5000 l. But we are now to attend general Shirley's operations against Niagara (S).

He is rewarded by the king and parliament of Great Britain.

So important a command being conferred on a man, said to have been bred a lawyer; who had never exhibited any striking instances of abilities, either in the field or the cabinet, and who had no visible qualification to recommend him, but some knowledge of the country, in which he might be equalled, if not excelled, by every common ranger, created much speculation, and damped the spirit of the service at its outset; and the public apprehensions were but too well confirmed by the event. Like all other expeditions in North America, the success of that against Niagara depended chiefly on the troops taking the field early. We have already mentioned the great importance of Oswego, which had been projected by Mr. Burnet, governor of New York, but no care had been taken to fortify it suitably. Shirley's march to Niagara lay by Oswego. In the preceding year, some measures had been suggested for strengthening that post by augmenting its garrison, and by building vessels on lake Ontario, Oswego,

Shirley's march towards Oswego.

(S) It may be necessary here to remind our readers of the situation and uses of the three great French forts in North America, which we shall do from a Journal of that War, published in 1755. — "Niagara, Du Quesne, and Crown Point, are three forts built by the French, in consequence of their scheme to possess all the passes of the back countries, and secure them by strong garrisons, to restrain us from penetrating farther into the continent, than the part we possess, and, at length, to exclude us from all commerce with the Indians, and engross the fur trade to themselves. Crown Point was built about the year 1730, by the Canadians, though it is in the province of New York, and little

more than a hundred miles from Albany. From this advanced garrison, they can easily annoy all the upper parts of New York and New England, and prevent the settlement of any lands, north of Hudson's and Connecticut rivers. Fort du Quesne was built about three years ago, and is an encroachment upon Pennsylvania; which enables the French to harass that, as well as the neighbouring provinces of Maryland and Virginia. Niagara is at the streight between the lakes Erie and Ontario, and secures the great communication between Canada and Louisiana. It is in the country of the Senegas, the most powerful of the Five Nations, and was built since the year 1721.

so as to intercept all communication between *Niagara* and the other *French* forts on the south of that lake, and fort *Frontenac* or *Cataracouy*, on the north. A number of these vessels, carrying six pounders and swivels, were accordingly constructed, and greatly distressed the *French* trade on the lake. About the same time, captain *Bradstreet* carried two companies of a hundred men each to *Oswego*, to reinforce that garrison, which had lately been augmented from the pitiful number of twenty-five to a hundred men. The long and dangerous march between *Albany* and *Oswego*, increased the necessity of the troops setting early out for *New York*; which they did not till the best time for action was over. It was the beginning of *June*, before colonel *Schuyler's* *New Jersey* regiment took the field, and while *Shirley's* and *Pep- perel's* regiments, with the *Indians*, the whole amounting to about 2500 men, were ready to follow them, the dismal news of *Braddock's* defeat arriving at *Albany*, dispirited the troops so greatly, that they deserted in great numbers; so that when *Shirley* arrived at *Oswego*, he scarcely had the face of an army fit to go on so important an expedition, and, at the same time to secure the *British* settlements in those parts. Many of the battoe-men, in particular, refusing to proceed, conveniencies could not be had, even for carrying the necessary provisions for the troops; and the *Indians*, on whom the general had laid great stress, were so far from joining him, that they absolutely declared against his expedition, as tending to disturb their peace and commerce. It was the 17th or 18th of *August*, before *Shirley* himself arrived at *Oswego*, and the last day of the same month before his troops and artillery came up.

From whence he returns ineffectually. IT was easily foreseen, that nothing for that year could be done against *Niagara*, notwithstanding the excellent conveniencies of the vessels that had been built upon the lake. The season was not only too far advanced; but though the general waited till the 26th of *September*, when he received a supply of provisions, it was so small that it was scarcely sufficient to subsist the six hundred men he intended to carry with him against *Niagara*, and to support the troops he was to leave at *Oswego* for twelve days; so that, if even the rainy season had not set in as it did, the expedition must have been impracticable. A council of war being called, it was unanimously resolved to defer the expedition against *Niagara* to the succeeding year; to leave colonel *Mercer* at *Oswego*, with a garrison of six hundred men, and to build two additional forts for the safety of that place, and the entrance of the harbour; and that the general himself should return with the

the rest of the army to *Albany*, for which he accordingly set out on the 24th of *October*. Thus ended an expedition, of which it is hard to say, whether it was planned or executed with less judgment. Nothing had happened during the course of it that might not have reasonably been foreseen, and the general returned to *Albany* at the very time his presence was most wanted at *Oswego*. The defeat of *Braddock*, and the taking his papers had informed the *French* of all the intended operations, on the part of the *English*, during the campaign, and *Shirley* had undoubted intelligence, that they had 1000 regulars at fort *Frontenac*, who were designed for the attack of *Oswego*, where the two forts had only been marked out, when he abandoned it. In the mean while, the dreadful cruelties and plunderings of the *French* and their *Indians* upon the *English* back-settlements were so numerous, that though they fell upon particular persons, they became a general concern. Upon the whole, it was evident, from the little effect, which so great a force as that employed by the *English* in *America* had this year against an enemy, which, compared to them, were despicable, that certain private discontents lurked in the minds of the chief provincials. Whatever they might pretend, they knew well that *Braddock* had a commission to act as commander in chief of all the *British* troops on that continent, and that they were only to be subordinate to him. *Shirley* was both disliked and despised in his military capacity; and *Johnson's* army, which, after the defeat of the *French*, amounted to 6000 men, was obliged to be disbanded for the winter, for want of provisions and for other domestic reasons.

THE *British* ministry were fully sensible that mistakes and *Conduct of* mismanagements had been committed in the service, but they *the British* were tender and cautious of enquiring into them, and far *ministry* more of punishing them; as not only the rigour of the military law was new in *America*, but it would have been highly impolitic, to have exasperated those colonists by any unnecessary acts of severity. A resolution was therefore formed to throw the weight of the *American* war upon the mother-country chiefly; and that a regiment of foot should be raised in *North America*, consisting of four battalions of 1000 men each, besides six regiments of foot, who were to sail from *Ireland* to serve in *North America* and the *East-Indies*. Mr. *Fox*, who was then minister, at the same time presented to the house a message from his majesty, desiring it to take into consideration the faithful services of the *New Englandmen*, and his subjects in some other parts of *North America*. The 4000 men of the *American* regiment were

1756.

composed mostly of *Germans* and *Swiss*, who had been settled on the borders of the *British* colonies; and an act of parliament passed, enabling his majesty to grant commissions to a certain number of foreign protestants, who served abroad as officers, or engineers, to act and rank as officers or engineers, in *America* only. In the month of *January*, *De Rouillé*, the *French* minister and secretary of state for foreign affairs, addressed a letter to Mr. *Fox*, bitterly complaining of the hostilities that had been committed by *Braddock* and *Boscawen*, and the captures that had been made of the *French* ships before any declaration of war, with many other matters. But a very proper, because a very spirited, answer, justifying all that had been done, was returned to those complaints; and hostilities continued to be multiplied between the two nations. General *Shirley* was dismissed from his military command, in which he was succeeded by general *Abercrombie*, who, in *March* this year, carried over with him two regiments to *North America*, while the command in chief over all the *American* forces was conferred on the earl of *Loudon*. Besides this command, his lordship was made governor of *Virginia*, and colonel of the royal *American* regiment, consisting of the 4000 men, that were to be disciplined by foreign, and other, officers of experience, besides being vested with other extraordinary powers; and his lordship embarked the latter end of *May*, for his important command.

*Who send
general A-
bercrom-
bie and
lord Lou-
don to
America.*

BY this time, the *English* subjects, all over *North America*; seeing their mother-country was determined to support them in earnest, but sensible that they must lend their own vigorous assistance, made extraordinary efforts to bring a formidable force to the field. When general *Abercrombie*, on the fifth of *June*, arrived at *Albany*, he took upon him the command of the troops there, consisting of the two regiments, which had served under *Braddock*, two battalions raised in *America*, the two regiments he brought along with him, four *New York* independent companies, the *New Jersey* regiment, four *North Carolina* companies, and a body of *New England* provincials. As to the settlements towards the southward, containing *Pennsylvania*, *Maryland*, and *Virginia*, they had suffered, and were daily suffering, so much, from the *French* plunderings and massacres, that it was with the utmost difficulty they could defend themselves. The plan for the campaign was to reduce fort *Niagara*, as being the most effectual means for disabling the *French* from maintaining their forts upon the *Ohio*, or keeping up their communication between *Louisiana* and *Canada*. *Ticonderoga* and *Crown Point* were likewise

likewise to be reduced for the security of *New York*. All the convenient passes upon lake *Champlain* were to be seized by the *English*; fort *du Quesne* was to have been besieged, and *Quebec* itself to have been alarmed by a body of troops detached up the river *Kennebeck*. This plan of operations was promising, and not at all impracticable even by the *British* troops, who were in readiness; but it seemed as if the commander in chief had no instructions to enter upon any decisive measures, till the arrival of lord *Loudon*, which proved too late in the year for their being executed; for he did not embark with the troops under his command from *England*, till the time above mentioned, occasioned, as was said, by the unsettled state of the *British* ministry. Add to this, that the provincial officers were so much divided in their opinions, that his authority was necessary for bringing the troops into the field; and thus another year was lost, under the most enormous expence that the public of *Great Britain* had ever been put to, in that or almost any other part of the world.

The *French* and their *Indians* took care to improve this procrastination to their own barbarous purposes. They cut off, to a man, twenty-five *English*, who garrisoned a post amidst their own *Indians*. They watched the return of a convoy, which had carried provisions and stores to *Oswego*, and was commanded by colonel *Bradstreet*. This gentleman, more than suspecting their intention, made a proper disposition of his battoes, on his return by the river *Onondaga*; and after receiving the enemy's fire from the north shore, he ordered his men to land on the south, and he there took possession of a small island. Here he was attacked by a body of the enemy, which he repulsed; and, after that, by two separate bodies, who had passed the river higher up, whom he likewise defeated; and, receiving afterwards a reinforcement under captain *Patten*, who was on his march to *Oswego*, and another of two hundred men from that garrison, he probably would have destroyed the whole *French* detachment, consisting of seven hundred men, had not the swelling of the rivers hindered him from pursuing them. *Patten* then proceeded to *Oswego*, as *Bradstreet* did to *Albany*, where he informed general *Abercrombie*, that the *French* had assembled a considerable force on the east side of lake *Ontario*, with a numerous artillery to besiege *Oswego*; the garrison of which, by this time, had been reinforced to the number of about 1400 men, besides workmen and sailors. Upon *Bradstreet's* information, major-general *Webb* was ordered to march with a regiment to the relief of *Oswego*; but, before it could be put in motion the earl of *Loudon* arrived at *Albany*, on the

29th of *July*. His presence did not at all contribute to the unanimity of the provincials; for, notwithstanding the imminent danger of *Oswego*, the province of *New York*, and the northern governments, insisted upon the reduction of *Crown Point*, as being most dangerous for their country, and that some regiments of regulars should join general *Winslow*, who was marching with 7000 provincials, in attempting that conquest, while the remainder of the army were to remain at *Albany* to cover *New York*.

In the mean while, the marquis de *Vaudreuil* had been appointed to the government of *New France*, and the marquis de *Montcalm*, who succeeded *Dieskau* in the command of the troops, acted under *Vaudreuil* as major-general. *Montcalm*, who had the truest military genius of any officer the *French* had ever employed in *North America*, arrived the 29th of *July* at *Frontenac*, where, under the pretence of providing for the safety of that fort, and that of *Niagara*, *Vaudreuil* had assembled 3000 men, amongst whom were the battalions of *Sarre*, *Guyenne*, and *Bearn*, amounting to 1300 regulars, besides a body who had been sent by *Vaudreuil* to the bay of *Niaoure*, where their general rendezvous was appointed. *Montcalm*, having made admirable dispositions against any surprize, and for securing his retreat, if he had been defeated, embarked on the fourth of *August* on lake *Ontario* for the bay of *Niaoure*, where being joined by all his armament, he advanced partly by land, and partly by water, till he came within half a league of *Oswego*, or rather one of the new erected forts there, called by the *French*, *Fort Chouguen*, but by the *English*, *Oswego New Fort*, the other new erected one being called *Fort Ontario*. It was the 13th of *August*, before the ground was opened before the latter; but the garrison, finding it untenable, about six in the evening, having fired away all their shells and ammunition, and spiked up their cannon, evacuated the fort, and crossed the river to *Little Oswego Fort*. In the mean while, two armed barks, one of twelve and the other of sixteen guns, blocked up *Oswego* on this side of the lake, by *Montcalm's* orders, and a chain of posts had been formed on the road to *Albany* to prevent the garrison from sending to, or receiving any intelligence from thence; and his vessels were secured by a battery on the land.

THE loss of fort *Ontario* proved irreparable to the *English*. Colonel *Mercer* did all that possibly could be done to render the seven little vessels, which lay at the mouth of the *Chouguen*, serviceable to his garrison; but the dispositions made by *Montcalm* frustrated all his endeavours. It is, however, highly

highly probable, that, had he not been killed, he would have battled the besiegers, notwithstanding all the disadvantages he was under, either by a bold sally, or by burning the enemy's ships; but, on the 13th, they having entirely invested the fort, he was killed by a cannon-ball; and then the garrison, being left without a commander of equal authority and abilities, surrendered prisoners of war, on condition of their being exempted from plunder, carried to *Montreal*, and treated with humanity. It is to the eternal stain of *Montcalm's*, and the *French*, name, that those articles, though agreed to by himself, were violated. Under the shameful pretence, that he could not restrain the impetuosity of his *Indians*, they were suffered not only to rob, but to murder, several of the *British* officers and soldiers, after they had given up their arms, and most inhumanly scalped all the sick and wounded, who were in the *British* hospital. *Montcalm* himself, on this occasion, equalled, if not exceeded, the barbarity of his own savages; for he put into their hands twenty *English* prisoners, who, probably, were put to the most excruciating deaths, a custom amongst the savages that he could be no stranger to, in revenge of twenty of the barbarians, who had been killed during the siege. In the forts, which were demolished, were found an hundred and seven pieces of cannon, and fourteen mortars, the rest of the artillery consisting of patteraroes and cohorns; as also 1800 muskets, 25,000 lb. of gunpowder, and a great quantity of provisions. The prisoners were carried to *Montreal*, according to the capitulation.

Colonel
Mercer
killed.

THE reduction of *Oswego* very undeservedly raised the reputation of *Montcalm* and the *French* arms. The several forts of which it consisted were miserably situated, built of the very worst wooden materials, and open above; nor did any of the officers of the garrison, after colonel *Mercer's* death, appear to have had much experience in military affairs. General *Webb*, by this time, had arrived with the regiment he commanded, for the relief of *Oswego*, at the carrying-place between the *Mohawk's* river and *Wood's Creek*, when he heard of the fate of that place. Being apprehensive of an attack from the conquering army, he felled trees, and took other precautions for rendering the creek impassable; and thus he secured his retreat. But the loss of *Oswego* was soon felt in the most sensible manner, by a renewal of the most shocking barbarities, which the *French* and their *Indians* now committed, almost unopposed, upon the *English* settlers. As to the earl of *London*, the advanced season tied up his hands from acting, and all he could do was to promote the scheme of union among the *British* colonies, by endeavouring to conciliate

Consequences
of that
action.

ciliate all their differences, both public and private, and to pursue the proper measures for securing their frontiers from farther insults. For this purpose, to ease the inhabitants as much as possible, convenient barracks were built at *Albany*, and strong garrisons were thrown into the forts *Edward* and *William Henry*. Notwithstanding this, fort *Granville*, on the confines of *Pennsylvania*, was surprized, plundered, and burnt, by the enemy, who drove into captivity the small garrison, with the women and children it contained. To obviate, as much as possible, the like misfortunes for the future, the governor of *Pennsylvania* concluded a treaty of peace with the *Delaware Indians*, who inhabit the banks of the river *Susquehanna*; as the governor of *Virginia* did another with the *Cherokees* and the *Catawbias*, two powerful *Indian* tribes in their neighbourhood, who could bring 3000 men into the field. So much were the people of *England* intent upon the *American* affairs at this time, that the house of commons resolved, that the contract entered into, on the 26th day of *March*, in the year 1756, by the commissioners of the treasury, with *William Baker*, *Christopher Kilby*, and *Richard Baker*, of *London*, merchants, for furnishing provisions to the forces under the command of the earl of *Loudon*, was prudent and necessary, and properly adapted to the securing a constant and effectual supply for those forces in *America*.

Lord Loudon's disappointments.

It might have reasonably been supposed, that the effects would have been in some measure proportioned to preparations so generously made, and so well supported; but, in this, the public of *England* was disappointed. Lord *Loudon*, who was now in *America*, could not effect that necessary unanimity amongst the *British* governors and provinces that was requisite for proceeding against the common enemy with decisive success. The *French*, after their taking *Oswego*, became masters of the lakes of *North America*, by which the *Iroquois*, or as they are called the *Five Nations*, who were now extremely well disposed towards the *English*, was cut off from all communication with them. Four hundred *Cherokee Indians*, indeed, joined the *English* at fort *Cumberland*, and a fort was built at *Winchester*, called fort *Loudon*; but all the *British* settlements along the *Mohawk's* river, and the *German Flats* were exposed to the *French* and their *Indians*, who destroyed them with unrelenting fury. In the mean while, admiral *Holbourn* arrived at *Hallifax*, with a strong reinforcement of men and ships; by which lord *Loudon* was put at the head of 12000 men, the greatest *European* army that had ever appeared in *America*. But M. de *Bois de la Mothe*, about the same time, arrived at the harbour of *Louisbourg*, with

with a Squadron superior to that of the *British*, which rendered it imprudent to attack that place, though it was now the object of all the *British* operations in *America*, preferably to *Crown Point* itself. But we are to confine ourselves to the history of *Canada*.

MONTCALM, the *French* general there, failed in three *Operations* attacks he made upon fort *William Henry*. Colonel *Parker*, in *America*, in attempting, with about four hundred men who went by *water*, to dislodge a *French* advanced guard at *Ticonderoga*, was outwitted by the *French* and *Indians*, at that place, and the whole of his detachment, two officers and seventy private men excepted, was cut off. *Montcalm* then flushed with this new success, prepared a-fresh for the siege of fort *William Henry*, which is situated on the southern coast of lake *George*, so as to command that lake, and to protect the *English* colonies. The fort was garrisoned by near 3000 men, and general *Webb* lay near it with an army of above 4000. The general of *Canada*, having received great reinforcements from *Old France*, assembled from *Crown Point*, *Ticonderoga*, and other *French* posts, about 10,000 men, and invested the fort, which he summoned to surrender, as he pretended, out of humanity, it being, as he said, yet in his power to restrain the cruelties of his *Indians*. The garrison of the fort, depending on being relieved by *Webb*, made a gallant defence; but, being disappointed, were obliged on the 6th of *August*, the sixth day of the siege, to capitulate*. The terms were that the garrison of fort *William Henry*, and the troops in the retrenched camp, should march out with their arms, the baggage of the officers and soldiers, and all the usual necessities of war; escorted by a detachment of *French* troops, or interpreters attached to the savages. It was agreed, that the gate of the fort should be delivered to the troops of the most Christian king, immediately after signing the capitulation; and the retrenched camp, on the departure of the *British* forces: that the artillery, warlike stores, provision, and, in general, every thing, except the effects of the soldiers and officers, should, upon honour, be delivered to the *French* troops; for which purpose, it was agreed there should be delivered, with the capitulation, an exact inventory of the stores, and other particulars specified: that the garrison of the fort, the troops of the retrenchment, and dependencies, should not serve for the space of eighteen months, from the date of the capitulation, against his most Christian majesty, or his allies: that, with the capitulation, there should be

* SMOLLET'S History, Vol. II. p. 41, 42.

delivered

delivered an exact state of the troops, specifying the names of the officers, engineers, artilleryists, commissaries, and all employed : that four officers and soldiers, *Canadians*, women and savages, made prisoners by land, since the commencement of the war in *North America*, be delivered in the space of three months at *Carillon* ; in return for which, an equal number of the garrison of fort *William* should be capacitated to serve, agreeable to the return given by the *English* officer, and the receipt of the *French* commanding officers, of the prisoners so delivered : that an officer remain as an hostage, till the safe return of the escorte sent with the troops of his *Britannic* majesty : that the sick and wounded, not in a condition to be transported to fort *Edward*, should remain under the protection of the marquis *de Montcalm*, who engaged to use them with tenderness and humanity, and to return them as soon as recovered : that provision for two days should be issued out for the *British* troops : that, in testimony of his esteem and respect for colonel *Monro*, and his garrison, on account of their gallant defence, the marquis *de Montcalm* should return one cannon, a six pounder.

and disgraceful
campaign
there.

IT is a poor apology on the part of the *French*, for them to pretend, that it was not in the power of *Montcalm* to enforce the observance of this capitulation, on account of the unruliness of his *Indians*. Every one who has read the preceding pages, must be sensible that a *French* general, especially at the head of an army, is, if possible, more than master of his *American Indians*. Those under *Montcalm* were permitted, if not commissioned, to break every article of the capitulation, and to commit cruelties, that a barbarian, nay a *Frenchman*, ought to blush at hearing repeated. They robbed the *British* troops, as they marched out, they tomahawked and scalped the *British Indians*, they ripped up the bellies of women, and committed inhumanities, which one who has a human feeling can scarcely credit. The fort was demolished, every thing within it was seized, together with the effects, provision and artillery, and, what is of more importance than all, the vessels that had been constructed upon the lake. It has been observed, that, during this disgraceful campaign, we had no fewer than 20,000 troops on foot upon the continent of *America* ; with twenty ships of the line in those seas : a force doubly superior to what had been ever known in that part of the world.

ADMIRAL *Holbourn* having discharged his transports, set sail for *Louisbourg*, after the earl of *Loudon* had departed from *Hallifax*. The meaning of this movement will perhaps ever remain a secret. That he did not intend to attempt to take
the

the place is certain, and it seems to be equally certain that his design was not to fight the *French* admiral in that harbour; for upon the latter making dispositions to engage him, he returned to *Hallifax*. Being reinforced about the middle of *September* with four ships of the line, he again set sail for *Louisbourg* with the unmeaning intention, to all appearance, of blocking up that harbour; a measure that seldom or never has been found effectual, though often attempted. A storm, which it was not unreasonable to foresee, dispersed his squadron. The *Tilbury* was lost; eleven of his ships were dismasted, many of them threw over their guns, and all of them returned to *England* in a shattered condition: and thus ended by sea and land a campaign so weak and ridiculous that it ought to be blotted out of the *British* annals.

In the year 1758, some dissatisfaction with regard to the conduct of the war in *America*, arising in *England*, lord *Low-^{1758.}* don returned home, and the command there, then devolved upon general *Abercrombie*. The *British* force in *North America* <sup>Lord Low-
don re-
turns to
England.</sup> about this time amounted to the incredible number of about 50,000 men; of whom 22,000 were regular troops. Twelve thousand were appointed to the siege of *Louisbourg*, 16,000 under the general himself, were to attack *Crown Point*, and general *Farles*, an officer, who had been bred up under general *Campbell*, who lost his life at *Fontenoy*, was appointed to reduce fort *du Quesne* on the *Ohio*. The reduction of *Louisbourg*, the particulars of which fall under another head of this work, was happily effected, and the island of *St. John*, in the gulph of *St. Lawrence*, a post of the utmost importance to the *French* and their treacherous neutrals, was reduced. Nothing now remained but to lay open the *French* empire in *America* to the *British* arms, and this was the intention of general *Abercrombie's* expedition against *Crown Point*, and the *French* forts on the lakes *George* and *Champlain*. In *July* this year that general, with near 7000 regulars, and 10,000 provincials, a force more than sufficient to have conquered both the *French* and the *Spanish America*, embarked on lake *George* on board of nine hundred battoes, and one hundred and thirty-five whale boats, with cannon mounted on rafts, and all the provisions and accommodations that could render an enterprize of so much expectation successful. The general's first operation was against *Ticonderoga*, a fort situated on an isthmus between lake *George*, and a gut communicating with lake *Champlain*, and serving as the key to *Crown Point*, having on its front a morass, and the other three sides being surrounded by water. Nothing could be more happy than the embarkation and debarkation of the troops,

Unsuccessful
attack
upon Ti-
conderoga

troops, which were formed into three columns, and drove a battalion of the enemy from an advanced post. The march of the *British* army then lay through a thick wood, where lord *Howe*, whose memory will ever be dear to the *British* soldiery, lost his life. The tracts of the wood were unknown; the general ordered the troops back to the landing-place, that they might refresh themselves. In the skirmish where lord *Howe* fell, about one hundred and forty-eight of the *French* were taken, and a considerable number were killed, and lieutenant colonel *Bradstreet*, by the general's order, took possession of a saw-mill, which was to facilitate the operations against *Ticonderoga* with a regiment of regulars, six companies of the royal *Americans*, the battoe men, and a body of rangers. *Abercrombie* then advanced once more towards *Ticonderoga*, which was defended by eight battalions of regulars, besides a body of *Canadians* and *Indians*, amounting in the whole to about 6000 men. They depended for their defence upon an entrenchment before the fort, and hourly expected to be joined by 3000 men under *M. de Levi*, a *French* general officer of some reputation. *Abercrombie* had intelligence of this, and not improperly, resolved to attack the enemy before this powerful reinforcement came up. Those parts of the morass, which were the most accessible, were defended by a strong line above eight feet high, on which cannon were mounted; and before that line, for about one hundred yards, trees were felled with their branches outward, which rendered the approaches still more difficult. The general's engineer, however, after reconnoitring the enemy's entrenchments, gave his opinion that they were assailable, the works being yet unfinished, and to the amazement of all *Europe* (when the account came to be published by authority) a resolution was taken to attempt this formidable entrenchment without cannon, and with musketry alone. None but *British* troops would have obeyed so unaccountable an order. They did it with useless, but unusual intrepidity, which was fatal only to themselves. Near 2000 of them, with a large proportion of officers were butchered, and the Highland regiment commanded by lord *John Murray*, had half of its men, and twenty-five of its officers, either killed or desperately wounded. This attack, where no prospect of success could possibly present itself, was followed by a retreat as pusillanimous as the other was presumptuous. The general reembarked the troops, and though not an incident had happened that might not have been easily foreseen, or rationally expected, on the 9th of *June* he returned to his former camp at lake *George*.

THE

THE reader without any suggestion of ours will be apt *Fort Frontenac* enough of himself to make reflexions upon this attempt so tenaciously deservedly unsuccessful; but the war was not equally *unfortunate* in every quarter of *North America*. General *Amherst* having reduced *Louisbourg*, where he left a garrison, marched towards *Albany* about the middle of *September* with six regiments, that he might support and reinforce general *Abercrombie*, who had detached about 3000 men under colonel *Bradstreet* (most of them provincials) to the important service of reducing fort *Cataracouy* or fort *Frontenac*. Incredible were the difficulties which *Bradstreet* surmounted in this expedition, before he arrived at lake *Ontario*, where he embarked his men in sloops and battoes. The reputation of the *British* troops was then so low amongst the *French*, that in that important fort they had only a garrison of one hundred and ten men, with some *Indians*, and it surrendered at discretion, the first happy omen of a reversal of success in favour of the *British* arms! In the fort, which of itself was but poorly constructed, were found sixty pieces of cannon, sixteen small mortars, but a vast quantity of provisions and merchandizes, it being the magazine for all their western garrisons and *Indian* allies, nine vessels, some of which carried eighteen guns, and had been, in imitation of the *English*, constructed on the lake *Ontario*, fell likewise into *Bradstreet's* hands, and he destroyed the fort, with all the artillery, stores, provisions, and ammunition, which he could not carry off; after which he went to *Oswego*. The reader in the preceding part of this history must be sensible of the vast importance of fort *Frontenac* to the province of *Canada*, both as a storehouse for trading with the *Indians*, and a place of strength for keeping them in awe. It is not perhaps easy to find a reason, now that the conquest of *Quebec* was to be attempted, why the same fort might not have been equally useful and advantageous to the *British* interest. It undoubtedly must have made us masters of lake *Ontario*; and the keeping possession of it must have distressed the *French* and their allies towards the west and north beyond all possibility of relief.

In the beginning of *July* brigadier *Forbes* set out on his expedition from *Philadelphia* for fort *du Quesne*. He was to march through countries that never had been impressed by human vestige, and he had difficulties to surmount, greater perhaps than those of *Alexander* in his expedition to *India*, by establishing magazines, forming and securing camps, procuring carriages, and encountering a thousand unforeseen obstacles in penetrating through regions that presented nothing but scalping parties of *French* and savages, mountains, woods, and

and morasses. The enemy and their *Indians* were industrious in pestering his march with their detached parties; but he penetrated to *Ray's* town, which lies within ninety miles (accounted a small distance in those immense regions) of fort *du Quesne*. Here he detached about 2000 men under the command of colonel *Bouquet* to a place called *Lyal-Henning*, fifty miles farther on; and from thence the colonel sent major *Grant* with eight hundred men to reconnoitre the fort and its neighbourhood. The major, perhaps, pushed his detachment farther than prudence would have dictated. He was surrounded by the enemy; but notwithstanding the vast superiority of their numbers, he made a brave defence, till losing three hundred of his party, he himself, and nineteen other officers, were taken prisoners, and carried to the fort. Unadvised as the major's forwardness seems to have been, it had a good effect by giving the enemy such a specimen of *British* courage, that general *Forbes* took possession of the fort, which he dismantled, without resistance, and they fled to their other settlements upon the *Ohio*. The general here found the natives amicably disposed towards *Great Britain*. He concluded treaties with them. He left a garrison of provincials in the fort. He built a block-house near *Lyal-Henning*; but his constitution being delicate, and himself worn out with fatigue, he died before his return to *Pennsylvania*.

Sir William Johnson makes a treaty with the Indians.

HITHERTO the progress which the *British* arms had made in *North America* was rather solid than splendid; for they had dismantled *Canada* of its out-guards, and laid it open to an attempt so bold, that a few years before it would have been thought romantic, even to mention it, we mean the conquest of *Quebec*. Previous to this, in *October* 1758, when the *British* arms began to recover their lustre, the governors of *Pennsylvania* and *New Jersey*, assisted by Sir *William Johnson*, who was the soul of all our transactions with the savages, held an assembly at *Easton*, about ninety miles from *Philadelphia*, where a formal treaty was entered into between *Great Britain* and the *Indians* of that vast tract of country lying between the *Apalachian* mountains and the lakes. The contractors on the side of *Great Britain* in this treaty, besides Sir *William Johnson*, who officiated in the character of agent for *Indian* affairs, and the two governors, were four members of the council of *Pennsylvania*, six of the assembly, two agents for *New Jersey* with a number of quaker inhabitants of *Philadelphia*. The subject of the conferences was, what we have often seen in the course of this history, complaints of encroachments by the *English*, and differences amongst the savages themselves about their limits. The names of the *Indians*, who assisted at the treaty, were the *Mohawks*, *Oneidoes*, *Onondagoes*.

Onondagoes, Cayugas, Senecas, Tuscaroras, Nanticoques, and Conoys, the Tuteloës, Chugnuts, Delawares, and Unamies, the Minisinks, Mohicans, and Wappingers; so that the number of the deputies who attended, including their women and children, amounted to about five hundred. The chief on the part of the savages was *Teedynscung*; for though every nation has its deputies, yet all of them commonly manifest a particular deference to one or two leaders. The several transactions of this meeting are not material. The precision with which those savages treated was wonderful; for they required satisfaction, and made mention of every life their countrymen lost, and the smallest damage they sustained; and the *British* plenipotentiaries had prudence enough to accommodate themselves to the redress of all their grievances; so that they departed seemingly with a hearty detestation of the *French*. It was remarked, however, that the *Miamis*, or, as they are called, the *Twightees*, did not send their deputies to this assembly; but measures were taken for keeping them in peace.

THIS treaty with the savages put the finishing hand, to all the preliminary measures for the campaign. The sagacity of the *English* ministry naturally suggested to them, that tho' *Canada* or *New France* was but thinly inhabited, yet all its force, if collected into one point, might baffle the most vigorous effort that *Great Britain* could make, as it was impossible for her to find ships, magazines, and conveyances for the whole of her troops, so as to employ them in one direction, in such a country as *North America*. It was, therefore, resolved to divide the operations of the campaign into three different directions. One under general *Wolfe*, who, with 8000 men, was to undertake the siege of *Quebec*. The second under general *Amherst*, who was then the *British* commander in chief in *North America*, and who, with 12,000 men, after reducing *Ticonderoga* and *Crown Point*, was to cross lake *Champlain*, and, by the way of *Richelieu* river, to proceed towards the banks of that of *St. Lawrence*, and to assist *Wolfe* in the siege of *Quebec*. The third direction was under brigadier general *Prideaux*, who, assisted by the great interest and abilities of Sir *William Johnson*, was to reduce the important fort near the cataract of *Niagara*, which gave law to the internal parts of *North America*. The same troops, after the reduction of *Niagara*, were to operate occasionally by embarking on lake *Ontario*, and reducing *Montreal*, or joining general *Amherst's* army. Besides those three grand directions, colonel *Stanwix* was at the head of a scouring detachment for seizing all the forts and posts upon the lake *Ontario*. Let us now turn our eyes towards the dispositions of the *French* force.

VAU-

VAUDREUIL, then governor-general of *Canada*, with a body of about 5000 men lay at *Montreal*, and in its neighbourhood. *Montcalm*, whose reputation was very high in the military world, commanded a body of 10,000 regulars, and disciplined militia, who were better than regulars, besides a number of *Indians* between *Montreal* and *Quebec*. *De Levi* was at the head of a flying detachment, much better acquainted, than the *British* troops possibly could be, with that dubious country. The garrison of *Niagara* consisted of six hundred men; the city of *Quebec* had received every additional fortification that the art of war could give it; scarcely any *British* sailor could pretend to be acquainted with the navigation of the river *St. Lawrence*, which the *French* had industriously kept a secret, pretending it to be extremely difficult and dangerous. The strong fort of *Chambly*, near the fall of the river *Richelieu*, was in the possession of the enemy, as consequently was the pass of the river *St. Lawrence*, which the *British* troops were likewise to surmount; not to mention *Crown Point* and *Ticonderoga*, lately so fatal to the *British* arms.

Operations
of general
Amherst.

THE forces under general *Amherst* were first in motion, notwithstanding all the impediments that were thrown in his way, by the innate haughtiness of the provincials, and their aversion to regular troops. The season was far advanced before he passed lake *George* and approached *Ticonderoga*, which, in the night of the 7th of *July* 1759, the *French* abandoned, thereby proving that their strength chiefly consisted in our fears and misconduct. *Amherst* strongly garrisoned and fortified this important place, by which he secured his retreat, and covered the frontiers of *New York*. Here fell the brave colonel *Townshend*, whose elder brother was third in command under general *Wolfe*, as he was reconnoitering. Every day gave fresh proof of our former misconduct. *Amherst's* manner of proceeding was firm and cautious, but determined, and he took care to leave as little as possible to fortune. This conduct deprived the enemy of all hopes of defending themselves; so that it now seemed as if they were resolved to risk their *American* empire upon the stand they were to make at *Quebec*. On the 1st of *August*, the *British* general had intelligence, by one of his scouting parties, of the *French* having abandoned *Crown Point* in the same manner as they had done *Ticonderoga*. He did not fail to improve this incident; for, three days after, his troops were encamped in the neighbourhood of the fort, and he laid the foundations of a new and a stronger one for bridling the cruelties of the natives.

THE

THE *French*, after evacuating those two forts, retired to the isle *Aux Noix*, at the other end of lake *Champlain*, to the number of 3500 men, under the command of M. de *Burlemague*, and provided with a strong train of artillery. Four of their vessels mounted with cannon, and manned with the piquets of their regiments, were in possession of the lake under the command of M. *le Bras*, and M. *de Rigal*, two sea officers, which rendered it necessary for Mr. *Amberst*, if possible, to have the command of the lake. He had directed captain *Loring* to build a sloop of sixteen guns, and a radeau eighty-four feet in length, capable of carrying six large cannon, together with a brigantine. But it was the 11th of *October* before they were finished, and then *Loring* sailed with them down the lake, where he drove three *French* ships into a bay, where two of them were sunk, and the crew of the third ran it aground; but it was taken and repaired by *Loring*. In the mean while the general embarked the troops in battoes; but by stress of weather was obliged to shelter them in a bay on the western shore. He reembarked them again; but from the same cause he was forced to desist from proceeding, and through the lateness of the season to finish the operations of his campaign. Few commanders ever were in the situation in which he now found himself. Though successful beyond all expectation, he did not know, but he and his troops might fall victims through the ill success of the other divisions, of whom he had little or no intelligence, excepting a few discouraging hints of *Wolfe's* having landed in the neighbourhood of *Quebec*. It was the 21st of *October* before he returned, from his tempestuous expedition, to *Crown Point*, where he applied himself to improve his superiority on the lake, and the fortifications of the place; so that at last he was enabled to open a communication between *Ticonderoga* and *Massachusetts*.

PRIDEAUX and Sir *William Johnson* were all this while proceeding against fort *Niagara*; but on the 20th of *July*, *Prideaux*, to the inexpressible grief of the army, was killed in the trenches by the bursting of a cohorn. The command then fell upon Sir *William Johnson*, who was superseded by brigadier-general *Gage*, by the appointment of *Amberst*, who always had kept up a correspondence with that division. Before *Gage* could arrive at *Niagara*, *Johnson* performed wonders. He had carried his approaches within one hundred yards of the covered-way of the fort; and the *French* were so apprehensive of losing that palladium of their interest in *North America*, that they exerted their utmost to maintain it, by collecting 1700 men from all the neighbouring posts, particularly from *Detroit*, *Venango*, and *Presque Isle*, under the

MOD. HIST. VOL. XL.

Q

cont-

command of *Monf. D'Aubry*. Had this reinforcement reached the fort it must have been impregnable; but *Johnson* made dispositions towards his left, on the road leading from *Niagara* falls to the fortress, for intercepting it. His light infantry and piquets over-night were placed there, and in the morning reinforced with the grenadiers, and part of the forty-sixth regiment commanded by lieutenant-colonel *Masse*, while lieutenant-colonel *Farquhar*, with another regiment, was posted so as to support the guard of the trenches. About 8 o'clock on the 24th of *July* the enemy appeared, and the *English Indians* attempted, in vain, to have some talk with their countrymen, who served under the *French*. The battle began with a horrible war-whoop, which was now matter of ridicule, rather than terror, to the *English*, uttered by the *French Indians*. The *French*, as usual, charged with vast impetuosity; but being received with equal firmness, and the *English Indians* on the flanks doing considerable execution, all the *French* army were put to the rout, and, for five miles, the pursuit continued, in which seventeen officers, amongst whom were the first and second in command, were made prisoners.

NEXT morning *Sir William Johnson* sent a trumpet to the *French* commandant, with a list of the seventeen officers that had been taken, to convince him of the inutility of farther resistance. The commandant found all *Sir William Johnson's* intelligence to be perfectly true, and in a few hours a capitulation was signed, by which six hundred and seven men, of which the garrison consisted, were to march out with the honours of war, to be embarked on the lake, and carried to *New York*, but protected from the barbarity of the *Indians*. The women and children were carried to *Montreal*, and the conqueror treated the sick and wounded in a manner so humane, as to prove himself worthy of victory. Thus for a second time, this self-taught general obtained an entire triumph over the boasted discipline of the *French* arms. But that was his least praise. Though 1100 *Indians* followed him to the field, he restrained them within regular bounds, and their example shewed demonstrably that the excesses which the other savages had been guilty of against the *English*, had been prompted and directed by the *French*. Those conquests opened the scene of the grand catastrophe, which was the reduction of *Quebec*. The *French* court, sensible of its importance, had for years before been fortifying it even with a profusion of works, men, and shipping; and they boasted that it was in a condition to bid defiance to all the powers of *Europe*. About the middle of *February* a strong squadron under
the

the command of the admirals *Saunders* and *Holmes* failed from *England* for *Cape Breton*; but finding the harbour of *Louisbourg* frozen up, they bore away for *Hallifax* in *Newa Scotia*, from whence rear-admiral *Durell* was dispatched with a small squadron to the river *St. Lawrence*. All he could do was to take two storeships; fourteen other vessels, with stores, ammunition, and recruits, having already reached *Quebec*, under the convoy of three ships of war. By this time admiral *Saunders* was able to make *Louisbourg*, and an embarkation of about 8000 men for the reduction of *Quebec* was effected.

MR. *PITT* was then one of the *British* secretaries of Expedition state, and considered as having the direction of the war. Perhaps one of the greatest merits of his administration consisted in his breaking through those ridiculous military forms of standing rank and seniority, that had long disgraced the *British* military service, and his preferring merit, courage, and ability, to every other consideration. In the mismanaged expedition against *Rochfort*, under Sir *John Mordaunt*, lieutenant-colonel *James Wolfe*, the son of major-general *Wolfe*, was an officer. When the general's conduct came under examination he was brought as an evidence by both parties. The candour, the precision, and knowledge with which he delivered it, gained him esteem, and, though a young man, his military talents in conversation appeared with such lustre, as recommended him to the knowledge and patronage of the ministry, and of his majesty king *George* the 3^d. who was otherwise no friend to warlike anticipations; so that, to the satisfaction of the public, he was pitched upon to command the expedition against *Quebec*. He had already distinguished himself in the reduction of *Louisbourg*, where he had given amazing proofs of his abilities, personal as well as mental; and three general officers, the sons of noble families, almost equal in years as quality, were appointed to serve under him; the brigadiers *Monckton*, *Townshend*, and *Murray*. Some charts, which had been taken from the *French*, contributed to render the navigation of the *British* armament up the river *St. Lawrence*, far more safe and easy than had been given out by the *French*; and towards the latter end of *June* the land troops were disembarked upon the isle of *Orleans*, which we have already mentioned to lie beneath *Quebec*, and which at that time was, in reality, a large continued garden, abounding not only with all the necessaries, but the delights of life. Soon after landing, the general, as is usual in cases of invasion, published a manifesto or placart, in the following terms.

“ The king, justly exasperated against *France*, has set on foot a considerable armament by land and sea, to bring down

the haughtiness of that crown. His aim is to destroy the most considerable settlements of the *French* in *North America*. It is not against the industrious peasants, their wives, and children, nor against the ministers of religion, that he designs making war. He laments the misfortunes to which this quarrel exposes them, and promises them his protection, offers to maintain them in their possessions, and permits them to follow the worship of their religion, provided that they do not take any part in the difference between the two crowns directly or indirectly.

“THE *Canadians* cannot be ignorant of their situation: the *English* are masters of the river, and blocking up the passage to all succours from *Europe*. They have, besides, a powerful army on the continent, under the command of general *Amherst*.

“THE resolution the *Canadians* ought to take is by no means doubtful: the utmost exertion of their valour will be entirely useless, and will only serve to deprive them of the advantages that they might enjoy by their neutrality. The cruelties of the *French* against the subjects of *Great Britain* in *America*, would excuse the most severe reprisals; but *Englishmen* are too generous to follow such barbarous examples. They offer to the *Canadians* the sweets of peace amidst the horrors of war; it is to their own selves to determine their fate by their conduct. If their presumption, and a wrong placed, as well as fruitless courage, should make them take the most dangerous part, they will only have their own selves to blame, when they shall groan under the weight of that misery to which they will expose themselves.

“General *Wolfe* flatters himself that the whole world will do him justice, if the inhabitants of *Canada* force him, by their refusal, to have recourse to violent methods.” He concluded, in laying before them the strength and power of *England*, which generously stretched out her hand to them: a hand ready to assist them on all occasions, and even at a time when *France*, by its weakness, was incapable of assisting them, and abandoned them in the most critical moment.

Its difficulties.

THIS humane manifesto had no effect with the *Canadians*, who had been by their missionaries and officers taught, not only to hate, but to despise the *English*; so ridiculous was their infatuation, and so insufferable their pride. They joined the *Indians* in their scalping parties, and they were guilty of the greatest inhumanities against the *English*; so that *Wolfe*, after admonishing them of the necessary consequences, was obliged to give way to some retaliations. *Montcalm*, notwithstanding his boasted abilities, knew too much of the *English*,

to venture a battle on equal terms, and never perhaps was there an army under such dreadful circumstances as that of *Wolfe*. He was disappointed of his junction with *Amherst*, on which he had greatly depended; and though he had found the navigation of the river *St. Lawrence* safe and practicable, yet he had received no information concerning the ground in the neighbourhood of *Quebec*, where he found the difficulties of landing on the *Quebec* shore, to all appearance impracticable. The conduct of *Montcalm*, though not brilliant, did honour to his judgment; for secure of the inaccessibility of that shore, he kept upon the heights of *Abraham*, with an army superior to that of *Wolfe*, which he well knew could not long remain in so indecisive a situation. In the mean while he threw five battalions of regulars into *Quebec*, and the *Canadians* accustomed to the field from their birth, were, to a man, in arms; so that their army occupied all the shore of *Beaufort*, from the river *St. Charles* to the falls of *Montmorenci*, fortified with intrenchments at every place that was accessible to the *English*. Under those circumstances all he could do was to detach brigadier *Monckton* with four battalions; and on the 29th of *June* he passed the river, to drive the enemy from *Point Levi*; which, after some skirmishes, he accordingly did, and took possession of that post, while colonel *Carleton* made himself master of the westernmost part of the isle of *Orleans*, lying nearest to *Quebec*. By those two operations, which it is surprising the enemy did not more vigorously oppose, the *British* shipping remained safe in the basin of *Quebec*, which otherwise it could not have done, if the enemy had erected batteries on those points. *Montcalm* seemed, when it was too late, to be sensible of his omission; for he sent 1600 men to destroy the batteries erecting by the *English* at *Point Levi*, but without effect; and the batteries from thence entirely destroyed the lower town, and did great damage to the upper. The works for the security of the *British* hospitals and stores being finished on the isle of *Orleans*, the *English* passed the north channel, and encamped on the left of the enemy, from whom they were divided by the river *Montmorenci*. In this situation, many skirmishes passed with various success: but the enemy still remained masters of all the ground between *Montmorenci* river and *Quebec*, and all the strong banks above that capital. While the two armies lay thus, general *Wolfe*, in reconnoitring the river *Montmorenci* discovered a ford that was practicable; but the bank on the opposite side was so strongly intrenched, that it could not be forced, and the *English* lost some men in attempting it. On the 18th of

Q 3

July,

July¹, two men of war, two armed sloops, two transports, with some troops on board, passed by the town without any loss, and got into the upper river. *Wolfe* took this opportunity to reconnoitre the banks of the river above *Quebec*, which he found rendered inaccessible, equally by art as nature, and so situated that if he had been able even to effect a landing, the first detachment must have been cut off before it could have been supported by another. Not an hour passed, that was not employed by the active *British* general, in exploring some place where he could land his men, but all to no purpose. At last, hearing that many of the enemies had taken refuge at a place called *Point au Tremble*, some miles above the city, colonel *Carleton* was dispatched with a small body to attempt it. But though he drove the *Indians* from it, his success was of very little consequence. After this the general returned to his camp near the falls of *Montmorenci*, where brigadier *Townshend* had destroyed a battery attempted to be raised by the enemy on the bank of the river to cannonade the *British* camp. But this had no great effect, farther than to secure the camp. At this time the reader is to observe that the divisions of the *British* ships under admiral *Holmes* lay above *Quebec*, and that under admiral *Saunders* below it, between the city and the westernmost point of the isle of *Orleans*, while the transports lay at anchor in the south channel, which divided that isle from the encampment of brigadier *Monckton*; but the *British* men of war could not, for want of water, come nigh enough to the land to annoy the enemy's entrenchments.

*Difficulties
of Wolfe
in the siege
of Quebec*

WOLFE was sensible, that the eyes, not only of his own countrymen, but of all *Europe*, were upon him; and he resolved, under the most discouraging difficulties, to attempt a landing. Admiral *Saunders* prepared two transports, which drew but very little water, and therefore were proper to favour a descent. His view was to make himself master of a detached redoubt near to the water's edge, above a musket-shot distance from the enemy's grand entrenchment; by which he was in hopes of either bringing them to a general engagement, or of learning how to attack them with efficacy. On the 31st of *July*, in the afternoon², the boats of the fleet were filled with grenadiers, and a part of general *Monckton*'s brigade from the point of *Levi*: the two brigades under the brigadiers *Townshend* and *Murray*, were ordered to be in

¹ Letter from general *Wolfe* to Mr. *Pitt*, dated head quarters at *Montmorenci*, in the river *St. Lawrence*, Sept. 2. 1759.

² *Ibid.*

readiness

readiness to pass the ford, when it should be thought necessary. To facilitate the passage of this corps, the admiral had placed the *Centurion* in the channel, so that she might check the fire of the lower battery, which commanded the ford: this ship was of great use, as her fire was very judiciously directed. A great quantity of artillery was placed upon the eminence, so as to batter and enfilade the left of their intrenchments. The two armed ships could not be brought near enough to cover the vessel that ran a-ground nearest in, and the redoubt was too much commanded by the intrenchments to be kept without great loss. The brigadiers general, however, were ordered to be ready, brigadier *Monckton* to land, and the brigadiers *Townshend* and *Murray* to pass the ford. In rowing towards the shore many of the boats grounded upon a ledge, which put the whole operation into such disorder, that the general sent orders to brigadier *Townshend* to stop; but at last thirteen companies of grenadiers, and two hundred of the second royal *American* battalion got a-shore to attack the *French* entrenchment. "The grenadiers were ordered to form themselves into four distinct bodies, and to begin the attack, supported by brigadier *Monckton's* corps, as soon as the troops had passed the ford, and were at hand to assist. But whether from the noise and hurry at landing, or from some other cause, the grenadiers, instead of forming themselves, as they were directed, ran on impetuously towards the enemy's intrenchments in the utmost disorder and confusion, without waiting for the corps which were to sustain them, and join in the attack." *Monckton* was not then landed, *Townshend* was at a considerable distance, and the event was answerable to the rashness of the grenadiers, and their disregard for discipline. The enemy's first fire obliged them to shelter themselves in or about the redoubt, which the *French* had abandoned; but they still were exposed to a very hot fire from the intrenchments, which made it necessary for the general to call them off, that they might form themselves under brigadier *Monckton's* corps, which was now landed, and drawn up on the beach in extreme good order. It was now near night. A storm came on. The retreat of *Townshend* might have been uncertain, and a thousand circumstances concurred to render it advisable for the general to desist from this attack, which can be termed no other than unfortunate. *Wolfe* himself, in his letter to the secretary of state, intimates, as if he had no great opinion of his success. "The place (says he) where the attack was intended, has these advantages over all others hereabouts. Our artillery could be brought into use. The greatest part,

and mis-carriages,

He is defeated.

or even the whole of the troops, might act at once; and the retreat (in case of a repulse) was secure, at least for a certain time of the tide. Neither one or other of these advantages can any where else be found. The beach upon which the troops were drawn up, was of deep mud, with holes, and cut by several gullies. The hill to be ascended, very steep, and not every where practicable. The enemy numerous in their entrenchments, and their fire hot. If the attack had succeeded, our loss must certainly have been great, and theirs inconsiderable, from the shelter which the neighbouring woods afforded them. The river *St. Charles* still remained to be passed, before the town was invested. All these circumstances I considered, but the desire to act in conformity to the king's intentions, induced me to make this trial, persuaded that a victorious army finds no difficulties."

THE general then sent brigadier *Murray* with 1200 men up the river, to assist admiral *Holmes*, if possible, to destroy the *French* ships, and to open a communication with general *Amherst*. Great difficulties attended this undertaking; but after being unsuccessful in two attempts he made to land on the north shore, *Murray* succeeded at a place called *de Chambaud*, where he burnt a magazine with some provisions, ammunition, and all the spare stores, cloathing, arms, and baggage of the enemy's army. This was a service of great importance: but still almost insurmountable difficulties remained, as nothing, with any feasibility of success, could be undertaken against the body of the place. Every day produced skirmishes, which, though of no great importance, and though generally successful on the part of the *English*, considerably weakened their army. "By the list we have so often quoted (says *Wolfe*) of disabled officers (many of whom are of rank) you may perceive, Sir, that the army is much weakened. By the nature of the river, the most formidable part of this armament is deprived of the power of acting, yet we have almost the whole force of *Canada* to oppose. In this situation, there is such a choice of difficulties, that I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of *Great Britain*, I know, require the most vigorous measures; but then the courage of a handful of brave men, should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favourable event. However, you may be assured, Sir, that the small part of the campaign, which remains, shall be employed (as far as I am able) for the honour of his majesty, and the interest of the nation, in which I am sure of being well seconded by the admiral, and by the generals. Happy if our efforts here can contribute to the success of his majesty's arms in any other parts of *America*."

SUCH

SUCH was the situation of this arduous enterprize, when *He* the general quitted his camp at *Montmorenci*, and landed his *moves* his troops and artillery at *Point Levi*. From the vexation he *camp*, had conceived from his failure at *Montmorenci*, he had contracted a dysentery and fever: but the sense of the mighty things expected from him, overbore all other considerations; and it was resolved, though with small probability of success, that the enemy should be again alarmed above the river on the north side. Still no fixt plan of an attack was formed, though *Wolfe*, at all events, seems to have been determined upon one. At last, the most desperate one that can well be conceived, was laid down by the three brigadiers, and adopted by the general, which was that of conveying the troops farther down in boats, and landing below the heights of *Abraham*, within a league of *Cape Diamond*. Though nothing could be more unpromising than this plan of operations, yet the general proceeded with the same precautions, as if the success had been more than probable. The movements of his troops, and those of admiral *Holmes's* squadron, occasioned *Montcalm* to detach *M. Bougainville* with a party of observation, consisting of 500 men to watch the motions of the *English* both by land and water.

NEVER was there a scheme formed with less probability of success, than the above, and no scheme ever was more liable to disappointments, because an alarm from the musket of a single centinel must have rendered it impracticable; not to mention the prodigious difficulties of its execution, from the nature of the shore and the tide. On the 12th of *September*, the first embarkation, consisting of four regiments, the light infantry, a detachment of highlanders, and the *American* grenadiers, was made in flat bottom boats, under *Monckton* and *Murray*, about three leagues farther up the river, than the intended place of landing. The ships under admiral *Saunders*, who lay over against *Beauport*, made a feint against the *French* intrenchments there, to amuse them, and, in the mean while, by a happy mistake, the boats were carried below the intended place of attack by the rapidity of the current, but followed by the ships, who were prepared at all events to cover their landing, which they accordingly effected. The *French*, at this time, expected the return of *Bougainville*, and various were the successful arts practised by the *English* to make the enemy's sentries believe, that the first landed troops were part of that detachment. Being landed, the boats were sent back for the second embarkation under *Townshend*; but nothing even then presented on all hands, but the impracticability of the ascent. *Wolfe*, who landed in the nature of
a volun-

and gains
the heights
of Abra-
ham.

a volunteer, with the first embarkation, told an officer, who was near him; that they must do their endeavour to get up, though he did not see how it was possible. In the mean while, colonel *Howe*, with the light infantry and the highlanders, discovered a narrow path, slanting up the hill, by which, with the assistance of roots and boughs of trees growing on each side, it was just possible to ascend, though the path was intersected by cross ditches, and a *French* intrenchment lay at the top, which, however, seems to have been but slenderly guarded; so secure were the *French* on that quarter. The troops, gaining the summit of this path with incredible difficulty, were formed by the general, as they arrived at the summit, having dislodged the *French* guard at the intrenchment; so that by break of day the whole army appeared in order of battle.

MONTCALM, when the news was brought him, could not credit the report. The ascent of troops by such a guarded precipice had never occurred to him, either in experience or reading; but the intelligence being confirmed beyond all possibility of doubt, he found all his illusive arts were at an end, and resolved on the only measure that was left him, to fight. The defeat of the *English* army would have rendered the operations of their fleet against the place useless, and a victory would have ranked his name amongst the most illustrious of any in history. He therefore collected together all his strength about *Beauport*, passed the river *St. Charles*, and shewed great judgment in the dispositions he made for a general engagement. Having with him about 1500 *Indians* and *Canadians*, who were excellent marksmen and bush-fighters, he lodged them in the thickets all around. He placed his regulars in the left, all but two battalions, who were to support the troops of the colony on the right, while the remainder of the *Indians* and *Canadians* were disposed so as to flank the *English* to the land side, on their left.

To prevent any fatal effects from this disposition of the enemy, brigadier general *Townshend*, on the left, drew up his division, which consisted of six battalions, *en Potence*; that is, in such a manner as to present two fronts to the enemy. Brigadier general *Murray* commanded in the center, and *Wolfe* served on the right commanded by *Monckton*, where a regiment was placed in reserve, formed into eight subdivisions, with large intervals. The rear and the left were protected by the light infantry under colonel *Howe*. It was now that the difference between *English* and *French* courage was to be tried. The ground was equal; the *French* were superior in numbers; and their army was drawn up to as great advantage as that

that of the *British*. In short, nothing could have given the latter the victory but the mere superiority of personal strength and courage. Their bush-fighters began the battle, *Quebec* by a firing that was at once irregular and unfair, because their pieces were levelled against the most gallant, and therefore the most exposed, of the *British* officers. The steady fire of our troops silenced those barbarians; and the *English* sailors, with a spirit that none but *Englishmen* could have exerted, had drawn up the amazing precipice, by which the army ascended, a cannon, of which they made excellent use; but the *French*, in this respect, had the advantage, for they had in their front two field pieces. About nine in the morning, the *French* advanced a front which shewed that they intended to do somewhat that was decisive; and the battle soon became general. The fire of the *French*, though frequent, was destitute of that steadiness, which characterizes national courage; but that of the *British*, which was kept up till their enemy was within forty yards of their line, took place with such effect, that the main body of the *French* was staggered. General *Wolfe* was stationed in the front of brigadier *Monckton's* division on the right, at the head of *Bragg's* regiment, and the *Louisbourg* grenadiers, opposite to the *French* battalions of *Languedoc*, *Bearn*, and *Guienne*; but their left flanked by a body of colonists, bush-fighters, who took aim and wounded the brave general in the wrist, as he stood exposed in the front of his battalions. He felt the wound; but far from betraying any symptom of pain or disorder, he wrapped a handkerchief round his arm, and was advancing at the head of the grenadiers, with their bayonets fixed, when he was wounded with another shot, and that mortal. Nature could no longer support him. He leaned on the shoulder of a lieutenant, who kneeled down, that he might the more conveniently uphold him. While he was in the agonies of death, the lieutenant called out, "They run." "Who run?" replied the general. "The *French*." "Do the cowards run already?" were *Wolfe's* last words. "Then I die happy," and expired (T). gained by the English.
Death of general Wolfe.

THE fight continued regularly to press on with their fixt bayonets; but the most effectual execution was done by the division under *Murray*, many of whom were highlanders, who, drawing their broad swords, drove the *French* before them, some into the town, and others into the works, which they had raised at the bridge of the river *St. Charles*. The

(T) Some accounts bear that Mr. *Wolfe* received three wounds before he died.

French

French still depended on their outflanking the *English*; but their right was so briskly plied by colonel *Howe*, that they obtained little or no benefit from that disposition. In the mean while, brigadier *Monckton*, who was next in command to *Wolfe*, was, by a wound thought to be mortal, which he received at the head of *Lascelles's* regiment, rendered incapable of acting; and thus the command devolved upon brigadier *Townshend*, who advanced platoons against the front, and remained at the head of *Amherst's* regiment to support his disposition, till, hearing that the command was devolved upon him, he was obliged to hasten to the center, where he new formed the troops, that were somewhat disordered by the pursuit. By this time, the battle was completely gained; and it is hard to say to what species of true *British* courage it was chiefly owing. The activity of the highlanders, the discipline of the grenadiers, and the undaunted spirit of all the other troops, rendered the victory not only glorious, but cheap, if we except the death of the brave general. But courage was not that day more conspicuous, than coolness and wisdom amongst the *British* troops. *Bougainville*, whom we have already mentioned to have been detached with a party of observation now encreased to 2000 men, appeared in the rear of the *English*, immediately after they had gained the battle; but, by the prudent dispositions, which Mr. *Townshend* made, he found himself obliged to retire to swamps, and woody fastnesses. It is true, he might, even there, have been forced; but the active commander judged better. His victory was complete, his situation favourable, and the reduction of *Quebec*, the great object of the expedition, more than probable, and yet might have been hazarded by a fresh action, and therefore Mr. *Townshend* most wisely declined to crown glory with ostentation.

WITH regard to the particulars of the battle, never was there such an immense country conquered at so cheap an expence of men. The *English* lost about fifty men killed, and about five hundred wounded; and the *French* about 1500, but about 1000 of them were made prisoners, of whom a great number were officers. The fugitives reinforced the garrison of *Quebec*. The remainder retired to *Point au Tremble*, thence to another post called *Jacques Quartiers*, and, at last, to *Trois Rivières* and *Montreal*. The fates of the chief commanders were remarkably similar; *Montcalm*, as well as *Wolfe*, was mortally wounded, and carried to *Quebec*, where he expired in discharging the decent, but superfluous, duty of writing a letter, recommending the *French* prisoners to *British* generosity; a request, that, of all mankind, came from

from him with the worst grace, but was more than punctually complied with. His second in command, like *Monckton*, was wounded, but, like him, did not survive; for, being taken prisoner, he expired next day on board an *English* ship. Few generals ever died more lamented, or under more advantageous circumstances, than Mr. *Wolfe* did. Though not above thirty-four years of age, he achieved the most permanent, if not important, conquest, that this age can boast of. The character drawn by *Tacitus* of *Agricola* seems to have been the model of his conduct in military life; for so well was he acquainted with the classics, that he wrote with the elegance, as well as fought with the spirit, of *Cæsar*. To the genius of a hero, he added the accomplishments of a general, without disdaining even the most mechanical. His affability and openness of disposition endeared him to his soldiers, and convinced them that the strictness of discipline he required of them was equally necessary for their safety as their glory. Temperate, vigilant, and observing, he reduced the military art to a system, which had those qualities for its basis; for his own heart told him, that courage is no distinguishing property in a soldier, because it is, or ought to be, in common with all mankind; and is to be found in the ranks, equally as at the head, of an army. His humanity was distinguished, and his manner of expressing himself was remarkably precise and intelligible. In his person, he was strait, well limbed and genteel; but he had something in his countenance, that was equally uncommon and unpromising; and, till he spoke, by no means prepossessing in his favour. Rigid disciplinarians may perhaps condemn his exposing his person too much in the day of battle. But this, if a fault, was one of the noblest kind; and, considering his circumstances, and the mighty expectations of his country, perhaps necessary.

His character.

Though the battle of *Quebec* was gained, yet that city was not reduced. The works of the upper town were still in excellent order, and its garrison strong, and provided with all the requisites for making a noble defence. On the other hand, the admirals *Saunders*, *Holmes*, and *Durell*, who had all along acted with admirable, and almost unprecedented, unanimity with the land officers, made dispositions with their ships, for attacking the lower town, as general *Townshend* did for besieging the higher. Perhaps a *British* garrison, even though they had been, as that of *Quebec* was, cut off from the field, would not have capitulated; the *French* did: and, before a battery could be finished against the city, a flag of truce

truce was hung out, and the following articles were agreed upon by eight the next morning.

Articles of capitulation demanded by M. de Ramsay, commander for his Most Christian Majesty in the higher and lower town of Quebec, knight of the military order of St. Lewis, from his excellency the general commanding his Britannic majesty's forces."

ARTICLE I. *M. de Ramsay* demands the honours of war for his garrison, and that it shall be conducted back to the army in safety by the shortest road, with their arms, baggage, six pieces of brass cannon, two mortars or howitzers, and twelve rounds.—The garrison of the town, composed of land-forces, marines, and sailors, shall march out with their arms and baggage, drums beating, lighted matches, with two pieces of cannon and twelve rounds, and shall be embarked as conveniently as possible, in order to be landed at the first port in *France*.

ARTICLE II. That the inhabitants shall be maintained in the possession of their houses, goods, effects, and privileges.
—Granted, provided they lay down their arms.

ARTICLE III. That the said inhabitants shall not be molested on account of their having borne arms for the defence of the town, as they were forced to it, and as it is customary for the inhabitants of the colonies of both crowns to serve as militia.
—Granted.

ARTICLE IV. That the effects belonging to the absent officers or inhabitants, shall not be touched.—Granted.

ARTICLE V. That the said inhabitants shall not be removed, nor obliged to quit their houses, until their condition shall be settled by a definite treaty between their most Christian and *Britannic* majesties.—Granted.

ARTICLE VI. That the exercise of the catholic and *Roman* religion shall be preserved, and that safe-guards shall be granted to the houses of the clergy, and to the monasteries, particularly to the bishop of *Quebec*, who, animated with zeal for religion, and charity for the people of his diocese, desires to reside constantly in it, to exercise freely, and with that decency, which his character, and the sacred mysteries of the catholic, apostolic, and *Roman* religion require, his episcopal authority in the town of *Quebec*, wherever he shall think it proper, until the possession of *Canada* shall have been decided by a treaty between their most Christian and *Britannia* majesties.—The free exercise of the *Roman* religion. Safeguards granted to all religious persons, as well as to the bishop,

bishop, who shall be at liberty to come and exercise freely, and with decency the functions of his office, wherever he shall think proper, until the possession of *Canada* shall have been decided between their *Britannic* and most Christian majesties.

ARTICLE VII. That the artillery and warlike stores shall be delivered up *bona fide*, and an inventory taken thereof. —Granted.

ARTICLE VIII. That the sick, wounded, commissaries, chaplains, physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, and other persons employed in the hospitals, shall be treated agreeable to the cartel, settled between their most Christian and *Britannic* majesties on the 6th of *February*, 1759. —Granted.

ARTICLE IX. That, before delivering up the gate, and the entrance of the town, to the *English* forces, their general will be pleased to send some soldiers to be placed as safeguards at the churches, convents, and chief habitations. —Granted.

ARTICLE X. That the commander of the city of *Quebec* shall be permitted to send advice to the marquis de *Vaudreuil*, governor-general, of the reduction of the town ; as also that this general shall be allowed to write to the *French* ministry, to inform them thereof. —Granted.

ARTICLE XI. That the present capitulation shall be executed according to its form and tenour, without being liable to non-execution, under pretence of reprisals, or the non-execution of any preceding capitulation. —Granted.

The present treaty has been made and settled between us, and duplicates signed at the camp before *Quebec*, the 18th of *September*, 1759.

Charles Saunders,
George Townshend,
De Ramsay.

THE conclusion of this capitulation was the more seasonable, because the *French* and the *Canadians* were assembling in great numbers in the rear of the *British* army, where, if any impression had been made, it might have been attended with a most dreadful reverse of fortune. We may add to this, that the season was so far advanced, as to render it unsafe for the *British* fleet to continue in the river *St. Lawrence*, or their troops to keep the field. The capitulation, which overthrew all the schemes of the *French*, being finished, the upper as well as the lower town was completely garrisoned by *British* troops. The enemy, in the mean while, were not idle, M. de *Bougainville* was ready at the head of eight hundred

dred men, with a sufficient convoy of provisions, to have thrown himself into the town, upon the 18th, the morning on which it surrendered, the place then being accessible, because not completely invested. Next day, all kind of precautions having been taken for the preservation of order and discipline, the prisoners, who were about 1000 in number, were embarked for *France* on board transports. Thus, this amazing and almost miraculous conquest of *Quebec* was effected, while the enemy, under the command of *M. de Levi*, the governor of *Montreal*, had still an army in the field, while the fortifications of *Quebec* itself were yet undamaged, though its houses were demolished, and while the garrison had still a communication with their army.

The Che-
rokees
chastised.

BUT though the *French* thus notoriously failed in point of courage, they were so successful in craft, that they instigated the *Cherokees* to butcher the *English* subjects. *Mr. Lyttleton*, governor of *South Carolina*, marching in person at the head of 1100 men, obliged them to agree to a peace, which, no sooner was he returned to his government, than they broke. *Mr. Amherst*, who was still continuing his operations against the *French*, upon the application of the southern *British* colonies, sent colonel *Montgomery*, at the head of 1200 men, to chastize their perfidy; which he did in a most exemplary manner, by destroying all the villages and towns in the lower division, which were remarkably well provided and situated. The rest of the operations against the *Indians* in this campaign, belong to another part of this work. We are now to attend those against the capital of *Canada*.

The
French
besiege
Quebec.

BRIGADIER *Monckton*, who, by *Wolfe's* death, became first in command there, being happily recovered of his wound, brigadier *Murray*, who was now the third in command, was appointed to the government of *Quebec*, with a garrison consisting of about 6000 men. General *Amherst* was then wintering in *New York*, from whence he could the most easily recommence his operations against *Canada* in the spring, and lord *Colvil* was stationed, with a strong squadron of ships, at *Hallifax* in *Nova Scotia*, with orders to visit *Quebec*, as soon as the navigation of the river *St. Lawrence* should be free from ice. Brigadier *Murray*, in the mean while, made indefatigable, and indeed incredible, efforts to secure his government from the attempts of his enemies, both within and without, where he knew them to be very strong. Above five hundred houses were repaired in the winter; magazines of all kinds were amassed; the fortifications were improved; the disaffected inhabitants in the neighbourhood were disarmed; and such active movements were made by surprizing the ad-
vanced

vanced posts of the enemy, that not only the inhabitants of *Quebec*, but those of eleven parishes around, from whence provisions and firing could be brought, took the oaths to the *British* government; as did great numbers of the inhabitants on the south side of the river. It is surprizing, that the *French*, a nation seldom deficient in activity, should tamely suffer all those precautions to be carried into execution, with little or no resistance on their part. *Levi* and *Bougainville* must have been destitute either of counsel or courage, or both. They were at the head of troops used to the climate; they had advanced their troops to *Point au Tremble*, *St. Augustin*, and *Le Calvaire*; their main body lay at *Trois Rivières* and *Jacques Quartier*; and they were provided with snow shoes, fascines, scaling ladders, and all the preparatives for regaining the capital of *Canada* during the winter, besides amassing large quantities of provisions at *Point Levi*. All those dispositions came to nothing, through the active vigilance of the *British* general. He surprized their magazines, cut off their communications, and beat, or carried off, their advanced posts; so that they resolved to delay the siege of *Quebec*, on pretext that they could more effectually undertake it in the spring. This pretext was not without foundation. They had still abundance of shipping left, which lay up the river, and which they refitted, so as to transport every thing proper for besieging *Quebec* in form; and when the frost broke up, those ships with troops on board, falling down the river, landed at *St. Augustin*, and forced the *English* out-posts to retire to the city, which they however did without loss.

BUT the *French* preparations were not near so dangerous to the garrison, as its own condition. During the inclemency of the winter, the intense cold, the want of vegetables, and the scarcity of fresh provision, had introduced amongst the soldiers scorbutic disorders, which had cut off 1000 of them, and had rendered above 2000 of them unfit for service. Thus the garrison did not consist of above 3000 effective men. *De Levi's* army, on the other hand, amounted to eight battalions, and forty regimented companies of colony troops; so greatly improved was *Canada* of late in its strength and population. Mr. *Murray*, at first, thought of intrenching his troops on the heights of *Abraham*; but the frost continued still to be so deeply lodged in the ground, that he could not execute his lines. He then secured the landing-places at *Cape Rouge* and *Toulon*, together with his own posts, which the *French* were making dispositions to cut off. When he returned to *Quebec*, a thousand dangers and difficulties presented

sented to him upon the expediency of standing a siege; and trusting to the well-known valour of his troops, he resolved to give the enemy battle, though their army amounted to above 12,000 men, and 500 savages; and perhaps, every thing considered, and all circumstances weighed, this resolution was as prudent as it was brave, especially as he was provided with a fine train of artillery.

ON the 28th of *April*, in the morning, he set out at the head of his little army, scarcely 3000 men, and formed it in order of battle near *Sillery*. The right brigade consisted of the regiments of *Amberst*, *Anstruther*, *Webb*, and the second battalion of the royal *Americans*, under the command of colonel *Burton*. Colonel *Frazer* commanded the left, which was formed by the highlanders, and the regiments of *Kennedy*, *Lascelles*, and *Townshend*; as the body of reserve was of *Otway's* and the third battalion of royal *Americans*. The right flank was covered by major *Dalling's* light infantry; the left by captain *Huxzen's* rangers, with an hundred volunteers under captain *Macdonald*; and two field pieces were assigned to each battalion. At first, the general descending from the heights of *Abraham*, his troops beat the enemy from some woody eminences they had taken possession of, but their main army advanced with order and rapidity, and formed in columns, though in danger of being disordered by their advanced post giving way. Their fire upon the *British* battalions, who pursued their van, was hot and regular, and stopt their progress; while their superiority of numbers, after their center was secured, gave them the advantage of out-flanking the *English*, both on the right and left, and bidding fair to close upon their rear. All this time, a most furious fire and charge was kept up from the center of the *French*, which drove the light infantry first towards the front of their own right, and then towards the rear, where they found they had suffered so much, that they could not again be brought to the charge. Notwithstanding this, the enemy could not break the *British* right wing, which was supported by *Otway's* regiment from the reserve; but the left wing, after gaining vast advantages, was overpowered by numbers, and obliged to give way, the *French* fighting with unusual ardour. The disorder of the left wing communicating itself to the right, and the whole in danger of being entirely surrounded, the general thought fit to retreat; which he did with great courage and conduct, after having the third part of his army killed or wounded, and being obliged to leave the greatest part of his artillery, which it was impossible to drag off, through the wreaths of snow which still lay on the ground.

In

In this battle the *French*, who may be said to have fought it for fighting sake, lost above 2000 men, and, after it, they made but poor efforts to improve it.

It is true, they opened the trenches before *Quebec* the very *Quebec* night after the battle was fought, and were employed for *relieved* several days in landing cannon, mortars, and ammunition, out of three ships, which were anchored below their camp; but it was the 11th of *May* before they opened a battery, while general *Murray* made such preparations for the defence of the place, as proved that his spirit had grown upon his defeat; for he planted an hundred and thirty-two pieces of artillery; most of them dragged along by the soldiery, upon the ramparts. Lord *Colville* had sailed from *Hallifax* on the 22d of *April* with his fleet; but the ice, and other inconveniencies of fogs and winds retarded his progress. Commodore *Swanton* had sailed from *England* with a squadron, but had stopped in the beginning of *May*, at the isle of *Bec*, in the river *St. Lawrence*, till he could be joined by some of his squadron from whom he had separated. One of his missing ships, the *Lowestoffe*, commanded by captain *Deane*, had proceeded to *Quebec*, and entered that harbour the 9th of *May*, with the joyful accounts of the only relief, which the garrison could depend upon, being at hand; and, on the 15th, the commodore himself anchored above *Point Levi*. Next morning, captain *Schomberg*, in the *Diana*, and captain *Deane*, attacked two *French* frigates, and two armed ships with a considerable number of other vessels, and totally took, burnt, or destroyed them. *Levi*, the *French* general, beheld from the heights of *Abraham* this mortifying catastrophe; this dreadful demolition of all his towering hopes. He concluded that the ships, which had done the execution, were only the fore-runners of an invincible armada then in the river, and he formed a resolution of abandoning the siege, at the very time, when Mr. *Murray* was preparing to attack him in his entrenchments, to repair the discredit of his late defeat.

MURRAY soon learned that the enemy had abandoned their trenches, and that too, so precipitately, that they had left behind them their provisions, tools, and artillery. He endeavoured to overtake them; but, though he made some prisoners, they retreated with such haste, that he could only take a large quantity of their baggage. The artillery, which fell in his hands, amounted to thirty-four pieces of battering cannon, ten field pieces, six mortars, four petards, with all the other stores and implements in proportion. *Levi*, after remaining some time at *Jacques Quartier*, retired to *Montreal*, where *Vaudreuil* was; and the latter, to support the spirit of

the *Canadians*, circulated letters amongst them full of the most ridiculous falsehoods concerning the weakness of the *English*, and the prosperity of the *French* affairs in *Europe*: particularly, that their king was then in *Holland* at the head of 200,000 men. Those arts, childish as they may now seem, might have had their designed effect upon so uninformed a people as the *Canadians*, had it not been for their recent and severe experience of *English* power and courage. But his authority, though great, could not take from them their feeling; so that the inaccessibility of the country was all he had to depend upon, till a general peace could be effected in *Europe*.

*Progress of
general
Amherst.*

MR. AMHERST, notwithstanding all the discouragements he had met with, did not relax in his dispositions for completing the conquest of *Canada*. He sent colonel *Haviland* to take possession of the *Isle aux Noix* in lake *Champlain*, and from thence to gain the banks of the river *St. Lawrence*: then he dispatched instructions to general *Murray* to advance up the river to *Montreal*, with all the force he could spare from his garrison. He himself, with the main body of the army, consisting of about 10,000 men, including *Indians*, leaving the province of *New York*, was to proceed by the rivers of the *Mohawks* and *Onidas* to lake *Ontario*, from whence he was to fall down the river *St. Lawrence*, and to join Mr. *Murray* at *Montreal*. Except the expeditions of *Jingis Khan*, perhaps so arduous a march as this never was projected, and never was there a march, depending on so many distant events, so happily accomplished. It was the latter end of *June*, before the general, after providing all the necessary means of navigating the lake *Ontario*, left *Schenectady*; and, on the 9th of *July*, he reached *Oswego*, the place of his army's rendezvous. Here they were joined by 1000 *Iroquois*, under Sir *William Johnson*; and, on the 10th of *August*, notwithstanding the numerous inconveniencies and difficulties, that were to be obviated and conquered, the whole army was embarked on lake *Ontario*; a small detachment having been sent before in vessels, to prepare the way for the embarkation to advance up the river *St. Lawrence*. On the 27th, he entered that river, and took possession of *Swegatchie*, and afterwards invested *L'Isle Royale*, which lies farther down the river, and is one of its most important posts. After having run ashore a *French* sloop, and taken another, batteries being erected, the fort of *L'Isle Royale* was briskly cannonaded, and surrendered on capitulation by its commandant M. *Pouchaut*. The general thought this post of so much consequence, that he repaired it, and left it garrisoned. His greatest difficulty was
still

still to surmount, we mean his navigation from thence to the river *St. Lawrence*; which was rendered extremely dangerous by the rapids he had to encounter. Yet, even this impediment was vanquished with the loss of some artillery and stores, forty-six battoes, seventeen whale boats, a row-galley, and above eighty men. This discouraging voyage was performed, from the time of the troops leaving *Schenectady* to that of their landing at *Montreal*, which they did on the 6th of *September*, in two months, and seventeen days. The enemy, by this time, more than probably had given over all serious thoughts of making a defence. The *British Indians* were exasperated to the highest degree, by the recent marks they had discovered during the voyage, of the cruelties of the *French savages*, and eagerly waited for an opportunity to retaliate them. *Montreal* was reduced to the most dreadful distress, by an universal famine; the *Canadians* never having been remarkably provident, and discovering the gross impostures, that had been practised upon them, they conceived both a hatred and contempt for their commanders. Add to this, that, though the town of *Montreal* itself might have made a good resistance against provincials and *Indians*, yet its fortifications were in no condition to stand a regular siege, against an army provided as that under *Amherst* was. But it is now time to attend the motions of general *Murray*.

By the manifestoes he published, he had disposed the inhabitants of the south shore of the river *St. Lawrence* to submit and take the oath of neutrality, while lord *Rollo* made himself master of *Trois Rivières* without resistance, and disarmed the inhabitants on the north side. It is amazing, that *Levi*, the *French* general, who kept at *Murray's* rear with his army, made no attempt to stop his progress, but abandoned every post he came to. When *Murray* came to the village of *Sorel*, he found it deserted, and the inhabitants in arms, "I was, therefore, (says he, in his letter to the secretary of state, which does immortal honour to his humanity) under the cruel necessity of burning the greatest part of the houses of this poor unhappy people. I pray God, this example may suffice, for my nature revolts, when this becomes a necessary part of my duty." On the 24th, he arrived at *Contecœur*, which lies within nine miles of *Montreal*, under the discouraging circumstance of not having heard all this while of general *Amherst* or his operations; but he was resolved, at all events, to have attempted the conquest of *Montreal* with his own troops.

In the mean while, Mr. *Amherst* landed at *La Chine* without opposition, and taking precautions for the security of his boats,

1760.

which co-
pitulates.

boats, after a march of two leagues, he formed his army on a plain before the town, being provided with two twelve pounders, and some other pieces of field artillery. His troops passed all that night under arms, and next morning, being the 7th of September; *Vaudreuil* sent *Bougainville* and another officer with a letter, proposing a capitulation, and a copy of the articles he was willing to agree to. All that this produced was a cessation of arms for a few hours; and *Amherst* returned the terms, which he was willing to grant. *Levi*, who, by this time, had arrived with his troops at *Montreal*, interposed to have the *English* terms mitigated, and general *Murray* having now landed below the town, *Amherst's* articles were accepted of on the morning of the 8th, with mutual expressions of politeness on both sides.

THE chief of the articles were, That the garrison of *Montreal* was to lay down their arms, and not to serve during the war, as were all the *French* troops at *Detroit*, *Michillimackinac*, and other places of *Canada*, the whole of which was now to be considered as being subject to his *Britannic* majesty. The *Canadian* militia were to return home without molestation, but all warlike stores were to be delivered up, thro' the whole province, to the *British* army; while the marquis of *Vaudreuil*, with all the chief military officers, who should chuse it, were to be conveyed in *British* ships to *France*, as likewise were all the civil officers who desired the same. The exercise of the *Roman* catholic religion was to continue to the inhabitants under certain restrictions. In short, the capitulation was extremely favourable to the *French*, considering their situation; but the wording of it, it being drawn up by themselves, was tedious and tautologous. We shall here but just mention, that general *Murray's* difficult voyage from *Quebec* to *Montreal* was so happily conducted by captain *Deane*, that he did not lose a boat or a man during the whole; and that before the capitulation was signed, colonel *Haviland*, with his detachment, landed on the south side of the river opposite to *Montreal*. Thus was effected the conquest of this extensive province; and it would be doing injustice to the chief officers employed under the general, not to insert his own account of their conduct, which he sent home to the government of *England*.

A passage
of his let-
ter to the
Secretary of
State.

"I SHOULD not (said he) do justice to general *Murray* and colonel *Haviland*, if I did not assure you they have executed the orders I gave them to the utmost of my wishes. I must also beg leave to say I am obliged to brigadier-general *Gage* for the assistance he has given me, and I have taken the liberty to give, in public orders, my assurances to the three armies,

armies, that I would take the first opportunity of acquainting the king with the zeal and bravery, which has always been exerted by the officers and soldiers of the regular and provincial troops; as also by his majesty's faithful *Indian* allies. Sir *William Johnson* has taken unwearied pains in keeping the *Indians* in humane bounds; and I have the pleasure to assure you, that not a peasant, woman, or child, has been hurt by them, or a house burnt, since I entered what was the enemy's country. I shall now use my utmost endeavours for settling every thing in this country, to keep a sure possession of it; and I shall immediately dispose of the troops in such a manner, that I may completely finish the forts, which were begun last year; and, as far as the season will permit me, I shall repair or erect such forts or posts, as may be necessary for strengthening and insuring the future command of the lakes, with the possession of every part of the south side of the river *St. Lawrence*."

No sooner was the capitulation signed than colonel *Haldimand* took possession of *Montreal* with the grenadiers, and the light infantry of the line, and brought off in triumph the colours of *Pepperell's* and *Shirley's* regiments, that had been taken at *Oswego*, and deposited at *Montreal* as trophies. Brigadier-general *Gage* was appointed governor of the place, with a garrison of 2000 men. Mr. *Murray* returned to *Quebec*, where his garrison was augmented to 4000. During Mr. *Amherst's* expedition, the object of which was no secret to the *French*, that court had given orders for equipping the *Machaux* frigate of 30 guns, two large storeships, and nineteen sail of smaller vessels, most of which had been taken from the *British* traders, which was accordingly done. While they were on their voyage they received intelligence of the *British* squadron having proceeded up the river *St. Lawrence*; upon which they thought proper to take shelter in the bay of *Chaleurs* on the coast of *Acadia*. Captain *Byron* was then senior officer of the *British* ships at *Louisbourg*, and receiving intelligence from brigadier-general *Whitmore* of the enemy lying at *Ristigouchi* at the bottom of that bay, he immediately sailed with the *Fame*, *Dorsetshire*, *Achilles*, *Scarborough*, and *Repulse*, and destroyed them all, together with two batteries and two hundred houses, besides ruining the *French* settlements there.

THIS gave the finishing blow to the power of *France* upon the continent of *North America*; an event productive of many reflexions. Had the *French* court exerted half the expence of men, money and shipping in establishing this colony, that it did in endeavouring to save it, it must have been inaccessible to the *English*.

All Canada reduced, and ceded to the English by the treaty of Paris.

the *British* arms. Though enough cannot be said in praise of the courage and conduct of the officers and soldiers, who achieved the conquest, yet it cannot be denied, that great part of it was owing to their good fortune. The immense preparations made by the separate armies, to reduce such a place as *Montreal*, exceeded perhaps the importance of the object; but it is without a precedent in history, that the three armies, which marched against it in such different directions, should all meet at the same place within twenty-four hours of each other. The province in general was in a worse condition than our generals seem to have apprehended, and when the inhabitants appeared before Mr. *Amberst*, misery and famine were painted in their countenances; so that in fact they were saved by being subdued; for the *British* general was so humane as to give them bread and provisions from his own stores. The *French* colonists of *Miramichi*, *Rickejou*, and other places, newly colonized, had before this time made their submission to colonel *Frye*, the commandant of fort *Cumberland* at *Chigou* in the most formal manner, and had engaged for themselves and their constituents, that they would in the spring repair with their ships and effects to *Bay Verte*, there to be disposed of according to the direction of colonel *Lawrence*, the *British* governor of *Hallifax*. In this submission they were accompanied by two *Mickmack* deputies, who likewise put themselves under the protection of the *English*.

THE great object of the war between *Great Britain* and *France*, being now accomplished on the part of the former, by the reduction of all *Canada*, and thereby disabling the *French* from extending their encroachments upon the *English* possessions, which were now fully secured; the fate of that province, became a capital consideration at the conferences for peace, which were opened between the two crowns, soon after the accession of his present majesty king *George* the third in 1761. The public is sufficiently apprized of the progress of that negotiation, which is foreign to this part of our work, any farther than it relates to *Canada*. By *Vaudreuil's* capitulation at *Montreal* the *English* general insisted upon him and his officers giving up all the charts and plans relating to that colony, or its dependencies; and according to the report of the *English* officers *Vaudreuil* made them far more extensive than Mr. *Buffy*, the *French* minister at *London*, and his court, were willing to admit of; but the *English* still insisted upon having the boundaries fixed as they had been described by *Vaudreuil*. This was an important article and made some noise; upon which *Vaudreuil* wrote a letter to the duke de *Choiseul*.

Oct. 30,
1761.

Choiseul, solemnly disclaiming all that had been alledged by the *English* on that head, and that he had never furnished the *English* with any maps; but that a *British* officer afterwards coming to him with a map, he told him the limits marked upon it were not just, and that *Louisiana* not being comprehended under the term, *Canada*, which he had always made use of, extended on one side to the carrying-place of the *Miamis*, which is the height of the lands, whose rivers run into the *Ouabache*, and on the other to the head of the river *Illinois*.

THE assertion of this *Frenchman* did not greatly draw the attention of the people of *England*, who were divided on another head, namely, whether it was most eligible to give up *Canada*, or the *French* islands that had been reduced in the *West Indies*. The truth is, interested considerations had a great share in this dispute; but the government, as well as the majority of the public, was of opinion, that, if a cession must be made, it ought to be that of the islands; and that *Canada* should be retained, as best answering the original purposes of the war. The subsequent advantages gained by *Great Britain* rendered the disputes concerning the limits of *Canada* of no significance; because not only that country, but *Louisiana* itself, but all *New Orleans*, and a district about it, was ceded to *Great Britain* by the treaty of *Paris*, on the 10th of *February*, 1763. By the 13th article of that treaty, his most Christian majesty renounces all pretensions, which he has heretofore formed, or might form, to *Nova Scotia*, or *Acadia*, in all its parts, and guaranties the whole of it, and with all its dependencies, to the king of *Great Britain*: Moreover, his most Christian majesty cedes and guaranties to his said *Britannic* majesty, in full right, *Canada*, with all its dependencies; as well as the island of *Cape Breton*, and all the other islands and coasts in the gulph and river of *St. Lawrence*; and, in general, every thing that depends on the said countries, lands, islands, and coasts, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights, acquired by treaty or otherwise, which the most Christian king, and the crown of *France*, have had, till now, over the said countries, islands, lands, places, coasts, and their inhabitants, so that the most Christian king cedes and makes over the whole to the said king, and to the crown of *Great Britain*, and that in the most ample manner and form, without restriction, and without any liberty to depart from the said cession and guarantee, under any pretence, or to disturb *Great Britain* in the possessions above-mentioned. His *Britannic* majesty on his side, agrees to grant the liberty of the catholic religion to the inhabitants of
Canada,

Canada. He will consequently give the most effectual orders, that his new *Roman catholic* subjects may profess the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the *Romish* church, as far as the laws of *Great Britain* permit. His *Britannic* majesty further agrees, that the *French* inhabitants, or others, who had been the subjects of the most Christian king in *Canada*, may retire with all safety and freedom, wherever they shall think proper, and may sell their estates, provided it be to the subjects of his *Britannic* majesty, and bring away their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions: the term limited for their emigration, shall be fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present peace.

Reflexion. WE shall conclude our account of *Canada* with one reflexion, highly interesting to its new possessors, which is, that it is greatly to be wished, - before the country had been ceded to *Great Britain*, some care had been taken to have obtained the consent of the savages, as to what regards their subjection to our crown. It already appears from many bloody effects, that they either did not consider the *French* as being authorized to subject them to *England*; or that the jesuits and popish missionaries are now exciting them to renew all their barbarities against our fellow subjects; but it is to be hoped, that the prudent and vigorous measures taken by our government, will soon have their due effect, not only in repressing, but humanizing, those barbarians.

LOUISIANA.

La Sale
attempts to
discover
the mouth
of the
Mississip-
pi.

WE shall confine our account of this country to that part of it which was ceded by *France* to *Great Britain* by the treaty of *Paris* in 1763, and which is properly called *Louisiana*, to distinguish it from *Florida*, of which it was formerly a part. Having already mentioned the first attempts of M. de la Sale, father *Hennepin*, and others, to discover the mouth of the river *Mississippi*, we refer our readers to that part of our work, and shall here take up the history of *Louisiana*, which has been ceded as above, and is a settlement of very modern date. In the year 1684, when la Sale was at the *French* court on the subject of his discoveries, de *Seignelay*, then the *French* minister, had conceived some prejudices against him from le *Barre*'s representations, which we have already mentioned. La Sale had the address to conquer them; and he not only won the esteem of that minister, but brought him to agree,

agree, that he should prosecute his discoveries, and attempt to enter the mouth of the *Mississippi* by sea, and there form a settlement. All the winter was spent in making preparations for his expedition, and, by his commission, he was to command all the *French* and savages that lay between fort *Lewis*, which he had already built upon the river *Illinois*, to that part of *Florida* called *New Biscay*; and that the *French* commodore, who was to carry him to *America*, should give him all the assistance in his power.

FOUR vessels of different burdens were built at *Rochfort*; on board of which were embarked an hundred soldiers, a *Canadian* family, thirty volunteers, some of whom were gentlemen, a few ladies, and workmen: but *Charlevoix* observes, that most part of the latter, as well as the soldiers, were most miserable ignorant wretches. Three ecclesiastics, with four recollects, amongst whom was father *Zenobe*, composed the rest of the company, together with a burgher of *Rouen*, one *Joutel*, who was a man of some capacity, and intended as a kind of an assistant to *la Sale*. The ships destined for this discovery were the *Joli*, of forty guns, commanded by M. *de Beaujeu*; another vessel of six guns, which the *French* king made a present of to *la Sale*; the *Amiable*, a merchant-ship of about three hundred tons burthen, which carried *la Sale's* baggage and implements; and a ketch of thirty guns, freighted with ammunition and merchandizes. This little squadron had scarce cleared the land, when the main-mast of the *Joli* broke, and all the four ships returned to *Rochelle*, from whence they again set sail on the first of *August*, and on the 16th, they came in sight of the *Madeiras*. By this time, *la Sale* and *Beaujeu* had quarrelled. The latter proposed to put into *Madeira*, there to take in water and provisions; but as the success of the expedition depended on its being kept a secret from the *Spaniards*, *la Sale* resolutely opposed their stopping, which increased the ill humour between them. When they came to *St. Domingo*, *Beaujeu* came to anchor at *Petit Guaves*, on the west end of the island, though *la Sale* had business of great importance, trusted to him by the minister, with M. *de Cussi*, the *French* governor, who lived on the north side; so that *Cussi*, with other two *French* officers, was obliged to repair to *Petit Guaves*, where he found *la Sale* greatly indisposed, chiefly through vexation, two *Spanish* peraguas having taken his ketch off of the island. The growing discontents between *la Sale* and *Beaujeu* made all the adventurers despair of success in their undertaking; but, at last, *la Sale* recovered, and having dispatched his business at *Petit Guaves*, he set sail from thence the 25th of *November*, more embroiled than ever with *Beaujeu*.

La Sale
discovers
the country
of Florida,
but
misses the
mouth of
the Mississippi.

Beaujeu. About the 12th of *December*, they entered the gulph of *Mexico*, but were obliged by contrary winds to lie by, till the 18th. On the 28th, they discovered the continent of *Florida*, and having been informed that the currents in the gulph set strongly in for the east, he did not doubt that the mouth of the *Mississippi* lay a great way to the west; upon which he bore westward. The 10th of *January*, 1685, he was near the object of his search, without knowing it, and passed it without sending any of his people ashore. Some days after, beginning to be sensible of his mistake, he wanted to return, but *Beaujeu* refused to obey him, and *la Sale* acquiesced, though he had been extremely obstinate in all their differences of little consequence. Still holding to the west, they, at last, arrived, without knowing where they were, at the bay of *St. Bernard*, which lies an hundred leagues to the west of the mouth of the *Mississippi*. Here *la Sale* discovered a river, which he imagined might be that he was searching for; and, after some farther bickerings with *Beaujeu*, he resolved to land all his people there. On the 20th of *February*, he sent orders to the commander of the *Amiable*, the merchant-ship, to lighten her, that she might sail up the river, and ordered one *le Belle* to command her; but the captain of the vessel refused to receive him. In the mean while, some of *la Sale's* company who had landed were carried off by the savages; and as *la Sale* was running to disengage them, the *Amiable* was run ashore, designedly, as it was thought, by the commander. The crew was saved, and some part of the cargo; the whole of which might have been saved, had not the vessel's long boat been destroyed on purpose. This obliged *la Sale* to wait for next morning, when the *Amiable* bulged (U); so that no more was got on shore, than thirty

(U) *Joutel's* account of this voyage was published some years after *Hennepin's* book, which *Charlevoix* wants so much to discredit, because he put himself under the protection of the *English* government, on account of the bad treatment he received from the *French*. We cannot, however, help observing, that there runs through all *Hennepin's* narratives an air of native candour; that his relations, though discredited when they were published, have been confirmed by after-disco-

veries, particularly the characters and descriptions he gives us of the savages and their countries; that though he had great reasons to be dissatisfied with *la Sale*, yet he does him at least as much justice as *Charlevoix* does; and that his accounts of that gentleman's rambles and discoveries differ very immaterially from those of *Joutel*, who, by the bye, did not publish his own work, and complained of its having been altered.

casks

casks of wine and brandy, some barrels of flour, and salted meat. In the mean while, a bundle of blankets and several other things had been driven from the wreck to the shore, where they were seized by the savages. They were redemanded by *la Sale* and his people with so much roughness, that the *Indians* resolved to be revenged, and refused to give up their prey. Upon this, *la Sale* seized their canoes, which they had left ashore. This incensed them still farther, and marching in the night-time to *la Sale*'s camp, they killed some of his men, and wounded others, amongst whom was *Moranger*, *la Sale*'s own nephew.

It appears from all accounts, that *la Sale* was obstinate, proud, and passionate, to the last degree; qualities but ill suited to an undertaking like his. It is, therefore, to be presumed, that *Beaujeu*, who considered his station of commander of a royal ship, as superior to that of *la Sale*, to whose orders he was subjected, could not bear with his peevish tyrannical humour, and took all opportunities to thwart him. All the sensible and independent part of the adventurers, some of whom had risked large sums in the undertaking, were disgusted for the same reason. They complained, that all their hardships were owing to *la Sale*'s headstrong humour in his disdain to advise with any one; and some of the most considerable amongst them proposed returning to *France* with *M. Beaujeu*, who was making ready for his voyage. *La Sale* applied to him for the cannon and bullets, which he had on board; but *Beaujeu* answered, that the season was so far advanced, that he could not spare time, as they were in the bottom of the hold, for putting them ashore. This was not the only mortification *la Sale* met with at this time; for though the captain of the *Amiable* was convicted of running it ashore with design, yet *Beaujeu* received him and his crew on board; and setting sail, he left *la Sale* with no more than ten field-pieces ashore, and without any balls. All those untowardly circumstances were far from daunting *la Sale*. He set about erecting a store-house, which he intrenched and fortified as well as he could; and *Beaujeu* having sailed about the middle of *March*, a fort was begun, though *Hennepin* says, that it was almost finished before he sailed. While it was building, *la Sale* gave the charge of it to *Joutel*, and left about sixscore persons with him; and, with the remainder, which did not exceed fifty, he proceeded in his own frigate up the river, being still of opinion that it either was the *Mississippi*, or a branch of it. He had not sailed far, when hearing some discharges, which had been made by *Joutel* against the savages, who were molesting the store-house, or fort

His obstinacy,

and various removals.

fort as it is called, he returned back with five or six of his company, and, informed *Joutel*, that having found a most commodious situation for a fort further up the river, he had begun to build it. He then took leave of *Joutel*, and returned to his newly founded fort, where he soon perceived, that the savages had robbed his workmen of their tools and utensils; and that even when they were supplied by others, they knew not how to use them; so that the work went on very heavily. In the beginning of *June*, *la Sale* sent an order to his nephew *Moranger* to bring all the people from the first fort to the new fort, excepting thirty, who were to be left with *Joutel* and the store-keeper. Scarce was the main body gone, when two ruffians entered into a conspiracy to murder *Joutel* and the storekeeper, and, after robbing the fort, to desert.

A conspiracy.

This plot was discovered by a third soldier, whom the conspirators wanted to make an accomplice; and *Joutel* put them both in irons. On the 14th of *July*, a fresh order came from *la Sale* for *Joutel* entirely to abandon the first fort, and to repair to him with all his people, which he accordingly obeyed, but found *la Sale* and his new settlement in a wretched condition. The fort was but little advanced, and scarcely any part of it, but a small magazine, was covered over head. They had planted and sowed, but little came up, and even that little had been destroyed by the wild beasts. Several of the most considerable adventurers were dead, and maladies were every day encreasing amongst the living. All those mortifying circumstances greatly affected *la Sale*; but he dissembled his chagrin, and continued to behave with incredible spirit and industry. No sooner were all his people reunited, than he set them the example, by working at the fort with his own hand, which would have had an excellent effect by raising an emulation amongst the men, had he not destroyed it by his excessive cruelty and severity. He gave them no respite from labour; he could not bestow on any one a civil expression; he punished every fault with the utmost rigour, nay barbarity; and misery, which commonly renders other men sociable, seemed only to exasperate him into inhumanity. At the same time, despair and want of wholesome food threw his men into a kind of languor, which carried off numbers. To crown those misfortunes, the imprudence of some of his people had rendered the inhabitants of the place irreconcilable enemies to the new settlement.

Imprudent severity of La Sale.

Description of the Clamcoets.

THESE were called *Clamcoets*, and were a cruel perfidious people, but remarkable for covering their revenge and deceit under the appearances of buffoonery and gaiety. They had strong liquors of their own making, and were monstrously addicted

addicted to drinking. Both men and women amongst them go almost naked, and they have other barbarous customs peculiar to themselves. Those savages, at the same time, inhabit one of the finest climates in the world, wholesome, serene, and fruitful by nature. The river, on which the new fort was built, was called that of *Cows*, from the great number of those animals found on its borders; which abounded likewise with deer and kids. Some lions and tygers are likewise said to be found here, and a great many bears and wolves. Smaller game swarms all over their country, and their rivers and lakes abound with fishes. Their plains, though level, are extensive, but beautifully diversified with wood and water; and they produce herbs, that must be of the most salutary efficacy, because the inhabitants, who use them, notwithstanding their excessive drinking, are remarkably long-lived. To counterbalance all those blessings of nature, their rivers are pestered with sharks, and their plains with rattle-snakes. Their woods are full of most of the trees known in *Europe*, and many to which we are strangers. They are fruitful in vines, which bear both black and white grapes. Nuts of excellent kinds, and some of them very large, mulberries, and banana figs, grow every where; and a fruit which the *Spaniards* call *Tsonnos*, of the figure of an egg, but delicious and refreshing, is peculiar to this country. Notwithstanding the soil is extremely fertile, it seldom rains in this country, and the natives are furnished with plenty of salt, which the sun makes on the sea-shore and the banks of the lakes. The people who lie next to the *Clamcoets*, but farther up the county, are little known to *Europeans*; but are said to be pretty much of the same cast, and to live in the same manner, with the *Clamcoets*.

ABOUT an hundred leagues towards the north, live the *Cenis*, or *Affiniais*, a more humanized people. They settle *and the Cenis* in habitations; they cultivate the earth, and raise maiz, beans, citrons, water-melons, and various other vegetables, together with tobacco, and breed great numbers of horses to bring home what they kill in their hunting. The *Cenis* make war very differently from all the other *American* savages; for they take the field on horseback, with a bow, and a quiver full of arrows, hanging at their back, and a buckler made of a bull's hide on their left arm for parrying darts. Their bridles are made of horse hair, as are their stirrup straps; the stirrups themselves being made of boards to the form of their feet, and their saddles are made of folded deer skin. If a prisoner can find means to escape, so as to enter into one of their cabins, he is free, and becomes one of the nation, otherwise

wife they put him to a most excruciating death, and afterwards his body is dressed and eat. The *Cenis*, according to *Joutel*, cannot send to the field above an hundred men capable of bearing arms. Their cabins are round, in the form of a hay-rick; but commonly very large, some of them being sixty feet in diameter: and each family has a piece of ground lying round its habitation. Besides their dwelling-places, they have other cabins, all of them most curiously constructed, that serve for their public meetings. Their furniture consists of hides and skins well-dressed, some matts and earthen-ware, all of good workmanship, for dressing their provisions, besides wicker-baskets for holding their pulse and fruits; and their beds, which are hung with skins, are made of woven canes, and raised three feet from the ground, spread with skins handsomely dressed, but with the hair upon them. When seed-time comes, the men and women labour equally, but in separate bodies. Their tools have no iron about them, and are all of wood, with which they just remove the surface of the earth: but the women have all the labour of the harvest. Their habit is much like that of the *Clamcoets*, and though they seem to have no notion of religious worship, yet certain faint ideas of a Deity are discernible in some of their ceremonies. We have thought proper to be more particular in our account of those savages, who are now become our neighbours, if not subjects; nor can we have too much information, as to their manners and dispositions.

*La Sale's
war with
the sa-
vages.*

AT last, *la Sale* finished his fort, which he called that of *St. Lewis*, and he gave the same name to the bay of *St. Bernard*, into which he still believed the *Mississippi* discharged itself, and therefore he resolved to make an accurate survey of it in his frigate. It was now in the month of *October*; and he covered the roof of his fort with green turf, to prevent its being set on fire by the arrows, which the savages used to discharge with lighted matches tied to them. It happened luckily for *la Sale* and his adventurers, that those barbarians were cowardly to a ridiculous degree; and two or three *French* men often put as many dozens of them to flight, but they never failed to destroy the *French*, when they could do it by stealth. *La Sale*, finding he could not reclaim those savages, endeavoured to subdue them, and he had many skirmishes with them, in which he was always conqueror; yet he never was successful, for he never could bring the savages to give him information concerning the country, or lend him their *peruagas*, which were so necessary for him in his intended voyage. So far, however, he prevailed, that the savages being intimidated, removed to a convenient distance from the fort,
and

and gave the new settlers time for cultivating their lands, and raising their stock, which they did with amazing success, and obtained so much respite, that they even built canoes, which proved of the greatest utility to the undertaking. At last, in the month of *October*, *la Sale*, with the bulk of his people, who were now greatly reduced, went on board his frigate; but left *Joutel*, with thirty-four persons under his command, at fort *Lewis*, with orders, that he should admit none of those who attended him into the fort, without a particular order signed by himself. The frigate was gone three months, without *Joutel* or his people hearing any thing of it. About the middle of *January*, 1686, *Dubaut*, one of the adventurers, whose younger brother, *Dominique*, had been left in the fort, came back to it alone in a canoe; and *Joutel* thought he had so little to apprehend from him, that he received him into the fort without any order for admission from *la Sale*. From him *Joutel* learned, that *la Sale's* pilot had orders to sound the mouth of the river, but that he having come ashore with five men, they were all murdered, while they were asleep, by the savages; and *la Sale* the next morning found the remains of their bodies, which had been devoured by the wild beasts. The death of this pilot was an irreparable loss to *la Sale*. He, however, ordered the frigate to advance up the bay; while he himself with two canoes crossed it, and sinking them in the water, he proceeded by land, attended by about twenty persons, till he came to the banks of a fine river, where *Dubaut* pretended he accidentally lost them, and that in searching for them, he was insensibly carried back to fort *Lewis*. About the middle of *March*, *la Sale* returned in a very miserable plight with his brother M. *Cavalier*, an ecclesiastic, who had attended him, and five or six persons; having dispatched the rest of his attendants, amongst whom was his youngest nephew, a youth about fifteen years of age, whose name was *Cavalier* likewise, in search of his frigate, on board of which were his linnen, baggage, and most valuable effects.

He returns
to fort
Lewis.

To keep up the spirits of his people, he pretended to be wonderfully pleased with the discoveries he had made, and he seemed even to forgive *Dubaut* for returning to the fort without his leave. Next morning, young *Cavalier* and the rest of his companions returned, but brought no accounts of the frigate, to the great mortification of *la Sale*, who had proposed first to send it to the *French American* islands for supplies, and then to have coasted all the gulph of *Mexico* in prosecuting his search. Here we cannot help being of opinion, that during the whole of this expedition, *la Sale*, with all his personal resolution and perseverance, betrayed an unsteady romantic disposition.

*The loss of
his frigate.*

position. If his main object was to discover the mouth of the river *Mississippi*, he might have done it, in much shorter time, by coasting the gulph of *Mexico* in his frigate, than he consumed in his idle settlements; and with a much smaller loss of men, than those he lost in his rambles. Be this as it will, the frigate, in the mean while, was lost in the following manner; an account of which was brought to the fort about the beginning of *May*, a few days after *la Sale* himself had set out in quest of it. The crew wanting water, an officer with six men went ashore to procure some; but the wind rising, and the night coming on, the long boat, in which they were, could not reach the ship, and never was heard of after. After waiting for some days, the crew, who were extremely weakened by thirst and fatigue, and very bad sailors, made for the fort; but the wind proving contrary, the frigate was thrown, and wrecked, upon the opposite side of the bay. The crew having lost their long boat, immediately set about building a raft; but it was so badly executed, that all those who ventured on it were drowned. The survivors made another with better success, on which they put all they could save out of the wreck, and they happily passed on it into the river on the opposite side of the bay, where it was useless, because it could not carry them up to the fort; nor durst they travel by land for fear of the savages. At last, meeting with an old canoe, they refitted it, as well as they could, and it brought them to fort *Lewis*.

*Discontents
of the
Settlement.*

LA SALE had then been two months gone, and it is not at all to be wondered at, if the settlement he left behind him was full of discontent and murmurings at what they suffered from his unaccountable conduct. Many of them, who could not remain shut up in the walls of the fort, were murdered by the savages, as they strolled abroad a-hunting. The more sedentary, who were the most valuable part of the settlement, were carried off by diseases; and many of them ventured even to throw themselves upon the barbarians, who gave them liberty to live as themselves, while those who remained entered into a conspiracy, at the head of which was *Duhaut*, whose younger brother was with *la Sale*. *Foutel*, the commandant of the fort, coming to the knowledge of those cabals, acted with so much prudence and resolution, that he kept the conspirators in awe, till the return of *la Sale*, which was about the month of *August*. During this last ramble, he had visited the country of the *Cenis*, with whom he made an alliance, and who furnished him with five horses laden with provisions, but he had learned nothing of the main object of his search; and of twenty men he carried

ried out with him, he brought no more than eight back, Amongst the missing was *Duhaut's* brother; but *la Sale* pretended that he had given him, and several others, leave to return to the fort. Those new losses augmented the discontent of the settlers, whom *la Sale's* presence, however, overawed; and, as the *Clamcoets* had begun to renew their incursions, he communicated to *Joutel* a design he had formed of transferring his settlement to the country of the *Illinois*, with which he was well acquainted; and that, in the mean time, he would undertake a third journey to visit them.

As he was preparing to set out, he was attacked by a fever, *He under-* which confined him to the end of *December*, when being re-takes a covered, he renewed his preparations for his journey; and, journey having given *Joutel* leave to attend him, he nominated ano- to the ther in his room to command the fort, the works of which Illinois.

had of late been much strengthened, and it was stored with a sufficiency of provisions for all who were to be left in it, who were no more than twenty persons, seven of whom were women, and two recollects. About the beginning of *January*, he set out, attended by sixteen persons, amongst whom was his brother *Cavalier* and his two nephews, father *Anastase*, *Joutel*, and *Duhaut*; the rest of his company we shall have often occasion to mention. For the conveniency of travelling, *la Sale* ordered the five horses, which he had brought from the *Cenis*, to be loaded with provisions. This third ramble seems to have been dictated by necessity; for, in fact, he could remain no longer amongst the *Clamcoets*, and he missed of the end he had proposed, which he pretended to be the discovery of the *Mississippi*, but in fact to render himself master of the *Spanish* mine of *St. Barbe*; a more romantic enterprize than the other. Having travelled a little way, he met with some bodies of savages, whom he knew so well how to humour, that they parted good friends with him. He then crossed many rivers, but they encreased so fast, and were sometimes so swollen by rains, that they were obliged to think of building a large canoe for crossing them; and which they proposed to carry upon poles, and which proved to be of singular use. The countries through which he passed were extremely beautiful, and sometimes populous. Three great villages, particularly, are named *Taraba*, *Tyakappon*, and *Palonna*. The course by which he travelled was north-east, and, at last, he came to the country of the *Palaquessens*, who, he was told, were in alliance with the *Spaniards*. Amongst his attendants was one *Hiens*, whose true name was said to have been *James*, and himself an *English* soldier; one *Larcheveque*; and a surgeon called *Liotot*. As it was impossible for our

1687.

travellers to carry with them a sufficiency of provision to maintain them during the whole of their journey, they had recourse to hunting, the country through which they travelled being full of excellent game, and they divided themselves into small parties for that purpose. *Moranget*, *la Sale's* valet, and one *Nika*, an *Indian*, but a most admirable hunter, formed one of those parties, and, as is reported, fell in with *Dubaut*, *Hiens*, and *Liotot*. A quarrel ensued, in which *Moranget* is said to have abused *Dubaut*, whose younger brother was suspected to have been put to death by *la Sale's* own hand. It is probable, that the tyranny and insolence of *la Sale* determined those men to dispatch him; but that they did not think themselves safe without first murdering *Moranget*, the valet, and the hunter: which they accordingly did, when they were asleep, in a most inhuman manner, *Larcheveque* and the pilot *Teffier* being their accomplices. Despair, rage, and misery, prompted them to cross a river which lay between them and *la Sale*, to murder him likewise; but they were detained for two days by the swelling of the waters. By this time, *la Sale* became excessively uneasy, because *Moranget* and his two servants had not returned, and resolved himself to go in quest of them, taking with him father *Anastase* and an *Indian*, and recommending the care of his little encampment to *Joutel*. Having travelled a little way, he fired his gun at some eagles that were hovering in the air, which in those parts is a sure sign of carrion being near, and the discharge informed the assassins where he was. Two of them, *Dubaut* and *Larcheveque*, passed the river; and the former concealing himself behind the bushes, instantly shot *la Sale* dead. Father *Anastase* expected the same fate, but was informed by the assassins that he was safe. *Charlevoix* and *Hennepin* have bestowed great encomiums upon *la Sale's* vast abilities; perseverance, spirit, and courage. But, admitting all they say to be true, every man of sense, who reads his history, even as represented by them, can consider him in no other light than that of a madman, with sensible lucid intervals. The manner of his death was however deplorable, and perhaps a loss to the public. That he had made great discoveries of nations lying upon the *Mississippi* can scarcely be doubted; but his austere reserved humour, joined to his pride and ambition, (which seems to have been unbounded) prevented his opening himself to any one on that subject. The *French* court, long after his death, availed itself even of the manner of it, by pretending, in their solemn memorials, that he had made discoveries of lands, (tho' they had, for a century before, been in possession of the *English*), and that his discoveries comprehended the

La Sale
murdered.

His cha-
racter.

the whole extent of country to the *Mississippi*, and even to the west of it.

CAVALIER was informed of his brother's death by ^{His effects} father *Anastase* and the assassins, who, after the murder of ^{seized by} *la Sale*, returned to the encampment, and assured both him ^{the mur-} and *Joutel* that they had nothing to fear; which is a farther ^{derers.} proof, that personal resentment alone prompted the murders that had been committed. *Dubaut*, however, took possession of the command instead of *Joutel*; and he and *Larcheveque* shared *la Sale's* booty, which they say amounted in money, plate, and merchandizes, to 50,000 franks, between them. Next day, which was the 21st of *May*, the assassins, with the other *French*, were prevented by the badness of the weather from going to a village of the *Genis* for provisions; nor could they set out till till the 29th, when they met three savages on horseback, one of them habited like a *Spaniard*, but the other two stark naked. From them, *Joutel* understood, that some *Spaniards* lived not far off; and the savage in the *Spanish* dress informed him, that he had been lately amongst them; and, to confirm what he said, he produced a printed paper of indulgencies from the *Holy See* to the *New Mexican* missionaries. The *Spanish* dress savage remained with the *French* all night, and next morning led them to the village, where they were hospitably received by the elders, who presented them with pipes of tobacco, and here they met with a *Frenchman*, who lived with the savages, and could not be distinguished from one of them, and who had deserted from *la Sale* during his first voyage. Through his interest, they were entertained with all the luxury of the savages, and the day after, they exchanged some trinkets for provisions; but the village not containing a sufficiency for the *French*, *Joutel* remained in it to complete their cargo, while his companions returned to their encampment. His chief motive for this was, that he might have an opportunity of conversing with two other *French* deserters, who, as he understood, were in those parts, and who, he thought, could give him some light with regard to the *Mississippi* river, and the route they were to take towards the *Illinois*. *Joutel* had the good fortune to meet *Joutel's* with one of those deserters, who was quite naked, painted, ^{adven-} and marked like a savage; nor were his manners different, ^{there.} being in all respects a complete barbarian. He could give him no information as to the *Mississippi*, other than that there was a great river at the distance of forty leagues northwards. *Joutel* took it for granted, that this river must be the *Mississippi*; and, being extremely desirous to get rid of the company of the murderers, he engaged the savage *Frenchman* to go in search of another *French* deserter, who lived in the same manner

Travels of
Joutel to
the *Cenis*.

manner amongst the *Cenis*, and to accompany him in his journey towards the river. The *French* savage soon found out and brought his companion, who was not quite so barbarously drest as the other, and confirmed all the other had said with regard to the great river; which he informed him lay to the north-east; and he added, that *Europeans* were often seen near it: but both *Ruter* and *Grollet*, which were the names of the two *French* deserters, offered to accompany him in his journey to find it out. *Joutel* with joy accepted of their attendance; and, leaving him for that time, in two days after they brought him a horse to carry their provision on the road: so that they rejoined their companions on the 10th of April.

WHILE *Joutel* was absent, *la Sale*'s murderers confederated amongst themselves to return to fort *St. Lewis*, where they were to build a bark, which was to carry them to the *French American* islands. Their companions, who were innocent of the murder, prepared, at the same time, to set out for the country of the *Illinois*. *Cavalier*, *la Sale*'s brother, was at the head of the innocent party; and, understanding that *Dubaut* and his companions were preparing to set out for the *Cenis* country, where they were to purchase horses to carry them to fort *St. Lewis*, he begged of them some powder and shot, and a few hatchets. His pretence for this was, that he and his companions being too much fatigued to proceed, were determined to stop at the first village of the *Cenis* they met with, and he offered to give them a draught for the value of all he received, at *Dubaut*'s own price. After some consultation with his companions, *Dubaut* told *Cavalier*, that he and his friends were welcome to half the goods that were in the store-house; and that if his companions and he should not succeed in building a vessel at fort *St. Lewis*, they would return to *Cavalier*'s party, and that all of them should share the same fortune. Some days after, the assassins split amongst themselves: *Dubaut* was for returning to *Cavalier*, and going with him to the country of the *Illinois*, while the others insisted upon returning to fort *St. Lewis*, or having their dividends of *la Sale*'s effects. The dispute growing hot, *Hiens* shot *Dubaut* through the head, as *Ruter* did *Liotot*, the surgeon; and thus the murderers of *la Sale* and *Moranget* were justly punished by one another's hands. According to *Hennepin*, *Hiens* took the part of the deceased *la Sale*, and pretended that he had killed *Dubaut*, because he was his murderer. *Joutel*, who was by this time returned, and an eye-witness to the tragical scene, seems to confirm the innocence of *Hiens*; for he told him he had nothing to fear, and that

though

The murderers kill
one another.

though he was confederated with *Dubaut*, yet he would have prevented *la Sale's* murder, had he been present. *Joutel* was then at great pains to instruct the savages who attended him, and who beheld what had happened with visible signs of horror, that the two wretches who had been killed deserved their fates, because they had been guilty of murdering their superior, and plundering his effects; at which they appeared satisfied. *Larcheveque* was abroad hunting during this scene of murder, and *Hiens* declared he would serve him upon his return, as he had done *Dubaut*, but was dissuaded from it by the elder *Cavalier*, and father *Anastase*, while *Joutel* went and acquainted *Larcheveque* of his danger, and, upon his arrival at the encampment, *Hiens* and he were made friends. They then consulted what they were to do next, and *Hiens* said, that having promised the *Cenis* to assist them in their next campaign, he was resolved to be as good as his word; and that, if the company would attend him thither, they could then determine what they had to do. As *Hiens* and his confederates still remained masters of the company's effects, they were obliged to comply. Upon their arrival at the *Cenis* village, *Hiens* took the field with the savages, and six Frenchmen, all on horseback, while the rest of the French remained in the village. A few days after, the latter was surprised to see the women of the village, all bedaubed with earth, enter their cabins early in the morning, and dance round them for three hours. The dance being ended, the master of the cabin presented each of the ladies with a piece of their country tobacco, which has a smaller leaf than that raised in the French plantations.

The Cenis
gain a
victory.

THE occasion of this festivity was a complete victory, *Their* which had been gained by the *Cenis* over their enemies, the *triumphs Cannohatinnos*, a fierce people, who, according to father *Hennon* that *nepin*, always boil in caldrons, and eat, the prisoners they *occasion* make. Hearing of the French and their fire-arms, that were on the side of the *Cenis*, they durst not stand a charge, but took to their heels; and the *Cenis*, in the pursuit, besides making prisoners, killed about forty-eight men and women. They returned in triumph with the scalps of the dead to their village, where they immediately put all the prisoners to death, excepting two boys and two women. One of the women was scalped, and dispatched, with a charge of powder and shot, to her countrymen, to inform them that the *Cenis* intended, in a short time, to pay them another visit. As to the other woman, she was conveyed to a lone place, where were none but her own sex, each of whom was armed with a sharp pointed bludgeon, with which they punched and beat the poor creature all over. They then plucked out her hair, and cut

off her fingers, till, at last, she was happy enough to expire under their cruelties; and all this in revenge of the husbands and lovers who had been killed by her countrymen: after that, her body was cut in pieces, and given for food to their slaves. Next day was dedicated to rejoicings. The cabin of their chief was cleaned out, and spread with matts, upon which their elders and the *French* were seated. After this, the company was harangued by the village orator, upon the glorious victory they had obtained, chiefly by means of the strangers. His speech being finished, a woman appeared, who held in her hand a large reed or cane; she was followed by the warriors, each of whom were preceded by their wives, carrying in their hands, the scalps of the enemies they had killed, and every warrior having in his hand a bow and two arrows. The procession was closed by the two young prisoners; one of whom, being wounded, was on horseback.

EACH warrior, as he passed by the orator, presented him with the scalps, which he took out of his wife's hand. The orator received them in both his hands, and after turning round to each quarter of the world, he laid them on the ground. This ceremony being ended, sagamet (X) was served in, in large platters; but, before any of the company touched it, the orator filled out some into a capacious dish, and placed it by way of offering before the scalps; after which he lighted a pipe of tobacco, and perfumed the same with its smoke. Besides the sagamet, the tongues of their enemies, who had been killed, were served up, and the two young prisoners were obliged to eat gobbets cut from the flesh of the woman mentioned to have been sacrificed to the fury of her sex. The like ceremonies were performed in other cabins; and the whole was concluded by a profusion of singing and dancing. The feasting being over, the *French* returned to their consultations upon the course they were to hold; but *Hiens* said, that he neither could agree to the journey to the *Illinois*, nor would he be publicly executed in *France*. The innocent part of the company made no reply to this declaration, but persisted in their resolution of travelling towards the *Illinois* country. The savages did all they could

(X) This is the common salt or prunes. One species of food of the *Indians*, and is it, when properly prepared, is made of maiz or *Indian* corn, said to be very delicious to the which, when boiled in a certain manner, will keep a long palate, but not as the *Indians* time. It is of itself insipid, dress it; for they generally impregnate it, as they do all their though not disagreeable to the other food, with tallow, when taste; especially when eat with they can come at it.

to

to persuade them to remain where they were, by painting in Joutel and frightful colours the length, the difficulties, and dangers of his party the journey they were about to undertake; but, finding they set out for were determined in their resolution, they readily gave them the Illinois two of the best guides for their journey that their country afforded. *Hiens*, who was still in possession of *la Sale's* effects, and wore his scarlet cloaths laced with gold, a circumstance of no mean importance amongst the barbarians, offered to accommodate *Cavalier* and his party with whatever was in his power; but he forced him, at the same time, to give him under his hand a *Latin* attestation of his being entirely innocent of his brother *la Sale's* death.

THE number of the party which travelled to the *Illinois* country were seven; the two *Cavaliers*, uncle and nephew, father *Anastase*, *Joutel*, one *Marle*, a young *Parisian* called *Bartholemy*, and *Tessier* the pilot. *Larchevêque*, *Munier*, and *Ruter*, had promised to accompany them; but the libertine habits they had contracted detained them amongst the *Cenis*. According to *Hennepin*, each was accommodated with a horse, powder and shot; and, wherever they came, the inhabitants entertained them with complaints of the cruelties of the *Spaniards*, against whom they said twenty of their nations were confederated, and were extremely importunate with the *French*, because of their fire-arms, to march against them likewise. The name of this people was the *Nafonis* (Y). The travellers parting with them, their guides led them northwards and north-east, through the most delightful countries in the universe, inhabited by different nations. They crossed four great rivers, besides many cuts made by the rain, and at last they came to the *Nabiri* or *Neansi*, and after that to the *Cadodacches*. As they drew near the chief village of this nation, one of their guides ran on before to apprise the inhabitants of their coming; upon which they met them a league from the village, received them with the calumet or pipe of peace, and entertained them with tobacco, leading their horses by the bridle, and introduced them in triumph into their village. According to the report given by

(Y) *Hennepin*, though he seems himself to have been an enthusiast, was born a subject to the king of *Spain*, and always expresses a warm side for that nation. He is therefore somewhat doubtful with regard to this part of *Joutel's* narrative, on account of the ignorance of the travellers

in the savage language. But as it is universally agreed there is a great affinity in the language of all the savages in that country, the travellers had been long enough there to get some knowledge of it, and not improbably, a few of the inhabitants had a smattering of the *Spanish*.
those

those travellers, that people lived so far within the country, that they had never before seen a *European*; and they called the *French* "spirits come from the other world." Being arrived at the village, where they found all the inhabitants assembled, the women washed their heads and feet with warm water, and the rest of the night, as well as day, passed in rejoicings. The *Cadodacchos* seem'd to have some notion of a deity by the worship they paid to the sun; two figures of which luminary were painted on their ceremonial habits. On the 24th of *June*, *Marle*, one of the *Frenchmen*, in bathing himself, was sucked by a whirlpool and drowned. Soon after, his body being found, it was carried to the house of the chief of the village, where his wife wrapped it decently up in a handsome mat; and the young men having dug a grave, it was interred by father *Anastase* with all the ceremonies of the *Romish* religion, to the great admiration of the savages, and adorned with a large cross.

Their tra-
vels and
adven-
tures.

It was the beginning of *July* before they left this hospitable people, and they next met with the *Natches*. This nation was the most gentle of all the savages of the *American* continent. They worshipped the fire, which, like the *Persian* magi, they never suffered to be extinguished; and it is probable from some traditions they had amongst themselves, that their forefathers came from a country on the borders of *Peru*; for they said that they retired thither to avoid subjection to a prince who was too powerful for them. But we shall have occasion to mention this extraordinary people again. Our travellers met from them, and all the other nations they passed through, with an affectionate reception, and an unbounded hospitality. The farther they advanced northward they found the greater plenty of beavers and otters. At last they came to the *Ouidiches*, where they met with three warriors of two nations, called the *Cahinnio* and the *Mentous*, who dwelt twenty-five leagues farther east north-east, and had seen some *Frenchmen*. They offered to conduct them to their countrymen. In their journey they passed several rivers and brooks, and were still treated with the same affection and hospitality by all the people through whom they passed. Some of them talked of a captain with one hand, who was *de Tonti*, and who informed them that a greater captain than he, meaning *la Sale*, would soon visit them. On the 20th of *July* they arrived amongst the *Akanfas*, where they met with two of their countrymen, one *Delaunay*, and another *Cature*, who was a carpenter, that had been sent by *de Tonti* into those parts to meet *la Sale*; but despairing of his return, they had settled there. The chiefs of some of the people through whom

whom they passed, turned their own families out of their cabins, that they might accommodate them with beds, and called them envoys from the sun, who came to defend them from their enemies with thunderbolts, meaning their muskets, which they had never seen before. Upon their departure the savages would have loaded their horses with otter and beaver skins, which are there in such plenty, that they are of no value; but the *French* declined to accept of them, and travelled for some days along the beautiful banks of the *Akanfa*, being visited by deputies from all the neighbouring countries. When they drew near the place where they were told the two *Frenchmen* lived, they fired their guns; upon which they appeared. After some conversation, *Couture* charged his countrymen not to mention the death of *la Sale* in public, because his very name had kept all the neighbouring savages in awe, and had supplied them with canoes, guides, and every thing they wanted.

AFTER this *Cavalier* persuaded *Couture* to intimate to the heads of the savages, that *la Sale* had made a fine settlement upon the gulph of *Mexico*; and that they, from whom he had those happy tidings, were then travelling to *Canada*, that they might there look for proper merchandizes; that they would soon return with a good number of *French* to settle themselves in their country, in order to defend them from their enemies, and to make them happy by the fruits of an established commerce; and that they hoped at the same time to obtain from them the same assistances and marks of friendship they had experienced from the nations through which they had travelled. The *Akanfas* omitted no circumstance of honour or accommodation for the entertainment of their guests, and assembled together, that they might consult upon their proposals. Some difficulty was raised with regard to guides; for, amongst them, all are equally reckoned children of the public; but even that difficulty was got over by promises and presents, to which the most generous of the savages are not insensible, though we must do them the justice to say, that all goes into the public stock; by which private avarice amongst them, in fact, becomes a public virtue. The young *Parisian* being able to travel no farther, remained amongst the *Akanfas*, while the others, attended for some time by *Couture*, proceeded on their journey. On the 27th of *July*, they embarked on board a *peruaga*, rowed by four savages, one from each nation they were then treating with, the better to express their universal friendship with the *French*. Falling down the river *Akanfa* they reached, the same day, the village of *Toriman*, where they had the first view of the *Mississippi*, which they crossed on the

They come
in view of
the Mis-
sippi.
29th

29th (Z); and the same day they reached the village of *Kappas*, where *Couture* took leave of them. On the 3d of September they entered the river of the *Illinois*, at a place one hundred leagues distant from fort *Crevecœur*; and on the 14th they arrived at fort *St. Lewis*, where an officer, one *Bellefontaine*, commanded in the absence of *Tonti*, who was then serving in *Canada* under *Denonville* in his expedition against the *Tsonnonthouans*. Arriving there, they were pestered with questions about *la Sale*, whom they pretended they had left about forty leagues on the other side of the *Cenis's* country, fearing, that if the savages in the neighbourhood had heard of his death, they should have found it impossible to have procured accommodations for their journey to *Canada*, which was extremely hazardous on account of the war then raging with the *Iroquois*. It happened that *Tonti's* commissary *de Briscondet* was setting out at the same time for *Canada*, and all of them embarked together: but the severity of the weather obliged them to put back to the fort, and took from them all hopes of reaching *France* that year, or sending from thence any succours to their friends, whom they had left at the *Louisianian* fort of *St. Lewis* near the bay of *St. Bernard*.

And arrive in
France.

ON the 27th of October, *de Tonti* arriving at the fort, *Cavalier* informed him of his brother's death, from whom he had received a letter of credit for 4000 francs or value, which *Tonti* immediately paid him in furs. It was the 21st of March, 1688, before they again set out; and, on the 10th of May, they arrived at *Micbillimakinac*, from whence they repaired to *Montreal*. There they pretended to *Denonville* and *Champigny* the intendant, that they were obliged to go directly for *France*, that they might from thence send supplies to *la Sale*, and the governor and intendant believed them on their words (A). They accordingly made the best of their way to *Rochelle*, and *Charlevoix* often saw, and conversed with *Joutel* in 1723. We have thought proper to be the more particular in our detail of this wonderful journey, which, tho' performed by private *Frenchmen*, may now be of public utility to this country. When our adventurers came to *Paris*, and began to solicit for supplies to be sent to the settlement at *St. Bernard's bay*, it was judged to be too late to risk any; and

(Z) This route is rendered very unintelligible by *Charlevoix's* own map of *Louisiana*, where the village of *Kappas* is placed on the same side of the *Mississippi* as *Akanfa*; so that *Joutel* seems to be in the right,

in making *Kappas* the most northerly village of the *Akanfas*.

(A) We can by no means see the use or expediency of this imposition, as they had already acquainted several of the *French* officers with *la Sale's* death.

that

that apprehension proved but too true. No sooner were the *Clamcoets* informed of *la Sale's* death, and the dispersion of his company, than they surpris'd the inhabitants of *St. Lewis's* fall, and murdered all of them, excepting three sons of one *Talon* and *Eustace de Broman*, and an *Italian*, all of whom they carried to their village. This *Italian*, who had performed by land the stupendous journey between *Canada* and *St. Bernard's bay* to join *la Sale*, to whom he certainly would have been of infinite service, saved himself by a very extraordinary stratagem. When they were about to kill him, he told them they did him injustice, because he carried them all in his heart; and that if they would spare him till next morning, he would convince them that what he had said was true. The strangeness of the proposal, and the air of confidence with which the *Italian* spoke, startled the barbarians, who, without hesitation, granted his request. Next morning, when the trial came on, he boldly advanced towards the savages, and opening his breast, to which he had neatly fixed a small looking-glass, in which each of them saw himself, they were so amazed that they spared his life.

By this time, the *Spaniards* of *New Mexico* hearing of *la Sale's* expedition, were so much alarmed, that they sent five hundred men into the country of the *Genis*, where they made *Larchevêque* and *Grollet* the mariner prisoners. Sometime after, another body of two hundred *Spaniards* arrived at the same place, and when upon their march they seized *Munier*, and *Peter Talon*, the brother of those we have mentioned above. The design of the *Spaniards* was to have settled two *Franciscan* missionaries amongst those savages; and understanding, that *Talon* and his companion were perfectly well acquainted with the language of the natives, they treated them with great civility, that they might induce them to remain with the missionaries. *Talon*, upon this, informed them that he had three brothers and a sister in slavery amongst the *Clamcoets*, and the *Spaniards* immediately sent a detachment to find them out. It was with great difficulty that this detachment brought off two of the *Talon* brothers, their sister, and the *Italian*, the barbarians having conceived a great affection for them all. Next year, a detachment of two hundred and fifty *Spaniards* came to the village of the *Clamcoets*, where the third brother of the *Talons* remained still in servitude, as did the *Italian*. Both of them were seized and conducted to *St. Louis du Potosi*, a city of *New Mexico*. From thence they were carried to *Mexico* itself, where they were admitted into the service of the viceroy. As to *Larchevêque* and *Grollet*, they were sent to *Old Spain*, and from thence back to *Mexico*, probably to work in

in the mines there: the like fate seems to have attended *Eustace de Breman*. Their examples furnish us with a pregnant proof of the unrelenting jealousy of the *Spanish* government with regard to its possessions in *America*. The clemency shewn towards the *Talons* and *Eustace de Breman*, was probably owing to their youth and inexperience, which rendered them less obnoxious to the *Spaniards*. It is plain, however, that none of them were suffered to return to *France*, for fear of their giving information of the mines, commerce, and country possessed by the *Spaniards*. Eight years after, the three brothers, the *Talons* being grown up, were sent to serve on board the *Spanish* vice-admiral's ship, which, being taken by a *French* ship, procured them their liberty, and they returned to *France*, where they related the above particulars, which otherwise never could have been known through the *Spaniards*. As to the youngest brother of all, and his sister, they were carried to *Old Spain* by the viceroy when he was relieved from his government.

*Reflexion
on la Sale's
expedition.*

THUS ended the mighty projects of the *French* court under the direction of *M. de la Sale*, to obtain a settlement at the mouth of the *Mississippi*, which might overawe both the *English* and the *Spaniards* in *America*; for both of them were then at war with *France*. The reader has been sufficiently informed of *la Sale's* character, and his various adventures. His reserved severe temper, and his numerous ramblings, which he and his countrymen called voyages and discoveries, together with his sudden and tragical death, left his airy countrymen impressed with notions that he had discovered mines and countries richer than those of *Peru* and *Mexico*; and that a little spirit and perseverance alone were wanting to make the *French* rival the *Spaniards* in riches upon the continent of *America*. The truth is, *la Sale's* real object, as we have already said, were the mines of *St. Barbe*; and yet we know of no regular plan, and no feasible attempt he made to become master of them. It is possible, as happened in the case of *Canada*, that the perpetual wars in which his court was engaged in *Europe*, prevented it from sending the necessary assistance for his undertaking to *St. Domingo*, from whence he seems to have expected them; but had they arrived, his romantic, disagreeable humour rendered him the most unequal man in the world for carrying on a regular plan of operations. After his death his court resumed his chimerical projects, and entered into intrigues with a *Spaniard*, the *Comte de Pinaloffa*, for realizing them; but this bubble likewise burst, and the accession of the duke of *Anjou* to the crown of *Spain* united the interests of that monarch with those of *France*.

NOT-

NOTWITHSTANDING all we have said of *la Sale's* chimerical projects, it is certain that his ramblings, and the visits he paid the savages on the *Mississippi*, made the French better acquainted with that country than they had ever been before. He had given it in honour of *Lewis XIV*, the name of *Louisiana*, which it still holds; and though he had been unsuccessful in the search, yet after his death it was generally agreed, that the *Mississippi* discharged itself into the gulph of *Mexico*, and that a settlement might there be made, attended with the greatest advantages to the French nation. This opinion undoubtedly was rational and well founded; but about the year 1719, it turned into a kind of a phrenzy amongst all ranks of people, which being encouraged by a designing government, brought that monarchy to the gates of destruction. We are now to trace the steps by which this calamity was effected. After the death of *la Sale* his projects appeared for some time to have been dropt by the French ministry: but *Iberville*, whom we have so often mentioned in the history of *Canada*, after his successful expedition to *Hudson's Bay* in 1697, revived them, by undertaking to *Pontchartrain* the discovery of the mouth of the river *Mississippi*, and of building a fort, and making a settlement there. *Iberville's* which are known capacity, both as a seaman and a land officer, and prosecuted the reputation he had acquired in both services by his prudence and address, prevailed with the minister to order two ships on this expedition, the *la François* and *la Renommée*, to be commanded by the marquis de *Chateaumorand* and *M. d'Iberville*. Setting sail on the 17th of *October* 1691, they cast anchor at *Cape François* in *St. Domingo*. From thence they proceeded to *Leogane*, where they had a conference with the famous *M. Duclasse*, then governor of *St. Domingo*, who made a most favourable report to the minister of *Iberville's* great abilities for carrying into execution what he had undertaken. On the last day of the year the two captains again set sail, and on the 27th of *January*, 1699, they discovered *Florida*; and sending an officer ashore to wood and water, they understood that they were opposite to *Pensacola Bay*, upon which three hundred *Spaniards* had been settled for some time, in order to be beforehand with the French, whom they expected in those parts. *Lescalette*, the French officer, who had been sent ashore, entered the harbour of *Pensacola*, and demanded permission of the governor to take in wood and water. The governor, understanding from whom he came, sent his major with his compliments to the two French captains (for *France* and *Spain* were then in peace by the treaty of *Ryswick*) with a letter, importing, that his

his most Christian majesty's two ships were welcome to take in wood and water, and to come as near as they pleased to the shore, but that he was expressly ordered to admit no foreign ship into the harbour; yet, that he would send his pilot to conduct them into the bay, if they should be forced to take shelter through bad weather. On the 31st the two *French* captains, upon reflexion, not thinking it proper for them to force an entry into the harbour, stood out from the bay into which they had been driven by stress of weather; and *Iberville*, who was foremost, anchored at the south-east point of the river *Mobile*, famous for the bloody victory which the *Spanish* general *Ferdinand de Soto* obtained there over the savages. On the 2d of *July*, he went a-shore on an island about four leagues in circumference, with a tolerable good harbour, when clear of the sands, which sometimes choke it after tempestuous weather. *Mons. d'Iberville* gave this island the name of *Massacre*, on account of the skulls and bones of about sixty people, who had been newly devoured, and were scattered along the shore; but this term was afterwards changed for that of the isle of *Dauphin*. From this isle *Iberville* passed to the main land, where he discovered the river *Pascagoulas*, on which he met with a great number of savages. All those discoveries, however, together with the subsequent one of the mouth of the *Mississippi*, were far from being new, either to the *English* or the *Spaniards*; but they served to the *French* as pretexts for ascertaining to themselves the property of the country. The informations which *Iberville* received of the *Pascagoulas* left him no room to doubt, that he would soon discover the mouth of the *Mississippi*, which the savages called *Malbouchia*, and the *Spaniards* *la Palisade*, on account of the vast number of trees which are carried down by the force of the tide, and stick in the mud at the mouth of the river. On the 2d of *March* he entered it, and being well satisfied as to the reality of his discovery, he communicated the same to *Chateaufort*, who was sailing gently after him, and who, according to orders, immediately returned in the *François* to *St. Domingo*. *Iberville*, when he made the discovery, was attended by his ensign *de Sauvole*, his brother *de Bienville*, and about forty-eight others on board twenty small sloops. The farther he proceeded up the river, the more he found fault with the informations that had been given him concerning it by *de Tonti* and *Hennepin*; but this circumstance, which is related by *Charlevoix*, who had in his hands *Iberville's* letters to the minister on that head, is of no great weight, as it was natural for *Iberville* to be fond of having the honour to be the first discoverer. When he arrived

At last he enters the Mississippi.

fired at the village of *Bayagoulas*, he went a-shore, and the chief of the savages there conducted him to a temple of a most curious construction. The roof was adorned with the figures of many animals, and, amongst others, of a red cock. The entrance was, by a kind of portico, which was eight feet broad and eleven long, supported by two large pillars fastened to a beam running a-cross the roof of the portico. Both sides of the entrance were adorned with the figures of bears, wolves, and several birds, and at the head of them all was a *Chouchouacha*, a creature, whose head is the size of that of a sucking pig; its fur is grey and white, its tail resembles that of a rat; its feet those of a monkey; and the female has under its belly a bag, where it engenders, and feeds, its young ones. The door of this temple was but three feet high and two broad, and the savage chief ordering it to be opened, entered it, being followed by *Iberville*. The inside was formed like other cabins in the manner of a cupola, but a little shattered, and about thirty feet in diameter. In the middle of it stood two faggots of dried wood, which were placed on end, and burning, and filled the temple (as it was called) with smoke. A scaffold was raised from the floor, heaped with a great many bundles of the skins of kids, bears, and bullocks, which had been sacrificed to *Chouchouacha*, whose figure was represented in several parts of the temple in black and red, and was the deity of *Bayagoulas*. There was another temple of the same kind in the village, but *Monf. d'Iberville* does not seem to have visited it. As to the village itself it consisted of seven hundred cabins, each containing a family, but without any other day-light than what came in at the door, and a hole about two feet in diameter in the middle of the room or roof.

FROM thence *Iberville* went up to *Oumas*, where he was *Meets* received with great affection by the inhabitants. Though he *with a letter* met at *Bayagoulas* with some evidences of *de Tonti's* having *ter to la* been there; yet he began to entertain some suspicions as to *Sale from* the identity of the *Mississippi*, on account of its appearance, *Tonti*, which was very different from the description given of it by *de Tonti*. At last a letter, which was presented to *de Bien-*ville by a savage chief, removed his uncertainty. It was written by the chevalier *de Tonti*, and directed to *la Sale*, who is there styled governor of *Louisiana*; and it is dated from the village of *Quinipissas* (the same as *Bayagoulas*) the 20th of April, 1695. In this letter *Tonti* informs *la Sale*, that having found the standard with the *French* arms, which he had erected, thrown down by the violence of the tide, he had set up another about seven leagues from the sea, and had there left a letter in a tree. He says that all the nations he came

MOD. HIST. VOL. XL.

T

through

through lung him the calumet, and that they were much afraid of the *French*, ever since *la Sale* had left that village. "I shall finish, continues he, in acquainting you with the very great trouble it gives me, that we are obliged to return with the misfortune of not having met with you after two canoes had skirted the coast of *Mexico* for thirty leagues, and those of *Florida* for twenty-five."

D'IBERVILLE, being now satisfied of his having entered the real river, returned to the bay of *Biloxi*, situated between the mouths of the *Mississippi* and the *Mobile*, where he built a fort three leagues from the river *Pascagoulas*, of which he made *de Sauvole* commandant, and *de Bienville* lieutenant; and then he returned to *France*, where he entirely satisfied that court as to the reality of his discovery; but remained there a very short time, and on the 8th of *January* 1700, he was again at *Biloxi*. He there understood, that, during the preceding *September*, an *English* vessel of twelve guns, had entered the mouth of the *Mississippi*, and was met by *de Bienville*, as he was sailing to take soundings twenty-five leagues from the sea. *De Bienville* acquainted the *English* commander that he had no business there, and advised him to be gone, otherwise he would force him. The *Englishman* pleaded pre-occupancy on the part of his countrymen, who, he said had a better right to that river than the *French*; but finding it to no purpose to discuss the matter farther at that time, he retired, threatening to return with a greater force. *Iberville*, at the same time, understood, that other *English* from *Carolina* were amongst the *Chicachas*, where they traded in furs and slaves; and where, according to *Iberville's* accounts, they had instigated the *Tonicas* to massacre an ecclesiastic. This, with the declarations of the *English*, that they had taken possession of the mouth of the *Mississippi* fifty years before, determined *Iberville* to renew the possession, which had been taken formerly by *Mons. de la Sale*, of that river, and the lands about it, as if that empty ceremony could defeat a prior possession, which most undoubtedly was in the *English*. At the same time *Iberville* erected on the bank of the river another little fort mounting four pieces of cannon, and gave the government of it to his brother *Bienville*; but this fort, which stood towards the east of the river's mouth, was soon abandoned. While *Iberville* was busied in giving directions about it, *de Tonti* arrived with about twenty *Canadians*, who had been settled amongst the *Illinois*. By this time a pamphlet had been published upon the discovery of *Louisiana*, and the *Mississippi*, under *Tonti's* name; but when *Iberville*, who found great fault with it, mentioned it to *Tonti*, he disowned it, and

and threw the blame of its publication upon a *Parisian*, who had undertaken it for lucrative views. *Charlevoix* therefore casts the blame of the *English* endeavouring to disturb this settlement (B) upon *Hennepin*; whose book was published long

(B) Father *Charlevoix*, it is true, is by far the most circumstantial and judicious of all the *French* writers, who have treated their *American* affairs, and when we consider him in the triple light of a jesuit, a traveler, and a historian, his freedom and candour surprize us. We are, however, to reflect, that he composed his history from such materials as were furnished him by the *French* ministry, who had a certain end to serve in all he wrote. The reader, therefore, cannot be displeased here to read the accounts given by the *French* themselves in their gazettes, when the *Mississippi* was first discovered.

"Our settlement at the mouth of the *Mississippi* will cost us much more pains and trouble before it is brought to perfection. In the mean time, it makes the *English* no less jealous than the *Spaniards*. The first had a design to have made themselves masters of our fort, and came up with two frigates, and three hundred men, but finding two of the king's men of war in the road, they retreated, after they had paid several civilities to the commanders, and eaten with them several times. Another *English* ship of twelve guns failed up the river above thirty leagues beyond our fort, but M. d'Iberville forced her to return, and at the same time took an *Englishman*, who treated with the savages our confederates. He came into that country thro'

the river *Oye*, which, after a course of two hundred leagues, throws itself into the *Mississippi*, two hundred leagues from the mouth. The *Englishman* was sent to *Quebec*, in order to be conveyed into *England*; by his example to make the *English* desist from trading in that country. We have discovered two other mouths of the river *Mississippi*, besides that upon which our fort is built. Now in regard that whatever we sowed in the parts thereabout has produced nothing, because the ground is dry and sandy, M. d'Iberville has caused another fort to be built about thirty-five leagues to the north-west upon good land. 'Tis believed that the new fort is not above fifty leagues from the mines of *Zacathea*, but that discovery being yet in its infancy, we can expect no benefit from it soon. The same commander had failed very high up the river, and joined M. de Tonti, who gave him several skins for which he had trafficked in his way. They were like cow-hides, of an extraordinary bigness covered with wool, and which would be of great use for coaches; but before his departure he was to conclude an alliance with a very numerous nation, adjoining to *New Mexico*, and an irreconcilable enemy of the *Spaniards*, with whom they are always at war."—*State of Europe*, Aug. 1700.

T 2

Since

long before this time. But as we have before observed, there can be no manner of doubt, that the whole of this river, and

Since the discovery of the river *Mississippi* in *America*, there has been another more considerable made by eleven *Frenchmen*, about eight years ago, but of which no information was given, till within this little while, as well by advice from *St. Domingo*, whither one of these discoverers, after some hardships, got safe with much ado; as also from *Brest*, where another of the discoverers landed about the beginning of this month. Both report, that sailing up the river *Mississippi* in *Canada*, they saw another river to the north-west, which was to them unknown. They sailed up this river, and after a navigation of about three hundred leagues, they met with a civilized people, very courteous, and by whom they were received, and treated very kindly. Nor were they less surprized with the magnificence of the people, who made use of nothing but gold for every thing, and made so slight of it, that they let them carry away as much as they could load in their canoe. But in their return they were taken by the *English*, then at war with *France*. They add, that the *English*, not being satisfied with their booty, would needs know of their prisoners where they had it: which the *French* not being willing to discover, they put three to the rack, who died under their torments, without making any discovery. That the rest fearing the same usage, took part with the *English*, except the two above-mentioned, who, escaping

different ways, yet agree in their report. Some geographers, to whom the court ordered that this discovery should be made, judge by the situation of this river, that if you could ascend as high as the spring, which must come from the west, you might afterwards find a way to go to *Japan*, which they believe to be not far distant.

The river of *Mississippi* might dispute in beauty with the most renowned rivers in the world, were it not for a shelf, that lies before the mouth of it, where there is not above ten feet water; so that none but small frigates and flat-bottom'd boats can get into it. The banks of it are covered with great high trees, embraced by bastard vines, that bear grapes very beautiful to the sight, but no way pleasant to the taste. The channel of the river is twice as large as that of the *Seine*, keeping the same breadth all along. The stream is rapid, though it be full of windings and turnings, from the north-west for above nine hundred leagues. Among others, it receives into it two considerable rivers, which the natives of the country call *Ouabache* and *Missouri*. The first was a long course from the north-east; but we have only an imperfect knowledge of it. Hunting and fishing are equally plentiful; we saw there cows that bare wool, of a prodigious bigness, and roe-bucks in great numbers, that are both delightful and profitable. Rowing up the river, we met with above fifty

and the adjacent country was known long before to the *English*, under the name of *Carolana*, and that it was comprehended in a grant that was made by king *Charles* the 1st, on the 30th of *October*, in the fifth year of his reign, to Sir *Rob. Heath*, knt. his attorney-general. The extent of this grant^b set out in the charter, was, all the continent on the west of *Carolana*, from the river *St. Mattheo*, lying, according to the patent, in thirty-one degrees of north latitude (though by later and more accurate observation, it is found to lie exactly in lat. 30°. 10'.) to the river *Passo Magno*, in north lat. 36°. extending in longitude from the *Atlantic* to the *Pacific* sea, a tract which was not then possessed by any Christian power, together with all the islands of *Veanis* and *Bahama*, and several adjacent islands lying south from the continent, within the said degrees of latitude, to be all called by the name of the *Carolana* islands. Sir *Robert Heath* conveyed over his right to

^b System of Geography, Vol. II. p. 632.

fifty sorts of savage nations, as well upon the banks, as in the parts adjoining, the most numerous of which did not amount to above 1000 men; the people are well set, and tall enough, but without any religion; and they frequently make war one upon another, for the possession of women: striving to enlarge our discovery, we lit upon one of these nations, who, upon our arrival, were so kind as to leap upon our shoulders in sign of peace, and pushed on their civility so far, as to rock us all night, but we admitted the impertinent ceremony for fear of worse. We saw them throw three children into the fire, by way of sacrifice, upon occasion of thunder, and they would have sacrificed seven, according to custom, had we not given them to understand, that such a barbarous action rather provoked than appeased the great thunderer. They still preserve some remainders of ancient pa-

ganism, as to kill a great number of men and women upon the death of their principal sovereign, to bear him company; and it is a great favour to obtain leave to follow them into the other world. They knock their old people on the head, out of a principle of charity; and they carefully preserve their bones in a temple like a *duomo*, where a sacred fire burns night and day in honour of their dead. I know not how the *Spaniards* of *Mexico* will like our neighbourhood. They shewed themselves some days after our arrival, with their fire-arms in their hands, doubtless to have given us a short summons to depart the country; but finding us more numerous than themselves, they pretended they came to pay us a visit, which occasioned a kind reception on our side. We had a great deal of discourse of the country, but all to no purpose. *Ditto. Oâq-ber.* 1700.

the earl of *Arundel*, who was at the expence of planting several parts of the country, when the civil wars broke out, which put a stop to that noble design. By different conveyances, immaterial here to be mentioned, the property of the whole country devolved upon one *Dr. Cox*, who, at a large expence, discovered part of it, and, who actually presented to king *William* a memorial, in which he incontestibly proved his claim to it, and his son *Daniel Cox*, Esq; who resided fourteen years in the country, continued his father's claim, and published a very full account of it ¹.

The English possessors of Louisiana before the French discovery.

It is therefore idle, and contradictory to a thousand evidences, to suppose the *English* to have had no information of this country, but from *Hennepin*, whose first discoveries were made at the expence of the *French* king. *Callieres* in his letters to *Pontchartrain* affects to be of that opinion; but the facts, with many others too tedious to introduce here in favour of the *English*, are so evident it would be superfluous to insist upon them. King *William* himself was so much convinced of the right his subjects had to this country, that about the year 1698 he had some thoughts of planting it with a colony of *French* protestants. It happened, however, unfortunately for the *English* claims, that the people of *New York* likewise put up a title to *Louisiana*: and twenty of the *New York* people actually set out from thence to treat with the *Illinois*, on pretence that it had been ceded to them by the *Iroquois* who had conquered it. Be this as it will, it is certain, that three ships were sent from *England* to take possession of the *Mississippi* at the same time the *New York* people were treating with the *Illinois*. This was in the month of *October* 1698. The *English* ships stopt at *Carolina*; but two of them, one of twenty-four, and the other of twelve, guns, proceeded to the gulph of *Mexico*, and holding always towards the east, the smaller ship actually entered the *Mississippi*, and was that which had been met with by *Bienville*, while the other sailed westward to the province of *Panuco* in *New Spain*, there to concert measures for driving the *French* from the *Mississippi*.

It must be confessed that the interest of the *Spaniards* and the *French* with regard to this new settlement, were, at this time, strangely intangled. The *Spaniards* disliked the neighbourhood of the *French* on the gulph of *Mexico*; but they could get rid of them only by the *English*, whose neighbourhood was still more formidable to them. King *William*, on the other hand, who, on all occasions, was, perhaps, too

¹ It was republished in 1762, and is indeed a very curious performance.

tender of the interests of *Spain* in *America*, had the settlement of the *French* protestants on the *Mississippi* greatly at heart. But though the *Spaniards* would willingly have joined him in driving away the *French*, they could not bear the thoughts of the *English* succeeding them, or rather the *French* under the *English* protection. King *William* became sensible of this, and gradually relented in his intention of the *French* protestant establishment. Great numbers of the latter had, by this time, transported themselves to *Carolina*, where their presence was not very agreeable to the colony; but they had heard so much of the beauty and fertility of their new settlement, that finding themselves in danger of being disappointed, they privately applied to the *French* king for leave to settle there under his protection, where they promised to live as loyal subjects, and without asking for any thing more than liberty of conscience to repair thither in such numbers, as soon to render *Louisiana* a great and flourishing province.

NONE but a thorough bigot, as *Lewis XIV.* was, could *Mismanagement of the French ministry.* have rejected a proposal so evidently for the interest of his crown and people. But the jesuits touched upon his religion in suffering heretics to enjoy liberty of conscience; and this *French* was the sole reason why their proposal was rejected; though it was supported by the ablest ministers he had, who were not under the same delusions. On the defeat of this application, the *Spaniards*, rather than call in the *English* to their assistance, very politically took their measures for rendering the *French* weary of their new settlement. All the trade the latter carried on was between the bay of *Pensacola* and the east side of the *Mississippi*, where all the coast, as well as the isle of *Dauphin*, was barren sand; and upon the river *Mobile*, which was of very little consequence. *Iberville* has been blamed for not having forced a trade at this time. But it is to be considered that it was not in his power, and that had his force been triple what it was he could not possibly have got the better of that innate aversion, which the *Spaniards* have ever expressed for all who pretend to interfere with them in *America*. *Iberville*, having finished his fort upon the *Mississippi*, sailed up that river as far as the country of the *Natches*, where he had intended to build a town under the name of *Rosalia*. It was probably on this occasion, though not taken notice of by *Charlevoix*, that he took an *Englishman*, whom he sent prisoner to *Quebec*, for trading with the natives; and indeed it appears as if the chief design of his voyage had been to clear the country of *Englishmen*, for we know of nothing he did till he returned back to the bay of *Biloxi*, where he had established the head quarters of his new colony. *Charlevoix*,

on this occasion, notwithstanding his prepossession in favour of *Iberville*, seems to think that he was outwitted by the *Spaniards*, who, without opposing him, confined him to a very insignificant compass of trade.

Who are outwitted by the Spaniards. IN the mean while, it appears pretty plain, that the court of *France* itself, rather than *Iberville*, was outwitted by the *Spaniards*. At this time, the connexions between it and that of *Madrid* were very strong, on account of the *Spanish* succession; so that it was easy for the *Spaniards* by their agents to put the *French* ministry upon a wrong scent, in this new establishment. This cannot appear better than by transcribing the two capital articles of *d'Iberville's* instructions from his court, which ran as follows. "One of the great objects, say those instructions, which was presented to the king, when he engaged in the discovery of the mouth of the *Mississippi*, was the advantage arising from the wool of the beeves of that country; for which reason it is proper to tame those animals, to shut them up in parks, and to send them young to *France*. Though the pearls that had been presented to his majesty, are neither of a good water nor shape, yet the search for them must be continued, because more valuable ones may be discovered; and his majesty desires that Mr. *Iberville* will bring along with him as many as he can; that he will make sure of the places most proper for that fishery, and that it be performed in his own presence." As to the pearl fishing, all the world knows it to be good for nothing, and notwithstanding all the precautions taken by *Iberville*, *Old France* never reaped any benefit from the wool, or, what is more extraordinary, from the hides of the buffaloes or beeves. Notwithstanding this, *Louisiana* is undoubtedly one of the finest countries in *America*, and the most capable of being improved for the purposes both of culture and commerce. The *Spaniards* knew this, and, therefore, took care to misrepresent it to the *French*; and *Iberville* was too little acquainted with it to be able to rectify the notions of his court.

AFTER the return of *Iberville* to the bay of *Biloxi*, which *Charlevoix* thinks was the worst judged station on all that coast to be the head quarters of the colony, the chevalier *de Surgeres* demanded liberty of the governor of *Pensacola* to enter that port. The *Spaniard*, in pursuance, no doubt, of his orders to admit as few *French* as possible, replied, that he was commanded not to suffer the *English*, or any trading company, to settle in the neighbourhood of the *Mississippi*, and that he was instructed to give admittance to the *French* king's ships; but he insisted upon *Surgeres* producing sufficient evidences to him, that he was in the service of his most Christian majesty,

majesty, and not of any of his subjects. When *Iberville* gave an account of this interview to *Pontchartrain*, he told him that they who understood *American* affairs best were of opinion, that the settlement of *Louisiana* never could succeed, unless every merchant of *France* had a liberty of trading to it. But while the *French* king continued to be beset by jesuits and bigots, more care was taken for the propagation of popery than of commerce. *Iberville* had been obliged to introduce into the new colony two or three jesuits; but their admission being prohibited, unless they complied with certain terms, by the bishop of *Canada*, who claimed *Louisiana* as part of his diocese, the jesuits were ordered by their superiors to withdraw, and not to co-operate with the other *French* missionaries sent by the bishop.

THIS is a fresh proof of the ambition and avarice of those jesuit superiors, as they could have no other reason for not co-operating with the other missionaries, but the fear lest their practices should be seen through, as they pretended that their ends, the conversion of the savages, were the same. The jesuits, however, still kept up their interest amongst the *Illinois*, where they exercised their missions, exclusive of all other ecclesiastics. They boasted that they had rendered the *Illinois*, from being the most worthless and irreclaimable of all the *New France* savages, the most tractable, docile, and the most attached to the interests of *France* of any but the *Abenakis*. By this time, the sieur *Jachereau*, a *Canadian* gentleman, had begun a settlement at the entry of the river *Wabash*, the most convenient of any for the *French* in *North America*; because it discharges itself into the *Mississippi*, and forms the safest as well as shortest communication between *Canada* and *Louisiana*. Here a good number of the *Mascoutin* savages were settled, and one of the jesuit missionaries of the *Illinois* repaired thither to convert them. His success, however, was very indifferent: he found them entirely under the influence of their jugglers, and devoted to the worship of their manitous (C). A severe epidemical distemper, which swept off great numbers of the savages in the settlement, was of no service to the jesuit, farther than by giving him an opportunity of besprinkling the dying wretches with water, which the jesuits call converting and baptizing. The survivors redoubled their devotions to the manitous; but they came at last to be of opinion, that the manitous of the

Ambition and avarice of the jesuits.

(C) A manitou is any object, a mouse and a bit of red cloth, either animate or inanimate, that those whimsical savages, from a mountain and a bull so worship as tutelary deities.

Christians

Christians were more powerful than their own ; and one of their chiefs, making choice of the jesuit missionary himself for his manitou, went to the Christian quarter, and implored pardon from him. The jesuit promised to do all he could for him and his countrymen, but all was in vain, for the disease continued to spread, till it swept off half the settlement, and *Jachereau* was obliged to give over all farther thoughts of his project.

1700.

THE public of *France* were still in expectation, that *Louisiana* contained mines ; and this was owing to some discoveries, lately said to have been made by *la Sale* and *Tonti*. The *French*, before that notion prevailed, were as indifferent about the country of *Louisiana*, as the *Spaniards* had been, who neglected it, because they thought it contained no mines ; so ignorant were both those people, that commerce and industry are the richest of mines. In *April*, 1700, when *Iberville* returned to *France*, all the buildings the *French* had in *Louisiana* consisted of a few straggling houses, belonging to some *French Canadian*, who had been settled amongst the *Illinois* ; the fort at the mouth of the *Mississippi* ; and another which was their head quarters on the bay of *Biloxi*, and which was commanded by *de Sauvole*. *Iberville* had left the care of the fort at the mouth of the *Mississippi* to his brother *Bienville*, *Jachereau*, and the sieur de *St. Denys*, his wife's uncle, who was a man of enterprize, understood many of the savage idioms, and seemed to inherit all the spirit of *la Sale*. About this time, one *le Sueur*, another relation of *Iberville*, discovered in the country of the *Sieux* a copper-mine, which, by *Iberville*'s orders, he went to take possession of ; but, though it was only the end of *September* when he set out, he found the weather so severe, that he was obliged to winter in a fort, which he built, upon the banks of a river, which falls into that of *St. Peter*. Their provisions falling short, they were obliged to hunt buffaloes, and after they were killed, for want of salt, they hung up pieces of their flesh in the air, where it was soon tainted. This food was, at first, so disagreeable, that it threw them into fluxes and fevers ; but, by degrees, in six weeks time, they were so well reconciled to it, that their appetites returned to them even to voracity ; so that there was not a sick person amongst them, and all of them grew fat and fleshy. They remained here till the beginning of *April*, during a most severe winter, and arriving at the mine, they worked it to such purpose, that in twenty-two days, they dug from it above 30,000 lb. weight of real copper, of which they sent about 4000 of the finest kind to *France*. This mine lay at the opening of a mountain, ten leagues

State of
Louisiana
in 1701.

leagues long, on the side of a river, where not a tree grows, and which is continually surrounded with tempests, and thunder-showers. Notwithstanding those promising appearances, we perceive, that *le Sueur* was soon obliged to give over his undertaking. Next year, *Iberville* returned for a third time to *Louisiana*, and began a settlement upon the *Mobile*, of which *Bienville* was commandant, and he abandoned the post at *Biloxi*, carrying to the new settlement all its inhabitants.

IN this languishing state were the affairs of *Louisiana*, during the remainder of the year 1702. It was in vain for *Iberville* to go backwards and forwards to *France*, which he did this year for the fourth time. The people, being as yet in no expectation of mines equal to those of *Peru* and *Mexico*, looked coldly upon his project; but he got some patrons at court, whom he convinced of its utility: so that, upon his return to *America*, he was enabled to build magazines on the isle of *Dauphin*, as being far more convenient than the fort at *Mobile* was for landing goods from *France*. Soon after, but gradually, a fort was built there with caserns and additional storehouses, till, at last, it became the head quarters of the colony. All this while, no great general measure was taken, for rendering it either commercial or territorial; so that it can be said only to have been local. No trade was carried on for the profit, no lands were cleared for the subsistence, of the inhabitants, who enjoyed only the small spot on which they dwelt. They subsisted upon precarious supplies from *France*; but the *Apalache* savages, fortunately for them, preferred their neighbourhood to that of the *Spaniards*, and cultivated some lands upon the *Mobile*, which contributed greatly to their subsistence. But no care was taken to associate them with the colony, or to convert them to christianity. Matters still continued in this languid state, owing undoubtedly to the distresses of *France* in *Europe*, till the year 1708, when M. *Diron d'Artaguet* arrived in quality of regulating-commissary. His first care was the cultivation of the lands upon the *Mobile*, which rescued the settlers from the necessity of associating themselves with the savages in their hunting, when any accident retarded their supplies from *France*. The cares of this magistrate did not succeed. The lands upon the *Mobile* were unfavourable for grain, and the little which they produced was apt to be damaged by storms, which rendered it musty. To remedy this, the settlers applied themselves to the cultivation of tobacco, which, upon the *Mobile*, was found to be superior to that of *Virginia*.

HOWEVER inconsiderable this colony was, the rest of *Europe* at this time conceived the highest ideas of it, and perceiving

ceiving it to be supported by the *French*, amidst all their distresses in *Europe*, many believed that the profits of it enabled them to carry on the war; so that an *English* privateer invaded the isle of *Dauphin*, and, as *d'Artaguet* pretended, committed great cruelties upon the inhabitants to oblige them to discover where they had concealed their riches. The damage on this occasion amounted to above 4000 franks. *D'Artaguet*, whose chief business in *Louisiana* was to inform himself of the nature of the country, and the situation of the settlement, upon his return to *France* gave the court great lights as to both, and notwithstanding the almost unheard-of miseries of *France* at that time, a resolution was taken to carry the settlement of *Louisiana* into a colony; a measure that in other countries has always required the most prosperous state to effect. A proud court, through all its poverty, preserves its forms and titles. *De Muys*, the *Canadian* officer we have already mentioned, was named governor of *Louisiana*, as was, upon his death, *la Motte Cadillac*. The sieur *Crozat*, by this time had obtained his most christian majesty's letters patent, for the exclusive privilege of the commerce of *Louisiana* for sixteen years, and the perpetual property, for him and his heirs, of all its mines and minerals; on condition of his sending, by every ship of his that arrived at the mouth of the *Mississippi*, six girls or boys for planting the colony. At the same time, to give it the greater credit with the public, the sieur *Duclos* was appointed regulating commissary, and the governor and he were placed at the head of a superior council, whose powers were to last for three years, and who were to be judges in all affairs civil and criminal. *La Motte Cadillac* had been recommended by *Crozat* for governor, on account of his great experience of the savages, the *Illinois* in particular, from whom great things were expected for the interest of the colony, particularly in the discovery of mines, which, after the most unbounded expectations of them had been raised, not only in *America*, but all over *Europe*, came to nothing. The other great object, which *Crozat*, who associated *Cadillac* in his patent, had in view, was a trade with *New Mexico*. It is true, that, by this time, *Spanish America* was in the hands of the house of *Bourbon*; but the *Spaniards* understood their own interest too well to forego its great palladium by suffering any foreign nation to interfere in their trade. When *Cadillac* came to the isle of *Dauphin*, he sent a ship commanded by *Joncaire* to trade at *Vera Cruz*, where the governor furnished him with some provisions, but without suffering him to sell his cargo, obliged him instantly to depart. *Crozat* was as unsuccessful afterwards in attempt-

*Crozat's
exclusive
patent.*

ing to carry on a trade by land ; the history of which cannot fail to be acceptable to an *English* reader.

THE famous sieur *de St. Denys* was employed in this commerce, and furnished with 10,000 franks worth of merchandizes ; his instructions were to deal with the *Natchitoches*. Those were a people who lived upon the *Red River* ; and, by means of one *Penicaut*, a ship-carpenter, who understood the savage languages, and had accompanied *le Sueur* to the copper-mines, had been prevailed upon to settle amongst the *Colapissas*, a race of savages in the neighbourhood of the *Mobile*. It was natural for *St. Denys*, when going to the country of the *Natchitoches*, to carry along with him those who had been settled amongst the *Colapissas*, and they were so very fond of attending him to their mother-country, that they set out on their march, without taking leave of their hospitable landlords, the *Colapissas*. The latter were so affronted at this, that they ran to arms, pursued their guests, killed seventeen of them, and brought back prisoners a number of their women. Those, who escaped, joined *St. Denis* at *Biloxi* ; and, in passing by the village of the *Tonicas*, he engaged the head man of it, with fifteen of his best hunters, to attend him upon his journey. Arriving at the township of the *Natchitoches*, which lies in an isle of the *Red River*, about forty miles above the place, where it discharges itself into the *Mississippi*, he built some houses for the *French* he intended to leave there, and prevailing with some savages to associate themselves with the *Natchitoches*, he gave them all kinds of utensils proper for agriculture, and seed corn to sow. He then left the *Red River*, which was navigable no higher, attended with twelve *French* and some savages, and, after travelling west, he arrived at the country of the *Cenis* ; but he could find none of them who had the least idea of an *European*, excepting the *Spaniards*, whose manners and appearance are the same with their own. They furnished guides to *St. Denys*, who travelled to the south-west fifty leagues before he reached the first *Spanish* settlement, which was a fort situated on a large river, and called the *North Garrison*. He and his attendants here were very courteously received by don *Pedro de Vilescas*, who accommodated them all with lodgings ; and, in a few days, *St. Denys* opened the purport of his journey, which was to establish a trade between the *Spaniards* and *Louisiana*, and informed don *Pedro*, that the terms should be of his own making. Don *Pedro* directly dispatched an express to his superior, the governor of *Caouis*, which lay at the distance of sixty leagues. This governor sent twenty-five horsemen, who next year conducted *St. Denys*, and his surgeon.

Adventures of St. Denys.

geon *Jalot*, first to *Cannis*, from whence he wrote to the attendants he had left at the *North Garrison*, ordering them to return to the *Natchitoches*. *St. Denys* then travelled an hundred and fifty miles before he reached *Mexico*, where, without any examination, he was instantly committed to prison by the viceroy, where he lay for three months, when he was released at the intercession of some officers, who knew his family and connexions with the governor of *Louisiana*. Upon his deliverance, the viceroy of *Mexico* conceived so high an opinion of his abilities, that he did all he could to engage him in the service of *Spain*; but, though poor, he was proof against all the tempting offers he could make him. According to *St. Denys's* own report, the viceroy made him first a present of three hundred dollars, and offered to second him in his courtship of *donna Maria*, daughter to *don Pedro de Vilescas*, with whom he was in love; but, finding him immovable, even by this temptation, his excellency made him a present of 1000 piastres, to defray, as he said, the expenses of his nuptials: but told him he had nothing to hope for with regard to the trade proposed between *Louisiana* and *Mexico*. Next day, the viceroy made him a present of a fine horse, and appointed him a convoy to *Cannis*, which he reached. Here he found *don Pedro* in great perplexity, about four townships of savages, who supplied his garrison with necessaries, but were ready to depart from it, on account of the insults they met with from the *Spaniards*. *St. Denys* undertook to bring them back, though they were already upon their journey, and acted with so much address, that he returned with them to their ancient habitations, which were rendered inaccessible to the *Spaniards* upon pain of death.

who is

married to
a Spanish
lady.

THIS important service immediately made *St. Denys* the husband of his mistress, and after six months cohabitation, he set out along with the uncle of his wife, whom he left with child, on his return to the *Mobile*. *Cadillac*, by this time, had dispatched the *sieur de la Loire* with some merchandizes to make a settlement amongst the *Natches*. Here he found some *English* traders from *Carolina*, who, according to *Charlevoix*, had not only spirited up a war amongst the savages, but had entered into practices against the interest of the *French*. *La Loire* therefore was ordered to arrest the *English* officer, who remained alone amongst the *Natches*; which he did, and sent him prisoner to the *Mobile*, where *Bienaille*, who commanded in the absence of *Cadillac*, treated him for three days with great civility, and then dismissed him. The officer, on his return, took *Pensacola* in his way, where he likewise met with a favourable reception from the governor;

but

but travelling afterwards towards *Carolina*, by the *Alibamons*, he fell in with a hunting party of the *Tomez*, who murdered him; so inveterate had the *French* practices, at that time, rendered all the savages towards the *English*. The latter had a storehouse in a village of the *Chaftaws*, which those barbarians plundered; and murdered all that were in it. This cruelty was a kind of a watch-word for the *Alibamons*, and the neighbouring savages, to confederate against the *English*, and they made an irruption into *Carolina*, from whence they carried off great numbers of prisoners. *France*, at this time, was in peace with *Great Britain*, and her governors, therefore, durst not avow the infamous practices made use of to excite those violences. The prisoners were carried to the *Mobile*, where, under the stale pretext of redeeming them, the *French* commandant gave them an intimation of what they were to expect, if they should continue to trade with the natives; and after this he dismissed them. *Cadillac* was at this time amongst the *Illinois*, and upon his return to the *Mobile*, it was given out, that he had discovered a silver mine in that country; a report that had a most wonderful effect all over *Europe*, and was undoubtedly encouraged for the purposes that were then hatching in the *French* councils. Upon his return to the *Mobile*, he was waited upon by a savage deputy of great credit and authority on the part of several savage nations round, particularly of the *Alibamons*, who, till that time, had always been declared enemies to the *French*, but now offered, at their own expence, to build in their village a fort, that was to be garrisoned by *French*. This offer was accepted of, the fort was built, and a garrison placed in it under the command of *M. de la Tour*.

LA LOIRE was all this while continuing his negotiations with the *Natches*, but soon discovered amongst them symptoms, that were extremely unfavourable to the *French* interest. Four *Frenchmen* were murdered, while they were travelling in their country, and *la Loire* with his brother were threatened with the same fate. The elder *la Loire* had set out for the country of the *Illinois*, attended by some of those savages, one of whom put him upon his guard. From the romantic manner, in which the *French* have related this conspiracy of the *Natches*, it is plain, that it was a conspiracy of their own inventing, to excuse their barbarous and bloody dealings towards that brave and humane people. They tell us, with what probability the reader may judge, that the elder *la Loire*, after being put upon his guard, sifted the savages, who were with him, separately, and that all of them confessed that they had an intention to murder him at a certain

tain place. Upon this information, *la Loire*, who suspected that the conspiracy was general amongst all the *Natches*, returned to advertise his brother of his danger. The difficulty was how to get access to him, but *Penicaut* undertook to remove it. When the company came to the landing place of the *Natches*, *Penicaut* went a-shore, but told *la Loire*, that, if he did not see him by midnight, he might conclude him dead, and that he must pursue his voyage. *Penicaut* then, armed only with his fusée, made the best of his way towards young *la Loire's* habitation; and the latter, being advertised by some *Natches* of his approach, came out to meet him and asked him news of his brother. *Penicaut* pretended that he was fallen ill; but afterwards desired him to send for the chief *Natche*, to whom he told, that six out of the eight *Natches* who had attended him, and *la Loire*, being sick, they had been obliged to put back to the landing-place, and he begged that, early next morning, the chief would send thirty of his savages to unload the grand canoe, and carry the merchandizes to the storehouse, which the chief accordingly promised should be complied with; expressing, at the same time, the great apprehensions he had been under, lest the elder *la Loire* should have fallen into the hands of the *Yasous*, a perfidious people, and enemies to the *French*. *Penicaut*, without making any answer, expressed his satisfaction with the chief's behaviour; but, on his departure, he let *la Loire* into the real secret of his journey, and shewed him that he had not a single moment to lose in making his escape. In this there was some difficulty, as three of the natives slept in his room; but the exigency being pressing, they opened the door while the savages were sound asleep, and made the best of their way to the landing-place, where they met with the elder *la Loire*, and, having made handsome presents to the eight *Natches*, they discharged them, and proceeded on their voyage.

They are
disappointed.

THE first place they stopt at was a township belonging to the *Tonicas*, where they found three *Natches*. They had been dispatched by their grand chief, who, finding that he had been outwitted, had sent them to persuade the chief of the *Tonicas* to murder all the *French* who should fall into his hands. This chief, who was a friend to the *French*, was so much offended by the inhumanity of this proposal, that he would have put the messengers to death, had he not been dissuaded from it by a messenger residing in his village. Upon the arrival of the two *la Loires* at *Mobile*, and relating their story to *Cadillac*, the latter immediately raised a party of an hundred men, who set out to chastise the *Natches*. In their voyage, perceiving a pocket hanging at a tree, they searched,

and

and found in it a letter from the *Tonica* missionary, informing them of a *French* trader, who had been robbed and murdered by the *Natches*. This letter cured *Bienville*, who commanded the party, of some doubts as to the reality of *la Loire's* danger, and not conceiving himself to be strong enough to proceed against the *Natches*, he stopt in the bay of the *Tonicas*, where he built a fort, and dispatched from thence an officer with twenty men to the grand chief of the *Natches*, desiring an interview with him at the fort. The officer returned, and said that the chief was following him; but this proved not to be true, for, without leaving his village, he only sent some of his subaltern chiefs, with about twenty-five men. *Bienville* received them with great state; but, upon their entering the fort, he demanded from them satisfaction for the death of five *Frenchmen*, who had been murdered by their nation, and that their murderers should be delivered up. The savages pleaded that their grand chief alone could give him the satisfaction he required; and some of them offered to wait upon him for that purpose, while the rest of them were to remain prisoners in the fort, till the grand chief's answer arrived. This proposal was accepted of, and, in a short time, messengers returned with the head of a man, whom the grand chief had put to death, but who was innocent of the murders. *Bienville* expressed some resentment at this attempt to impose upon him, and demanded that the real murderer should be produced; and, particularly, a chief, whom he named. The messengers replied, that that chief was the nephew of the *Sun*, the bravest of all their countrymen, who would rather see their village destroyed than give him up. They added that the four murderers were amongst the prisoners, whom they had left behind in the fort, and that they might inflict upon them what punishment he pleased. *Bienville* immediately ordered them to appear, and, tho' they denied the fact, the brains of all them were beat out with clubs upon the spot. Amongst them was, as is pretended, a chief so obnoxious for his cruelties, that his death had been long wished for by the neighbouring nations (D).

THIS

(D) Though we have been obliged to give the story of this massacre, (for so we may call it) as related by *Charlevoix*, yet we cannot help thinking it to be full of inconsistencies. How could *Bienville* know who were the real murderers? Where

MOD. HIST. VOL. XL.

is the evidence that such murders had been committed, or the proof that the persons they barbarously put to death were the murderers? not to mention the improbability of the grand *Natche's* sending them upon such a deputation. In short, the

U

whole

THIS catastrophe being over, the *French*, at the *Tonica* fort, reflecting that it was in the power of the *Natches* to interrupt all communication by water between the *Mobile* and the *Illinois* country, resolved to avail themselves of the panick struck into the *Natches* by the late executions, and proposed to them the following terms of peace. First, that they should build, at their own expence, and upon a certain spot to be pointed out to them in their largest township, a fort and storehouses, with proper accommodations for a garrison and a commissary, who were to be left there. Secondly, that they should restore all the effects they had taken from the *French*, and indemnify them for all the other losses they had suffered in their country. Thirdly, that the nephew of their grand chief, of whom the *French* complained, should not stir out of the village on pain of having his brains beat out. The deputies approved of those articles, which were read to them, and *de Pailloux*, a *French* officer, was dispatched with twenty men to get them ratified by the grand chief of the *Natches*. He entered their village with drums beating and colours flying, and was received with great cordiality by all the inhabitants, who were friends to the *French*. Being introduced to the cabin of the *Sun*, where the grand *Natche* resided, the latter approved of the terms, and said that he only waited for *M. de Bienville's* orders to set about the construction of the fort. *Bienville*, understanding this, immediately set out from the *Tonica* village, at the head of fifty men, and was received by the *Sun*, or grand chief of the *Natches*, with great ceremony. The spot on which the fort was to be erected was immediately marked out, and *de Pailloux* was appointed to superintend the building. It was completely finished in six weeks, and *Bienville*, who was returned to the *Tonica* village again, set out from thence and took possession of it under the name of fort *Rosalie*. The *Natches* appearing to be quite reconciled to the *French*, *Bienville* passed all the year 1714 at this fort; and, upon his return to the *Mobile*, he left *de Pailloux* to command it, and one *du Tisné* for his lieutenant.

Wrong
principles
of the
French
colony at
Louisiana.

LA MOTTE CADILLAC concluded from the answer sent him by *St. Denys* from the viceroy of *New Spain*, that it was in vain to hope to open a trade between *Mexico* and *Louisiana*; but, to prevent any interruption from the *Spaniards*, he charged *du Tisné* to build a fort in the isle of the *Natchitoches*. Scarcely was it finished, when *du Tisné* was informed

whole credit of the story seems to depend upon the *Tonica* missionary, who might have his

particular reasons for exterminating the *Natches*, as they soon after were.

that

But the *Spaniards* had made a settlement among the *Affinai*s or *Cenis*, which they were endeavouring to extend to the *Mississippi*; and this determined *Cadillac* to reinforce the garrison of the *Natchitoches* fort: but all the precautions of this governor were in vain, as the whole establishment of the colony was founded upon wrong principles, which were equally prejudicial to the patentee as to the province. In the year 1712, no more than twenty-four *French* families were settled in *Louisiana*; one half of whom were traders or workmen, who never minded the clearing or cultivating the lands. All the commerce of the province was then carried on about the *Mobile*, and the isle of *Dauphin*, and consisted only in timber, or what is called lumber and peltries. The *Canadian* rangers trafficked with the savages, by exchanging *French* commodities with their furs and slaves, by whom we are to understand their prisoners made in war, both which they sold to the *French* inhabitants of *Louisiana*. The latter disposed of the peltries, either to *French* ships, or to the *Spaniards* of *Pensacola*, but employed the slaves in clearing their lands or in sawing deals, which they sent sometimes to *Pensacola*, but oftener to the *French* islands; from whence they returned sugars, tobacco, cacao, and *French* commodities. They likewise carried to *Pensacola*, where the *Spaniards* were too idle and too lazy to cultivate the grounds, or to practise the habits of industry; pulse of all kinds, maize, wild fowl, and other fruits of their own labour, all which were paid for in ready money, which enabled the *Louisianians* to live comfortably, though not affluently. They were not insensible, that their country was proper for producing tobacco, indigo, and silk; but they had not hands for rearing them, and not a person of the colony knew in what manner they were to be cultivated.

It is surprizing that *Crozat*, before he obtained his extensive exclusive patent, did not take measures for removing, at least, some of the inconveniencies to which his infant colony was exposed, by employing skilful persons, who might have found their interest in promoting it. But *Crozat* was the most unfit man that can be well conceived for undertaking a new settlement. His narrow notions kept him from perceiving that no project of that kind could ever succeed, unless those who were employed in it were in a condition to enrich themselves; to which his exclusive patent was an absolute bar. *Crozat* thought only of enriching himself, by beggaring all about him. No sooner did he take possession of his exclusive privilege, than all the *French* island ships disappeared at *Louisiana*. At the same time, he published an

Com-
plaints of
Crozat,

order to all the inhabitants there, prohibiting them from trading with *Pensacola*, by which they were cut off from all their ready money commerce; and another prohibition was published against the colonists trading with any one but the commissaries appointed by the patentee. This prohibition threw into the hands of the latter the power of putting a valuation upon all the commodities of the colony; the consequence of which was, that they allowed so poor a price for the peltry, that the hunters chose to dispose of their furs and hides to the *Canadians* and the *English*, rather than to the *Louisianians*. This frantic conduct of *Crozat* and his creatures discouraged the colonists from cultivating their grounds; so that, in the year 1714, the colony was on the brink of ruin, and *Crozat* presented to his most Christian majesty certain propositions and complaints. The latter consisted of the following heads. First, that the weakness of the colony rendered it contemptible in the eyes of the savages, who were thereby encouraged to make continual war upon it, by which all inland commerce was rendered either unprofitable or impracticable. Secondly, that the *English* were making settlements upon the *Mississippi*, from whence they might trade with *Mexico* and *New Biscay*, while the *French* were confined to the barren spots upon the *Mobile* and the isle of *Dauphin*. Thirdly, *Crozat* complained of the indifference shown by his countrymen with regard to *Louisiana*; the preservation and improvement of which colony he maintained ought to be the first object of the state. "The maritime commerce of *France*, (said he, in one of his memorials) is now next to nothing, and yet merchant ships are the nurseries from which his majesty is to draw the sailors, which he must employ in any future war. It is therefore of the utmost importance for *France* to encrease her navigation, which may be done by means of the different settlements, that may be made in *Louisiana*, which, if seriously thought of, would in a few years be sufficient to employ a considerable number of shipping. The *English* (continued he, very weakly) are so sensible of the importance of *Louisiana*, that we need but ask the marshal *D'Uxelles* what they said of it at *Utrecht*." The fourth complaint of *Crozat*, in answer to the objection that the colony was in a worse state than he found it in, was, that the council of *Louisiana* had refused to register his letters patent, and that the universal opposition he met with amongst the colonists was fomented by officers, who carried on trade with the *Spaniards*.

who sur-
renders his
patent.

THOSE complaints not meeting with an easy remedy, *Crozat* actually surrendered his patent, in 1717, to his most Christian

Christian majesty. Upon this surrender was formed the famous western, or what is commonly called the *Mississippi* company, under the direction of Mr. Law, a Scotch fugitive, which was afterwards productive of so many calamities to France, and almost all Europe. The letters patent, erecting this establishment under the name of the Western Company for twenty-five years, were registered the 26th of September, that same year, and contained the following heads. First, a privilege of trading with Canada, provided the colonists took care to cultivate their grounds, and raise plantations. Secondly, that for twenty-five years after the day of registration, the commerce of the province and government of Louisiana should be wholly invested in the company; and that they were to have in perpetuity all the property, superiority, and judicature, of the lands, ports, shores, harbours, and islands, of which the said province is composed; his majesty reserving to himself only the fealty and liege homage of the company; but, that upon each future coronation of a king of France, the company should be obliged to present him with a golden crown of thirty marks weight. At the same time, by an arret of the 27th of the same month, the country of the Illinois was separated from the government of New France, and annexed to that of Louisiana. By the third article, the company was impowered to form alliances, and conclude treaties, in his majesty's name, with all the neighbouring people, who did not depend on any European power, and likewise to make truces, or declare war in cases of insult. By the fourth article, the company was invested in the property of all the mines and minerals, that should be discovered or worked during the term of its privilege. The fifth article gave them permission to sell or alienate lands within their grant, and to erect upon them such forts, castles, and edifices, as they should think proper for the defence of the settlement; together with a power to garrison the same, and, for that purpose, with his majesty's permission, to raise soldiers in Old France, and to nominate, for the command of their troops, such governors and officers as they pleased.

By this time, the company had appointed de l'Epinai to succeed de la Motte Cadillac, as Hubert did Duclos, and both of them arrived at the isle of Dauphin in March; but soon after Bienville was appointed commandant-general of the province; though he did not enter upon the possession of his office till next year. De l'Epinai carried with him three ships, with a number of officers, provisions, ammunition, and merchandizes of all kinds on board; all which were lodged in the store-houses in the isle of Dauphin, excepting the cargo

New Establishment of Louisiana.

of one ship, which was to trade with *Vera Cruz*. This vessel was commanded by one *de Golleville*, who, thinking it was in vain for him to attempt an open trade, cast anchor at *Villarrica*, where, in a clandestine manner, he disposed of all his cargo to *Spanish* merchants for ready money. All this while, *L'Epinaï* was busied in raising fortifications on the isle of *Dauphin*, for the security of the store-houses there; and no fewer than twenty-four savage nations sent deputies to him, singing their calumets of peace, and to make him their compliments. Towards the month of *August*, a hurricane happened, which choaked up the entrance of the only harbour of the island, and laid the whole under water, to the destruction of great numbers of cattle. *L'Epinaï*, by this accident, was obliged to look out for a new anchoring place for the shipping, and pitched upon the isle of *Surgere*, since called the isle of *Vessels*; in which was a tolerable harbour, except when the wind was at the north, or north-west, which seldom happened. Here a little fort was built to protect the shipping, and the settlement at the isle of *Dauphin* was transferred to *Bilaxi*, which lies to the northward of the isle of *Vessels*, though no ship can come nearer to it than the distance of four leagues. This removal was to facilitate the private traffick with the *Spaniards*, as the place was in every respect incommodious and inaccessible, its soil barren, and a dead sand.

Original
of the
Mississippi
company.

NOTWITHSTANDING all those discouragements, Mr. *Law*, and the members of the *Mississippi* company, published such prodigies concerning the benefits of *Louisiana*, that the people of *France* were fond to enthusiasm of the new settlement, and resolved at any rate to support it; so that this year the foundation of *New Orleans*, the capital of *Louisiana*, was begun. *Bienville* came from the country of the *Natches* to the *Mobile*, to pay his respects to the new governor, and informed him of his having observed on the banks of the *Mississippi*, a spot extremely proper for a new settlement. *L'Epinaï* immediately gave him eighty masons, with a proportionable number of carpenters, for raising the buildings, and carrying the plan into execution; but *Charlevoix*, seemingly with great reason, finds fault with the situation. The undertaking was pursued with great spirit. *De Pailloux* was ordered to assist *Bienville* in the execution; and *Blondel* succeeded *de Pailloux* in his government among the *Natches*. All this while the settlement of *New Orleans* was pushed so inconsiderately, that it was not known whether a ship of any burthen could enter the *Mississippi*; but after sounding, it was found that the bar was eighteen feet deep, upon which the

the *Neptune*, a ship just arrived from *France*, sailed up the river, as far as *New Orleans*. *Charlevoix* is justly surprized, that after the success of this experiment, the government of *Louisiana* should suffer thousands of people, who came from *Old France*, to perish of want, hunger, and thirst, in the old settlements, when the very ships which brought them from their native country could have carried them to *New Orleans*, and even higher up the river to the very center of the colony. In the beginning of *March*, 1718, the first grantees arrived at *Louisiana*, attended by the sieur *Dugué de Boisbriand*, who brought a commission from the company, nominating him, with his majesty's approbation, to be commandant in the country of the *Illinois*; *Bienville* commandant general of *Louisiana*, and director of the company; and *de Pailloux* major-general. *Boisbriand* set out directly for the country of the *Illinois*, and carried with him the two brothers *Diron*, and the chevalier *d'Artaguet*; the first of them in the quality of a captain, and inspector-general of *Louisiana*, and the second in that of his lieutenant. Mean while, the *Chitimachas*, and several savage nations, formerly no friends to the *French*, settled upon the *Mississippi*, where, by their industry in clearing the neighbouring grounds, they were very serviceable in furnishing *New Orleans*, in its infant state, with provisions. In a short time, the banks of the *Mississippi* were covered with inhabitants, who lived in perfect friendship with the savages, and without dread of any molestation from the *English*. In *June*, 1718, *Bienville* ordered his brother *Chataugué* to take possession of *St. Joseph's bay*, which lies fifty leagues to the east of the island of *Dauphin*, and, meeting with no impediment, he there built a stone fort. This formerly had been a post belonging to the *Spaniards*, and, though they had abandoned it for eighteen years, their governor of *Penfacola*, understanding what the *French* were about, immediately informed *Bienville* by writing, that the bay of *St. Joseph* belonged to his Catholic majesty. It is difficult to account for the reasons, why this fort was built; for no sooner did the *Spanish* remonstrance come into *Bienville's* hands, than the *French* abandoned it, as being useless, untenable, and uninhabitable. In *February*, 1719, the *French* and *Spaniards* being then at war, *M. Serigny* came to *Louisiana* with three ships, and produced from his court an order to make himself master of *Penfacola*. This bay, according to the *Spaniards*, was first discovered by *Pamphile de Narvaez*, who landed there in his expedition to *Florida*. After that, *Diego de Maldonado*, another *Spaniard*, and an officer under *Ferdinand de Soto*, took possession of it a-new, and called it the harbour of *Anchusi*. In

1718.

1719.

The
French
attack
Penfacola,

1558, don *Tristan de Luna* gave it the name of *St. Mary's* bay, which name afterwards received, in honour of the then viceroy of *Mexico*, the addition of *de Gatoe*. But, notwithstanding all those nominations, the *Indian* name of *Pensacola*, still took place. In 1696, *Andres de Arriola* was named first governor of that province, and, when he took possession of it, he built in the bay a fort, with four bastions called fort *St. Charles*, with a church, and some houses.

THE *French Mississippi* company, at the time of *Serigny's* landing in *Louisiana*, had no harbour on the northern coast of *Florida*; and therefore they were glad to lay hold of the rupture between the two crowns, to make themselves masters of *Pensacola*. *Serigny*, upon his arrival, assembled a council of war, where it was resolved, that *Bienville* and *Chateaugué* should assemble, at the *Mobile*, all their *Indian* allies, and *French* inhabitants, and march them by land to *Pensacola*; and that, in the mean time, three *French* vessels with one hundred and fifty soldiers on board, under *Serigny*, should enter the bay: all which was performed with punctuality and secrecy. No sooner was *Serigny* within the bay, on the 14th of *May*, than *Matamoras*, the *Spanish* governor of fort *St. Charles*, sent to the governor of *St. Joseph* for assistance. *Serigny*, in the mean while, began a brisk fire upon the fort, which continued five hours. After this, the governor, who had not heard of war being declared in *Europe*, sent a messenger to know the reason of this unexpected hostility; upon which, *Serigny* informed him of the truth, and summoned him to surrender the place. The governor had but an hundred and sixty men in garrison, and, understanding that the number of his besiegers, by sea and land, amounted to 1300, he agreed to capitulate, which he did, on condition of his being transported with his garrison, but without arms or ammunition, to the *Havannah*, in two ships, and a cessation of hostilities taking place for sixteen days. This capitulation being signed by both parties, *Chateaugué* took possession of the fort with three hundred men; and the garrison sailed, in two *French* ships, for the *Havannah*. Before they reached that place, they were attacked by two *English* privateers, who perceiving the ships were *French*, made apologies for their mistake, and desisted from any farther attempt against them.

which capitulates.

In the mean while, don *Gregorio Guasco* had sent out a squadron, commanded by *de la Torre*, a *Spanish* sea-officer, against *Carolina*, which he was in hopes of conquering from the *English*; but when he saw the *French* frigates, he immediately ordered don *Alphonse* to attack them. The *French*, being inferior in force, thought themselves safe under the capitulation;

capitulation; but they were carried prisoners into the *Havannah*. The governor there, understanding what had passed, stopped the *Carolina* expedition to retake *Pensacola*. For this purpose, he manned *de la Torre's* fleet with a large number of volunteers, who engaged in the expedition in hopes of conquering all *Louisiana*, and, in the mean while, he sent the *French* to *St. Domingo* and *Cumana*. He likewise dispatched a light ship to the marquis *de Valero*, viceroy of *Mexico*, with advice that he ought to order don *Francesco Cornejo*, the commodore of the *Barlavento* squadron, who was then at *Vera Cruz*, to join *la Torre*, as soon as he should hear of his arrival at *Pensacola*. The viceroy had by this time heard by the governor of *St. Joseph*, and by other accounts, of the loss of that fort. He was farther alarmed with the news, that the *French* had made themselves masters of *Pensacola*, only that they might penetrate into *New Mexico*; and he had sent couriers from all the ports of *New Spain*, to summon the *Spanish* marine to assemble at *Vera Cruz*. This done, he raised all the men he could, but was at a loss how to transport them, when *Cornejo* entered the harbour of *Vera Cruz*, with five ships of war, belonging to the *Barlavento* fleet. Upon his arrival, he received an order from the viceroy, to postpone his voyage to *Europe* for some time.

The capitulation broke.

In the mean while the change of the destination of the *Havannah* fleet from *Carolina* to *Pensacola* was so disagreeable to those who had embarked in it, that above four hundred deserted from that service, but were replaced with sixty grenadiers of the garrison by orders of the governor. On the 29th of *June* *de la Torre* set sail with twelve ships, three frigates, and nine bylanders, with about eight hundred and fifty men on board. When he came in sight of *St. Joseph* he sent a lieutenant-colonel to the governor of that fort to learn some account of the situation of the *French* garrison at *Pensacola*; the answer was, that the place upon the whole was in so miserable a situation, that it must surrender upon the first summons. *La Torre*, upon this, sailed within half a league of *Pensacola* bay, and coming to an anchor in the night time, he sent ashore one hundred men, who, without any opposition, took possession of *Siguenza*, the westernmost point of the isle of *St. Rosa*. They had no sooner taken possession, than fifty of the garrison soldiers joined them, and assured them, that the moment they came before the place it would surrender, and that all the garrison were strongly disposed to enter into the service of his Catholic majesty. The truth is, the *French* had mistaken their measures in employing those of whom

The Spaniards re-
take Pen-
sacola.

whom the garrison consisted, in a military capacity. Most, or all of them, were felons or profligates transported for their crimes from *Old France* to *Louisiana*. The *Spanish* commander, not trusting to this report, went into a chaloupe to examine the situation of things in the bay, and taking care to keep without cannon shot he examined the situation of the fort, and of two frigates that lay near it. Upon his return to *Siguenza* he ordered the bylanders to enter the harbour, and to cannonade both the frigates and the fort. One of the former was boarded and taken; the crew of the other set it on fire, and retired into the fort, which was soon after invested by all the bylanders. The fire for some time continued very hot on both sides; but in the evening the *Spanish* commandant summoned *Chateaugué*, with all his garrison, to surrender themselves prisoners of war, declaring, that if he held out till he mounted his batteries with cannon he would give them no quarter. *Chateaugué* demanded till ten next morning to deliberate on what answer he should return, which was granted him; but the *Spaniards* in the mean while took possession of all the avenues by which the savages could throw themselves into the fort. *Chateaugué* would have defended it, but his garrison unanimously declared that they would not fight against a prince of the house of *Bourbon* (meaning his Catholic majesty) and he was obliged to march out of the place with the honours of war, but to consent to be carried to *Spain*. As to the garrison all of them but a very few (who were for that reason maltreated) entered into the *Spanish* service; but the governor, his lieutenant, and the director of the *Mississippi* company, with all the officers of the garrison, had their liberty upon their parole, till they could get a ship to carry them to the *Havannah*. *La Torre* that same day took possession of the fort, which he found well provided and full of merchandises, and gave the command of it, with a proper garrison, to *don Juan Pedro Matamoras*.

On the 25th of *August*, *la Torre* dispatched *don Francisco Mendez*, the captain of a vessel, to the viceroy of *New Spain*, with an account of his success, and that officer found *Cornejo* with a squadron still at *Vera Cruz*. The viceroy was overjoyed that *Pensacola* was again reduced under the power of his master, and ordered *Cornejo* immediately to set sail, and taking with him some ships which had arrived from the *Havannah*, to drive the *French* entirely out of the gulph of *Mexico*. While this was doing *la Torre's* men mutinied, upon their having been debarred from plundering the *French*, the great object which they had in view, when they embarked upon the expedition. The mutiny, at last, was quelled
by

by making the mutineers some presents, and giving them the profits of one hundred and sixty negroes belonging to the *Mississippi* company, who had taken refuge in an *Indian* township. *La Torre* then took his measures for making himself master of the isle of *Dauphin*. For this purpose he gave to *don Antonio Mendieta* the command of three hundred pickt men, with orders to approach as near as he possibly could to the island to reconnoitre its force and situation. *Mendieta* found in its road the *Philip*, a ship of war, commanded by *Serigny*, under the protection of four strong batteries; and visiting the other parts of the island, notwithstanding a brisk fire, which poured upon them from all quarters, he judged that the *French* and their allies upon it could not be fewer than 2000. He then entered the river *Mobile*, and approaching fort *Louis* he took four *French* ships as they came out of the harbour laden with provisions. Great part of his detachment consisted of *Frenchmen*, who, having no pardon to hope for, were bold and desperate, and going ashore they began to plunder a country-house which stood by itself. A *French* officer, *Villeville*, who had been sent by *Bienville* with a party to the assistance of *Serigny*, perceiving the marauders, took his measures so well that he killed, drowned, or took prisoners all but a few, who escaped to their ships. As all of them were *French* deserters, such of them as were taken were put to death by *Bienville* and *Serigny*.

DURING those transactions on the *Mobile*, *don Estevan Berroa* sailed with two ships to attack the *Philip*, and to carry *Mendieta's* detachment ashore on the isle of *Dauphin* with a reinforcement, which he carried along with him. His orders were to burn the town, if possible, to oblige the savages to leave the island, and, in general, to do whatever he thought most proper for his master's service. He then sent a summons to the captain of the *Philip* in the following very extraordinary terms, which we insert, that the reader may have some idea how barbarously jealous the *Spaniards* are even of the *French*, when they interfere in their *American* affairs. "Sir, I send you my canoe to summon you to surrender, and to save any harm being done to your vessel, and if you do not comply I will treat you as incendiaries, without giving quarter to any person on board your ship. I will not spare even *Mons. Chateaugué*, your brother, or your friend, who is in my power with all the garrison of *Pensacola*. It is the pleasure of my master king *Philip*, that all who are taken with arms in their hands should be treated with the utmost rigour, but that all who yield themselves should experience the greatest tenderness, and meet with all the assistance they stand

stand in need of." *Serigny*, in answer to this summons, had the *Spaniards* defiance. He had now received very considerable reinforcements of savages as well as *French* under *Villeville*, *St. Denys*, and the company. *Berroa* soon perceived this by the resistance he met with; and he told *Mendieta* when he joined him, that the island being full of *French* and savages, all of them well armed, a descent upon it was impracticable. Notwithstanding this; he attempted to land at the little island of *Guillory*, adjoining to the isle of *Dauphin*; but the *Canadians* and savages repulsed them with the loss of twenty *Spaniards*. Two days after *Berroa*, on board the *mareschal de Villars*, and attended by a large privateer that mounted ten guns, and seven sloops, anchored within cannon shot of the *Philip*. The sloops which were full of soldiers, and the privateer soon after, entered the harbour as if they intended to cannonade the town, and to land under the cover of their fire; but finding the *French* and savages prepared to receive them they desisted, but renewed the same attempt for fourteen days successively at fourteen different places. At last they retired, without doing any thing. It was remarkable, that *Serigny's* regulars did not amount to above eighty, and being of the same kind with the *Penfacola* deserters, he dreaded them as much as he did the enemy. His savages upon the island did not amount to above two hundred, and his *Canadians* and volunteers were not so many. At last the *Spaniards* weighed anchor, and returned to *Penfacola* with a considerable loss. Thus ended this ill concerted attempt, which was an evident proof of the degeneracy of the *Spaniards* in *America*; for had they persisted with their superiority of force in blocking up the island but a few days longer the *French* must have surrendered, so great was the distress to which they were reduced by diseases, and by lying for three weeks upon the strand.

DE LA TORRE, the governor of *Penfacola*, was all this while busy in fortifying that place to prevent its being surprized afresh, and built a fort upon the point of the isle of *St. Rosa*, which commands the entrance into the harbour, and on which he employed all his negroe prisoners. While this work was going on it was frequently interrupted by the *French* savages, whom the *Spaniards* repulsed, but were unable to follow them, so nimbly did they skip from one mountain to another. Those interruptions, with the impossibility of the *Spaniards* making a descent upon the isle of *Dauphin*, convinced the *Spanish* governor that he could do nothing without a larger force. He had been assured of an immediate reinforcement by a brigantine from *Vera Cruz*; a fort upon

upon *Siguenza* point was almost finished, and likewise a battery of fifteen pieces of cannon, which commanded the entrance, into the harbour, and the fortifications of fort *St. Charles* were strengthened; but sickness and famine had now swept off great numbers of his men. The assurance of a speedy reinforcement kept up the spirits of the survivors for some time, but meeting with nothing but disappointments, they began to talk of abandoning a place which they must be obliged to surrender if they should be again attacked by the *French*; and that their supplies of reinforcements must have been lost, as it was not to be supposed that the governors of *New Spain* and the *Havannah* would fail in their promises. As they had but provisions just sufficient to carry them to the *Havannah*, the governor had great difficulty in keeping them to their duty; but at last he understood that five ships were seen off the isle of *Dauphin*. There being no doubt that these ships belonged to the *French*, and that they had been joined by the savages, who disappeared from that coast for some time, the governor of fort *St. Charles*, who expected to be attacked first, proposed to blow it up, to render it unserviceable for the *French*, and to carry over all its artillery and ammunition to *Point Siguenza*; but being single in this opinion that project was dropt. Next morning the *Spanish* general understood that the ships, which had been seen, were either merchantment or transports, but soon after six real ships of war appeared towards the south-east. The *Spaniards* flattered themselves at first, that they were the *Barlavento* fleet under *Cornejo*, but as they approached they soon appeared to be *French*. The *Spanish* governor upon this sent *don Bruno Cavallero* with one hundred men to the fort upon the point of *Siguenza*, while he stationed himself in his own frigate, with the mareschal *de Villars*, and two other frigates, in order of battle in the middle of the canal. While those dispositions were making, the *French* tacked towards the harbour, and fort *St. Charles* was assaulted by a number of savages, and some *French*.

THE commodore of the *French* squadron was the count *de Champmelin*, who, on the 31st of *August*, had arrived near the isle of *Dauphin*, with five ships of war and two frigates belonging to the company. He met with two *Spanish* bands of bylanders in the road, who had been stationed there to cut off all communication between the island and the *Mobile*; but on the appearance of his squadron they made the best of their way for *Penfacola*. Upon the arrival of *Champmelin*, *Serigny* dispatched an express from *Bienville* to assemble all the savages and *French* he could, and to carry them to the isle of *Dau-*

Dauphin. A council of war was then held on the 5th of September, where it was agreed that *Bienville* should invest fort *St. Charles* in *Pensacola*, with four or five hundred savages by land, while *Serigny* was to embark on board *Champlain's* squadron to pilot it along the coast into the harbour. On the 7th a *Canadian*, who had been sent to reconnoitre *Pensacola*, reported that eight vessels were at anchor at the isle of *St. Rosa*, where he could perceive a good number of tents and people walking about, and that in his opinion the fortifications, both on that island and upon *Pensacola*, were in a good condition, and well garrisoned. On the 10th the *Apalachian* savages brought in a *Spanish* prisoner, but he would discover nothing. On the 12th *Bienville* came on board the admiral; and on the night between the 13th and 14th, the admiral made the signal for three ships of war, the two companies frigates, and a little bark, to weigh anchor, and to cover the landing. The *Mississippi* company had sent two hundred and fifty men to *Louisiana*, who were distributed on board the ships of war; and *Bienville*, with the soldiers and volunteers, had been joined at *Rio Perdido* by the savages under the chevalier *de la Longueville*. Thus, he was in a condition to invest fort *St. Charles*, and to harraß the *Spaniards* at *Pensacola*, which he did with great effect. On the 15th in the morning the *French* squadron weighed their anchors, and on the evening of the 16th they were within two cannon shot of the bar on the south of the fort. Here *Champlain* came to anchor, that he might sound whether there was water sufficient to carry his large ships over the bar. The officers were divided on that point; but *Serigny* offering to answer for the consequences with his head, and affirming that there was a sufficient depth, the squadron passed the bar, and a hot cannonading began for two hours and a half between them and the *Spaniards*, both from the ships and the forts, but at first to the advantage of the *Spaniards*, the *French* finding some difficulty to bring their ships to bear upon their enemy. At last the *French* entirely demolished the fort and battery at *Point Siguenza*, and all the *Spanish* ships but two were disabled; upon which *Champlain* summoned *la Torre* to surrender, which he did, as did *Bruno*, who commanded at *Point Siguenza*. *Champlain* then summoned *Matamoras*, who commanded at fort *St. Charles*, to surrender himself with his garrison prisoners of war, otherwise neither he nor they were to expect any quarter, as *Bienville* would be ordered to storm the place with five hundred savages and one hundred and fifty *Canadians*. *Matamoras* at first required two days to consider, and dismissed the *French* officer, who brought him the sum-

summons; without any other answer. But his garrison insisting that the place was no longer tenable, he surrendered it, and *Champmelin* treated all the *Spanish* officers with great politeness. Next day *Champmelin* sent his long-boat, with one of his officers, attended by a *Spanish* officer likewise, to order the commanders of the bylanders, which had run aground on the bottom of the bay, to bring them into the harbour: but they had saved themselves by sailing to fort *St. Joseph*. The same day the *Spanish* garrison evacuated fort *St. Charles*, and were sent on board the *French* ships with all their cloaths and effects, but without their arms. *Champmelin* accommodated on board his own ship the principal of the *Spanish* officers; but was greatly puzzled how he should dispose of the other prisoners, who amounted to between twelve and fifteen hundred, and whose entertainment must have created a famine in his squadron, till at last he put six hundred of them on board the *St. Louis*, and sent them to the *Havannah*. The loss of the *French*, on this occasion, did not amount to above six or seven killed, that of the *Spaniards* was unknown, for not above sixty of their dead and wounded were discovered.

ON the 24th, early in the morning, a *Spanish* brigantine *Severities* entered the harbour of *Pensacola* without any distrust, and of the *Spaniards* was seized by *Champmelin*. It was commanded by one *Gonzalez*, and had sailed from the *Havannah* with the provisions, which the garrison of *Pensacola* had so long expected, the *French* and which came in good season to the half famished *French*. Amongst other letters brought by this ship, was one from *Chateaugué*, who was still prisoner at the *Havannah* to *Bienville*, informing him, that the *Spanish* governor there refused to furnish the *French* prisoners, officers, as well as soldiers and sailors, with any allowance of provisions, and that the common men were obliged to saw stones, and to work on the fortifications for their subsistence. *Champmelin* mentioned to the *Spaniards*, who were with him, those inhumanities with great indignation, but he resented them in no other shape than by informing the governor of the *Havannah* by a letter, that he was no stranger to his cruelty. After this, he punished the *French*, who had been found at the garrison of *Pensacola*, by ordering the most culpable to be hanged, and the others to be sent to the gallies.

THE next subject of the *French* commodore's deliberation was, whether he should preserve or demolish the fort at *Pensacola*. The difficulty was, whether they could trust the soldiers who were on board the fleet to garrison it, they being a most worthless set of people, and either forced into the service,

vice, or deserters from the regulars. At last a middle way was resolved on to avoid what had happened before. The two bastions towards the land were demolished, and the one towards the sea preserved, with a garrison consisting of an officer, two serjeants, twenty soldiers, and twelve savages. On the third of October the duke de Noailles frigate arrived in Pensacola bay with instructions for the count de Champmelin from his court, that he should winter with his Squadron in Louisiana, intelligence having been received, that a strong fleet had sailed from Old Spain to the gulph of Mexico. But Champmelin's Squadron, both ships and men, was in so miserable a plight that he could not comply with those orders. Some days after a Spaniard, who was the only man that had been saved out of the crew of a twenty-four gun frigate, that had been wrecked as she was sailing to revictual fort St. Joseph, gave an account that he had sailed sixteen days before from la Vera Cruz, where he had left six ships of war, each mounting from fifty to seventy guns, with a large number of land forces, who were to be employed in dispossessing the French from all the posts they held in Louisiana. Soon after another French ship, which had sailed thirty-five days from Vera Cruz, laden with provisions and recruits for the garrison at Pensacola, commanded by don Francisco de la Pena, fell into Champmelin's hands, and the dispatches which he found on board it confirmed all that the first Spaniard had reported. This intelligence did not alter Champmelin's resolution to set sail for France, before the diseases, that every day increased amongst the sailors, should entirely ruin his Squadron. He was, however, obliged to leave behind him the *Thoulouse* on account of a pestilential distemper, which prevailed amongst her crew, with the *mareschal de Villars*, and the countess *Thoulouse*, both which ships were so shattered, that they could not put to sea. Champmelin's next care was to order St. Denys, who was greatly beloved amongst the savages, to assemble in a body, that they might receive his thanks for their services, and the affection they had manifested towards the French nation. St. Denys performed his orders with great propriety. When he convened them in a body he made them sing the calumet in praise of the general, who, with his officers, assisted at the ceremony. St. Denys then exhorted them upon the manifest superiority which the French nation had over all their enemies; and having exhorted them to continue steadfast in their attachments, he distributed amongst them the presents of his most Christian majesty, and he dismissed them, highly satisfied with their treatment.

Preparations of the Spaniards to retake Pensacola

ON the 21st of October, while the French Squadron was getting under sail, another Spanish bylander was taken in the bay of Pensacola, the captain of which reported, that he had taken Vera Cruz eighteen days before, in company with a ship carrying forty-four guns, and three others of thirty, eighteen and twelve, and another bylander, the whole under the command of general Cornejo, whose orders were to join the governor of Pensacola, and to assist him in driving the French from all their posts in Louisiana. The same commander added, that he made no doubt that the isle of Dauphin, and the fort upon the Mobile, were already in the hands of the Spaniards; and that having separated from the Squadron three days after he had left Vera Cruz, he knew not what had become of it. This account determined Champmelin to remain for some days longer at Pensacola; but no Spaniards then appearing, he set sail for France. As to Cornejo, hearing on his voyage, that Pensacola had been taken by the French, and that their Squadron was still in that bay, he returned to Vera Cruz. Upon the departure of Champmelin, the chevalier de Anjou, another French commodore and general, arrived with a new Squadron at Louisiana; and, by his presence, overawed the Spaniards from executing the designs we have mentioned. His intention, at first, was to have sailed to fort St. Joseph, to drive from thence the Spaniards. But Bienville, who had taken and abandoned it the year before, convinced him of its inutilty, the difficulty of maintaining it, the danger to which ships are there exposed; and, above all, the almost impossibility of subsisting in so barren a country. His remontrances were backed by Serigny, who represented that the colony of Louisiana itself was in such imminent danger of being ruined, that they must be obliged to send to France a great many of their mouths on board the company's ships. Satisfied upon all those considerations laid aside his expedition against fort St. Joseph, and set sail for France. He was followed by Serigny, who, upon his arrival at Brest, was, in consideration of the services he had performed, appointed to the command of a king's ship. Three days after his departure, the Toulouse and the Henry, both of them from Toulon, the one commanded by de Valette, and the other by de Casaro, arrived in a very shattered condition in the road of the isle of Dauphin. We shall but just mention, that before this time the Mississippi company had attracted the eyes of all Europe.

MR. LAW had prevailed in transferring all the privileges of the East India company to the Mississippi, or West India company, and in consolidating both under the more simple name of the India company; and to their capital, which also

Account of
the Mis-
sissippi
company.

ready

ready consisted of a hundred million of livres, they were allowed to add five and twenty millions. The treasurer of the royal bank at the same time was ordered to deliver them bank bills to the amount of twenty-five millions of livres, to be employed for the benefit of their trade in *Louisiana*. In *July* following, the company obtained the grant of all the profits for nine years, arising from the coinage of gold and silver; in consideration of twenty-five millions in specie advanced to the government; and an arret, about the same time, was published, enabling the directors of the bank to issue two hundred and forty millions in bank bills, which rendered the stock of the company to consist of four hundred millions of livres. Posterity will have difficulty in believing to what a pitch the spirit of gaming prevailed at this time not only in *France*, but all over *Europe*. Though no dividend had been as yet made by the *Mississippi* company, yet, in *August* 1719, every share of it that had been purchased for one hundred livres sold for nine hundred. The romantic schemes which this infatuation produced, are incredible, and the madness prevailed so far, that the company at last offered to lend to the government one hundred and fifty millions sterling, and even that sum was found insufficient for discharging the public debt. The court, however, availed themselves of the phrenzy to get into their hands almost all the ready money in *France*, and, at last, the people came so far to their senses, that the bubble burst, but to the ruin of almost all the individuals in *France*, and of many in other parts of *Europe*. It was with difficulty that the *French* king's guards were able to protect *Law* from being torn in pieces, and to convey him safe out of *France*. As to the *Mississippi* company, it was separated from that of the *East Indies*, and the trade to the *East* and *West Indies* returned to its former channels.

IN the mean while, the directors of the *Mississippi* company had built no fewer than one hundred ships for carrying on the trade to *Louisiana*, and father *Laval*, a jesuit, professor royal of hydrography in *Toulon*, had embarked on board one of the last ships from *France*, in order to make observations with regard to *Louisiana*, but above all to fix the longitude on the mouth of the *Mississippi*. The pestilence, which then depopulated the south of *France* had got into the two ships to such a degree, that almost every sailor was infected, and *Cafaro* dying of it, *Laval* remained on board without ever going to the *Mississippi*, from which he was distant but fourteen leagues, in order to take care of the sick. All this while the *French* fort, which had been built amongst the *Natchez* and *Natchitoches*, supported itself, but some people of the company

pahy repaired thither, that they might have an opportunity of trading with the *Spaniards*; in which they were disappointed; and this attempt contributed greatly to their ruin. Towards the end of the year, *Bienville* received an order from his court to send thither *St. Denys*, whom his most Christian majesty had, in consideration of his services, honoured with a captain's brever, and the cross of *St. Lewis*; and accordingly he set out the beginning of next year with a recruit of provisions, and a reinforcement of men. At the same time *Chateaugué*, who, being freed from his imprisonment at the *Havannah*, had gone over to *France*, returned to *Louisiana* with a commission to be the king's lieutenant there, and resumed the command of fort *St. Lewis* upon the *Mobile*, while *Bienville* again established the head quarters of the colony at *Biloxi*, and there fixed the residence of the greatest part of the troops, and the directors of the company, of whom he was the chief.

THE *Louisianians* were, at this time, under no apprehensions from the *Spaniards*; for *Valette*, while he was at the isle of *Dauphin*, had undoubted intelligence, that two *Spanish* ships of the line, who were to have assisted in the reduction of *Pensacola*, had received counter-orders from the *Havannah*, in consequence of a suspension of arms that had taken place between the two crowns in *Europe*; and one of the preliminaries being, that *Pensacola* should be restored to the *Spaniards*, the latter had given orders, that all hostilities on that account should be suspended likewise, to prevent fruitless expences. The late calamities that happened in *France* daily encreased the number of settlers in *Louisiana*; and had the affairs of the company been well managed, it was thought they might have peopled both sides of the *Mississippi*, from its mouth to the *Illinois* river. But the perpetual inclination which the directors of the company had to trade with the *Spaniards*, and yet to keep them at a distance from *Louisiana*, still led them into chimerical projects. *Bienville* this year formed a design of making a settlement in the bay *Projects of the French in Louisiana defeated.* *St. Lewis*, formerly that of *St. Bernard*; but he made a wrong choice of the person to whom he entrusted the execution of his project, and who sailed up the river *Magdalen* for five or six leagues. Wherever he came, he found the savages upon their guard, and they informed him, that they were determined to suffer no strangers to settle in their country. It was in vain he represented to them the advantages they would reap by their trading with the *French*, for their constant answer was, that they preferred their liberty to all other considerations. The officer, however, found means

to trepan some of their chiefs on board his vessel, and to carry them to *Biloxi*, where *Bienville* severely reprimanded him for his treachery, and ordered the savages to be reconducted to their own country. This attempt put the *Spaniards* upon their guard, and next year it was understood that they had built a fort on *St. Bernard's* bay by way of precaution.

TOWARDS the end of *May* 1722, a *Spanish* frigate of twenty-two guns arrived at *Biloxi*, having on board an *Irishman*, one *Wauchope*, an officer in the *Spanish* service, who brought with him the articles of peace between the two crowns, one of which was the restitution of *Pensacola* to his Catholic majesty, and the peace was celebrated at *Biloxi*, according to *Charlevoix*, who was present, with great appearances of sincerity on both sides. Every thing being then restored to a state of tranquillity, as soon as the *Spanish* frigate was sailed, the head quarters of the colony of *Louisiana* was transferred to *New Orleans* from *Biloxi*, with all the magazines, nothing being left there but a small detachment with an officer. But though this removal was made by order of the company, it was executed with some reluctance; and a company of *Swisses*, with their captain at their head, carried the transport, in which they were embarked, to *Carolina*, leaving behind them only two officers, a serjeant, and some women, whose cloaths they carried along with them. This, and many other checks, which the company received about this time, reduced the colony to such straits, that the company was obliged to apply to the mother-country for fresh supplies. The *English* took advantage of their weakness to depreciate them in the esteem of the savages, and particularly of the *Chaetaws*, to whom they represented the friendship of the *French* as being insignificant and useless, advising them to renounce it. The *Chaetaws* were at that time the most numerous nation of all the savages in *Louisiana*, and they were not insensible from their own experience, that great part of what the *English* said was true. Had they deserted the friendship of the *French*, their example would have been followed by all the other nations, and the colony of *Louisiana* must soon have been ruined: nor indeed could any thing have prevented it, but the close connexion at that time subsisting between the courts of *France* and *Great-Britain*.

Many of
them go
over to the
English.

THE colonists of *Louisiana*, perceiving the security and affluence, in which the people of *Carolina* lived, deserted to them in such numbers as put the *English* governor under some difficulties as to their reception. At last he sent notice to

Bienville

Bienville of the arrival of the *Swiss* company in *Carolina*, and advised him to take measures for preventing the farther desertion of his people, otherwise his colony must be irretrievably ruined. It was not in *Bienville's* power to follow this advice. His colony was made up of people who had been either impressed or banished to it, or of adventurers, who had repaired thither from the hopes of gain, in which they now found themselves disappointed, and all of them sought the first opportunity to leave it. Add to this, that multitudes were daily perishing through hunger and sickness. Thus, invincible necessity was the plea of the deserters, who complained that they were forced to abandon *Louisiana*, that they might obtain the necessaries of life elsewhere. Many of them testified the strongest reluctance at what they did, as appeared by their behaviour towards a *French* ship very richly laden, which fell into their hands, and which they robbed only of some victuals and drink, leaving the cargo untouched. When the captain, whose name was *Duclos*, seemed to be surprized at their moderation, they told him that they were not robbers, but brave unhappy people, who were compelled in that manner to satisfy the calls of nature.

To complete the misfortunes of the colony, on the 12th *A dreadful* of September 1722, a most dreadful hurricane arose upon the *hurricane*. *Mississippi*, which lasted from ten at night till noon next day, and was felt from *Biloxi* to the country of the *Natches*. It overthrew the church, the hospital, and thirty of the houses and barracks of *New Orleans*, but without any person being killed, though some patients were wounded in the hospital: a vast number of boats, canoes, and other small craft, were beat in pieces in the harbour, and three vessels were run ashore on the banks of the harbour, where the water had risen eight feet. All the houses above and below town were overthrown. At *Biloxi* the damage was still greater; for there all the houses and magazines were beat down, and great part of the fortifications were overflowed. The transports, which were in the road, were run ashore on the neighbouring islands and banks, and a great number of peraguas, bound to *New Orleans* with provisions, were shipwrecked. All the vegetables that were fully ripe were destroyed, and the continual rains, that succeeded, spoiled the greatest part of the younger growth.

THE *French* all this while had a skirmishing kind of a war *Transac-* with the *Chicachas*, which was very troublesome to the colony *ons be-* traders, and it was feared that the effects of the hurricane *tween the* would have given those savages vast advantages; but this *French* apprehension soon blew over. Two *Canadians*, father and *and the sa-* son, *wages of* *Louisiana*.

son, had fallen into the hands of the *Chicachas*, whose chiefs, far from treating them ill, employed them to write to *Bienville*, to acquaint him, that if he would pardon them they should be released. They applied, at the same time, to *de Grave*, a *French* officer, who commanded amongst the *Yafous*, presented him with a calumer, and begged to live with him in peace, which he thought proper to agree to. The *French* thought they had gained a great point in bringing over to their interest the *Chicachas*, who, on account of their connexions with the *English*, were most to be dreaded of all the *Louisianian* savages; but were not so fortunate with regard to the *Natches*, who considered them as so many invaders and plunderers of their natural freedom and rights; and that the terms they were obliged to submit to were imposed upon them by force and violence, and therefore not binding upon them. The *French*, on the other hand, thinking they had done sufficient to bridle those savages, were at very little pains to manage them, and took few or no precautions to prevent a future rupture; for which the barbarians watched their opportunity. The *Illinois* was the next nation which the *Louisianians*, at this time, had upon their hands; and the government, both of *Old* and *New France*, had always courted their friendship, on account of the conveniency which their territory and river afforded, for their retrieving all they had ceded in *Amerita* in the treaty of *Utrecht*, by their forming a communication between *Canada* and *Louisiana*. *Monf. de Boisbriand*, who commanded in that country, understanding that the *Illinois* of *Rocher* and *Pimiteouy* were besieged by the *Outagamis*, set out to deliver them with a detachment of one hundred men, besides several officers of distinction, and, at the same time, he ordered forty *French*, and four hundred savages to join him at *Pimiteouy*; but before those reinforcements proceeded half-way they understood that the *Outagamis* had been obliged to retreat with the loss of above sixscore men. Notwithstanding this, the *Illinois*, though they had not lost above twenty men, with a few women and children, resolved to abandon *Rocher* and *Pimiteouy*, and to settle with their brethren living in *Louisiana* upon the *Mississippi*; a junction, by no means unfavourable for the *French* jesuits, who were thereby relieved from great fatigues: but it almost proved fatal to the interests of the two colonies of *New France* and *Louisiana*, by the *Outagamis* cutting off the communication between them, and extending their incursions all along the river of the *Illinois*.

A FRENCH

A FRENCH officer, one *St. Ange*, at that time, command-^{The} ed in fort *du Chartres*, lying within the country of the *Illi-French* *nois*, and by decoying a considerable number of the *Outaga-massacred* *mis* into an ambuscade, he put almost all of them to the by the sword, and other parties met with the like fate. Such, how-^{latter} ever, was the nature of those savages, that their enmity with the *French* seemed to encrease with their losses; and they found means to make other nations parties in their quarrel, who had before lived in good correspondence with the *French*. In a short time, all the neighbourhood of the *Mississippi* was so much infested by those nations, that no *Frenchman* could come near it; they never giving any quarter, and always cutting them off, when an occasion presented. The *Natches*, who were enemies to the *French*, took this opportunity to declare openly against them, and put the brother of their grand chief at their head. This was an embarrassing circumstance to *Bienville*, who had no means of making head against so powerful a confederacy; but he was delivered from part of his distress by *Deliette*, who commanded in the *Natches* post, for he managed them with so much address, that he persuaded the grand chief of the *Natches* to deliver his brother into the hands of *Bienville*, who, on his part, generously pardoned him, and took him into his friendship; and so great were the marks of reciprocal confidence that passed between them, that their good understanding seemed to be perfectly re-established.

FATHER *Charlevoix*, the historian of *New France*, was in *Religious* the year 1722 in *Louisiana*, and when he left it on his re-^{state of} turn to *Old France*, matters were there as we have de-^{the colony} scribed them. As this father's profession and employment led him to report the fruits of his labours to the court who had sent him on his travels, he represented, that *Louisiana* was destitute of spiritual instructors (E); upon which, a number of capuchins were sent over, and distributed amongst the *French* settlers there. The missions amongst the savages were supplied by the jesuits, who offered themselves volun-

(E) *Charlevoix*, on this occasion, said a great deal more, which may be expected from a jesuit, upon the vast utility of his order, when acting as missionaries amongst the savages. We are far from doubting either their zeal or address; but we think it is plain from the course of this history, that those fathers encouraged the savages in all their idle habits, and were even at pains to dissuade them from the arts of industry, and that the vast interest they had at the court of *France* was, in fact, the great obstacle to the prosperity of *Canada*.

tarily for that purpose. It happened, however, that no missionary was sent amongst the *Natches*, whose friendship was so valuable to the *French* in *Louisiana*, and to this omission *Charlevoix* attributes all the misfortunes that followed amongst that people. About the same time, a number of *Ursulin* nuns went from *Old France* to *New Orleans*, where they undertook the education of their young countrywomen. Nothing more remarkable happened, with regard to this colony, till the year 1726, when *Perrier* was named commandant-general in *Louisiana*, in the room of *de Bienville*, who returned to *France*.

DePerrier
governor.

EVERY thing was then in a state of seeming tranquillity ; but the new governor soon perceived the necessity he was under of applying to his court for an additional number of troops, for the protection of the colony. He plainly saw, that nothing but terror could continue the savages in their friendship with the *French*, and that the defenceless condition of the outposts gave opportunities, both to the *Spaniards* and the *English*, of exciting the natives against the colonists. His apprehensions, however, appear to have been groundless ; nor do we know of any attempt made against the tranquillity of his government, during the first two years of it. His first application for an additional force seems to have been in 1759, when he demanded a reinforcement of three hundred good troops. It appears from the correspondence, that passed between him and the company, that he was secretly thwarted in this solicitation by some people in *Louisiana* ; for the company's answer was, that he wanted more troops only that he might encrease the number of those under him, or to make a war of parade at the company's expence. In return, he complained bitterly of those who had advised the company not only to refuse him his request, but likewise the usual presents made to the savages to keep them in good humour. In another letter, he gives the following real, but new, character of those barbarians. " We are, said he, sure of being good friends with them as long as we give them all they ask for ; but no sooner are they sensible that we stand in need of them, than they multiply their necessities in such a manner, that both the *English* and we become the dupes of those savages, who are far less so than we are." *Charlevoix*, however, thinks *Perrier* was mistaken, in adding that they never become what they ought to be, till after a good beating ; for the father, whose order pretends to have the key to the characters of all those *Indians*, is of opinion, that they never grow better after a beating, but when they know themselves to be in the wrong ; and that nothing renders them so irreclaimable, as when

when they are attacked and punished without just grounds of provocation. *Perrier*, in another letter, tells the company, upon having farther experience of their dispositions, that the best way of dealing with them, when their assistance is wanted, and when they are importunate for presents, is to slight their help and tell them, that their assistance is of very little consequence. "Then, continues he, they will follow you to a man. After that, if they grow importunate for their reward, tell them you did not invite them to join you: but whatever presents become necessary, either to engage them on your side, or for bribing them into peace, you ought never then so far to depend upon their fidelity as to think yourself safe from being insulted." Upon the whole, *Charlevoix* is of opinion, that both *Perrier* and his opponents were mistaken in their opinion of those savages; and that the only method to have rendered them peaceable allies was to have made them good catholics.

BUT a storm was now hanging over the *French* in *Louisiana*, General that, had it not been for a mere accident, must have proved *conspiracy* fatal to the whole colony. The *Chicachas*, instigated (as the *of the French* writers, with no great probability, pretend) by the *Natches English*, had for some years been hatching a conspiracy for *against the* exterminating the *French* out of *Louisiana*. They had con-^{French.}ducted their intrigues with so much secrecy, that none of the *French* savages, the *Illinois*, the *Akansas*, or the *Tonicas*, had the least suspicion of their design. Notwithstanding this, they brought into it all the nations who were not attached to the *French*, and it was agreed amongst them, that, on a certain hour of the same day, all of them should rise at once, and each murder the *French* and their allies; and each was allotted to his share of slaughter. The eastern *Chahtaws*, the most numerous nation on all the continent, and, at all times, the allies of the *French*, were gained over to the conspiracy, and endeavours were used to bring the western *Chahtaws* over likewise: but though they refused to consent, they never discovered to the *French* their danger, till it was too late wholly to prevent it. *Perrier*, understanding that some of the *Chahtaws* had quarrelled with M. *Diron d'Artaguet*, the commander of the fort upon the *Mobile*, invited the chiefs of their nation to meet him at *New Orleans*, to receive satisfaction for their complaints. They accordingly came, and after some parley, in which they expressed great satisfaction with *Perrier*, they departed with a resolution to fail in their promises, which they had made to the *Chicachas*, of de-

stroying all the *French* habitations upon the *Mobile*, and to manage so, that it should be done by the *Natches*. This wicked project arose from an avaricious principle; for they thought that the *French* would be obliged to call them in, and pay them for their assistance, against the *Natches*, from whom they might be able to make a large booty besides. The state of the colony facilitated the execution of the conspiracy. The governor had no suspicion of the *Chicachas*; and he even depended upon the assistance of the *Natches*, in case of danger. The houses of the colonists were mean and unsecure, and could make but little defence against a sudden attack of the barbarians. Though *Louisiana* contained several *French* forts, yet all of them, excepting that upon the *Mobile*, were built of palisadoes, two thirds of which were rotten; and, though they had been stronger, they could have been of very little service for protecting the houses in the neighbourhood against the savages. Add to all this, the loose secure manner in which the *French* lived with regard to the barbarians.

ONE *de Chepar* was the commandant of the *French* fort amongst the *Natches*. Notwithstanding all the endeavours of the *French* to disguise the matter, it appears plainly, even from their own relations, that the *French* commandants there were extremely oppressive to the inhabitants; and that the latter often complained, but without any redress. It was no wonder, therefore, if they dissembled their resentment, as their representations served but to heighten their miseries; and they acted so artfully that their tyrants had no suspicion of their intentions. On the 27th of *November*, 1729, a dark report was spread, as if the *Natches* intended to strike some blow against the *French*. *Chepar* was so far from believing this surmise, that he threw into irons seven of the neighbouring *French* inhabitants, who had come into the fort to obtain his leave for putting themselves under arms to prevent their being surprized. His security was such, that he received thirty of the natives into the fort, and as many into his own house, and the *French* houses in the neighbourhood, while others were lodged promiscuously amongst the other colonists, and in the carriages of the workmen, about two or three leagues distant from their village. The day pitched upon for the execution of the general massacre was not yet arrived: but the *Natches* had two reasons for anticipating the same; the first was the arrival of some boats richly laden with merchandize for the use of the *French* garrison there, and that amongst the *Yafous*, as well as other traders, and which they resolved to seize before they were delivered; their second

reason was, because some strangers of rank were then upon a visit to *Chepar*, and they could have an opportunity of arming themselves without suspicion, on pretext of going a hunting for the entertainment of the guests. They made this proposal to the commandant, who accepted of it with great joy, and immediately they bought up from the inhabitants, guns, powder, and ball. On the 28th, they spread themselves all about the *French* houses in great numbers, giving out that they were going a hunting, and singing the calumet to the praises of the commandant and his company: but each returned to the post assigned him. Soon after the signal for execution was given by three distinct musket shots discharged from the commandant's door; and then the general massacre began by the murders of the commandant himself, and his two guests, *Koli*, father and son. The only resistance the savages met with was from *M. de la Loire des Ursins*, principal commissary of the *India* company, who had in his house eight *Frenchmen*. Here eight *Natches* were killed, and six *Frenchmen*; *la Loire* himself was surrounded by a party of the savages, of whom he killed four, and made a vigorous defence; but, at last, he was shot dead. Those twelve were all the *Natches* that were killed on this melancholy occasion. The barbarians, before entering upon their massacre, had tampered with the negroes of the colony, who had amongst them two heads. These persuaded the others, that they would live free under the savages, and that all the *French* women and children saved would be their slaves; and that they had nothing to apprehend from the *French* in other quarters of the colony, because all of them would be massacred at the same time. Notwithstanding this, the barbarians had been so fearful of a discovery, that they had entrusted the secret to but a few. Two hundred *Frenchmen*, however, were murdered in an instant, and of all that post, which was the most populous of any in *Louisiana*, not above twenty *French*, and five or six negroes, escaped, and most of them wounded. A hundred and fifty children, and eighty women, with about as many negroes, were made prisoners. Amongst the murdered was *du Poisson*, the jesuit missionary amongst the *Akanfas*, who had stopt there in his journey to *New Orleans*, and *du Codere*, the *French* commandant amongst the *Yasous*, who happened to be there upon business.

DURING the massacre, the *Sun*, for so the grand chief of the *Natches* was called, was very tranquilly seated under a tobacco-penthouse, belonging to the *West India* company. He was presented, at first, with the commandant's head, and then with those of the chief *French* who had been massacred, which

Account
of the
Natches
massacre.

which he ordered to be arranged round that of the commandant ; and the heads of all the other *Frenchmen* that had been brought him were piled up in a heap. As to the bodies, they were devoured by dogs and birds of prey. Of all the *French* in the post, the savages spared only two workmen, a taylor and a carpenter, because they could be of use to them. They did no hurt to the negro or *Indian* slaves, who submitted to them without resistance ; but they murdered all the women who were big with child, or had children at their breast, because they disturbed them by their importunities. As to the others, they treated them as slaves, and with the greatest cruelties. As soon as the *Natches* perceived that all the *French* were exterminated from amongst them, they fell upon their houses, store-houses, and the boats in the harbour, all which they plundered. As to the negroes, they treated them well, that they might sell them to the more advantage to the *English* at *Carolina* ; and, they assured the *French* female slaves, that there was not a *Frenchman* in all *Louisiana* left alive, and that the *English* were on their march to take possession of the country.

OF the few *French* who escaped, some ran into the woods, where they suffered vast misery from cold and hunger. One, preferring a quick to a lingering death, entered a hut, which he perceived belonged to the savages, whom, to his great joy, he found to be *Yasous*. They entertained him in the most friendly manner, by giving him not only meat and cloathing, but a peruaga to carry him to *New Orleans*. Their chief farther desired him to acquaint M. *de Perrier*, that he and his nation had nothing to apprehend from the *Yasous* ; for that his nation would always remain faithfully attached to the *French*, and that he himself was going with his party to put all the *French* who were coming down the river upon their guard. This savage, probably, was not in the secret of his countrymen, who were involved in the conspiracy. The *Frenchman* reached *New Orleans* soon after the news of the *Natches* massacre arrived, and found the inhabitants in the greatest consternation and concern for their countrymen amongst the *Yasous* ; but they were comforted by the news their guest brought them. Their hopes were of short continuance. On the 11th of *December*, father *Souel*, the jesuit missionary amongst the *Kasous*, who lived in the same village with the *Corrois* and *Offogoulas*, as he was returning in the evening from visiting the chief of the *Yasous*, was killed, in passing the river, by several musket shots ; as was a christian negro, his servant, as he was endeavouring to save his master's cabin from being pillaged by the murderers. *Charlevoix* says, that this missionary was greatly beloved by the savages, and that

and that
of the
Yasous.

that they murdered him because of the freedom he made use of in reproving them for a detestable crime, to which they were addicted. At first, they seemed to be sorry for what they had done; but the *Yasous* and the *Corrois*, who were in the same conspiracy, soon returned to their murderous intention, calling out, "that now they had killed the chief of the prayer, they ought to exterminate all the rest of the *French*."

NEXT morning early, the savages appeared before the fort, which stood but a league from their village. At first it was believed that they came to sing the calumet to the chevalier *des Roches*, who commanded in the absence of *Codere*. It is remarkable, that, though the *Natches* massacre had happened fifteen days before, and though the distance between them and the *Yasous* is but forty leagues by water, and fifteen by land, an inconsiderable space in those countries, yet the *French* amongst the *Yasous* had heard nothing of it. The savages, therefore, without any scruple, were admitted into the fort, where all at once they murdered the whole garrison, consisting only of seventeen men. All they spared were four women and five children, of whom they made slaves. One of the murderers of *Souel* then dressed himself in that missionary's cassock, and went to inform the *Natches* of the destruction of all the *French* upon the river. This massacre was performed by the *Yasous* and the *Corrois* jointly. The *Offogoulas* were then hunting, and, upon their return home, they were strongly solicited to join in the conspiracy: they expressed, however, so great a detestation of it, that they immediately removed from the village of the *Yasous* to that of the *Tonicas*, whom they knew to be the most inviolably attached of all the savages in *Louisiana* to the *French* interest. The inhabitants of *New Orleans* began to suspect what had happened amongst the *Yasous*, when the arrival of father *Doutreleau*, a missionary amongst the *Illinois*, put them out of all doubt of it. This jesuit, having business to transact at *New Orleans*, took the opportunity of the *Illinois* winter-huntings to set out for that capital; and, the 1st of *January*, 1730, he stopt with his attendants to celebrate mass at the mouth of the river *Yasous*. While he was in his habits, a peruaga of *Yasous* arrived, and informed him and his company, that they were *Adventures of a jesuit.* *Yasous*, and good friends to the *French*, presenting them at the same time with some victuals. By accident, a flock of bustards flew by, and the *Canadians* shot at them, without thinking of recharging their guns. The savages, perceiving this, mingled with the *French*, though they were not christians, in the service; and, watching their opportunity, they wounded *Doutreleau* in the arm, and shot dead one of his com-

1730.

companions by his side. Two other *Frenchmen* who were with him, seeing this, ran towards their *peruaga*, not doubting but the *jesuit* was killed, but, putting off from land, they saw the father, in his vestments, making the best of his way thither also. On their putting back to take him in, he was again wounded by the savages, who pursued him; but, at last, the *peruaga* escaped, chiefly through the resolution and good conduct of the missionary.

WHEN they came opposite to the *Natches* village, where they designed to come a-shore at the landing-place, perceiving all the houses within sight to be burnt, or overturned, they changed their resolution, and made the best of their way onwards. The savages did all they could to entice them a-shore; but, finding it to no purpose, they discharged a great number of shot against their *peruaga*, but it was soon without their reach. Proceeding to the bay of the *Tonicas*, where they likewise intended to make no stop, a *peruaga*, notwithstanding all their haste, overtook them. The father and his companions thought themselves now irretrievably ruined; but were joyfully undeceived at hearing *French* spoke in the *peruaga*, and seeing it full of their countrymen. Being carried a-shore, they there found a body of *French* troops, who were upon their march to chastise the *Natches*. *Doutreleau* and his companions, having having had their wounds carefully dressed, were put on board a *peruaga*, which was going express to *New Orleans*; and he promised, that, as soon as he was perfectly cured, he would return and serve them in quality of almoner, during their expedition. But we are now to return to the quarters of the governor-general.

Precautions of
Perrier.

IT was the 2d of *December*, before *Perrier* received the certain news of the *Natches* massacre; and he immediately dispatched a *Swiss* captain, with a detachment to put the *French* settlers on both sides the river upon their guard, with orders that they should raise redoubts at certain distances for the safety of their slaves and cattle, which was done with great readiness. He next ordered the captain to take a narrow inspection of the little tribes of savages, who live on the banks of the *Mississippi*, and that none of them should be furnished with arms, but as he should appoint. He then dispatched a courier to the two heads of the *Chattaws*, who were then hunting near *Pontchartrain* to repair to him. Next day, there arrived at *New Orleans* a *peruaga* from the *Illinois* country, on board of which was a *Chattaw*, who desired a private audience of him, which was immediately granted. He then told *Perrier*, that he was sorry for the massacre of the *French*, which he would have prevented, had he not looked

looked upon the report spread by the *Chicachas*, that they would massacre all the *French*, and destroy their houses to be false. "My reason, added the savage, for disbelieving this report was, their mentioning my nation amongst the others, who were engaged in the conspiracy; but, my father, if you will suffer me to proceed to my own country, I will soon return, and give you a satisfactory account of what I have done." *Perrier* having left this savage, others came from the petty tribes round, advising him to be upon his guard against the *Chaetaws*. He, in the mean time, understood that two *Frenchmen* had been killed upon the *Mobile*, without the authors of the murders being discovered; but that the public report was, the *Chaetaws* intended to attack the fort, and all the *French* dwellings there. *Perrier* would gladly have concealed those discouraging tidings from the settlers; but they gained ground every day, till the consternation became so general, that the whole colony was struck with terror at the appearances of thirty *Chaouachas*, who lived below *New Orleans*, and whom, for that reason, *de Perrier* ordered his negroes to destroy.

On the 5th of *December*, *Perrier* dispatched a vessel for *France*, to inform that court, and the *West India* company of the colony's situation and distresses; and desiring them to send him succours proportioned to his necessities. Two days after this, one of the *Chaetaw* chiefs, whom he had sent for, came to *New Orleans*, and informed him, that he had sent his letter to their countrymen, and that he had invited all of them who were enemies to the *Natches* to march against them. The chief, at the same time, advised *Perrier* to be upon his guard against the smaller tribes. *Perrier's* answer was, that he suspected them also; but that, if they were in the conspiracy against the *French*, it was because they thought the *Chaetaws* were so likewise; that, in all events he had provided against danger, and that he was not at all displeased, should the *Chaetaws* be informed that the conspiracy was discovered. A *French* officer, one *Regis*, was then residing amongst the *Chaetaws*, to observe their dispositions and motions; and *Perrier*, having had no tidings of him for some time, dispatched *de Lusser*, another *Swiss* captain, to supply his place, and to make his report, as to the disposition of the *Chaetaws*. A day or two after, being the 4th of *January*, *Perrier* understood that the *Natches* had visited the *Chaetaws*, and sung them the calumet, and this added to his disquietudes; but on the 16th, he received a letter from *Regis*, informing him, that he had no sooner communicated the contents of his commission to the *Chaetaws*, than they set up the death

death-song ; that seven hundred warriors were actually on their march against the *Natches*, as an hundred and fifty more were towards the country of the *Tasous*, in order to deliver the negro and *French* prisoners, whom the *Natches* were conducting to the country of the *Chicachas*. Next day, *Perrier* received a letter from *St. Denys*, who commanded at the *Natchitoches* post, which gave him him great pleasure, as he understood that several *Natchitoches* assisted the *Natches* in their massacre ; but, by this letter, he found that *St. Denys* post was in no danger.

Despondency of the French colony.

THE *French* colonists were at this time under more apprehensions than in danger ; from an unbounded confidence they had put in *Perrier*, they fell, all at once, into despondency, from which *Perrier* himself was in no condition to relieve them. He had by this time received full proofs, that the petty tribes had been gained over by the *Chicachas* to enter into the conspiracy against the *French*, and that the massacre must have been general, had not the *Natches* anticipated the day appointed for its execution. He farther learned, that an additional motive for this anticipation was that the *Natches* understanding the two *Chactaw* chiefs, who were repairing to *New Orleans*, did it only to amuse the *French*, that they might the more fully enjoy the lading of sixscore horses with *English* goods, that had entered the *Chactaw* country ; that they would be the more eager to destroy the *French* settlements upon the river *Mobile* in order, by means of the *English*, to introduce plenty into their country. It does not clearly appear, from what motive the *Chactaws* changed their plan of politics with regard to the *French* ; but, most probably, it arose from the preparations the *French* were making against the *Natches*, and which daunted them. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the moment *Regis* communicated to them *Perrier's* invitation to join him, they declared, they would not receive into their country the *English* goods, and that, upon the return of their deputies, they would pursue their first plan, from which the *English* had persuaded them to deviate, which was that of exterminating the *Natches* ; and they frankly acknowledged their having encouraged them in their conspiracy, that the *French*, finding how numerous their enemies were, might have recourse to them for assistance. *Perrier*, having duly weighed all circumstances, resolved in all events to trust the *Chactaws*, and to employ them against the *Natches*. At this time, it fortunately happened, that two of the company's vessels arrived at *New Orleans*, which determined *Perrier* to lose no time, in marching against the *Natches* ; in engaging the *Chactaws*

Chahtaws to bring the lesser tribes to enter into his party, or, at least, to restrain them from joining in the conspiracy; and to raise the inhabitants from their despondency. His forces, however, were inadequate to the numerous armies he had to encounter, as may appear from the following extract of one of his letters, written by him to the *French* minister, dated *March 18, 1730*.

“ You are not, said he, to judge of my undertaking by *Perrier's* the small number of forces I have for attacking our enemies. *apology for* I see consternation spreading every where, and that fear pre- *his expedi-* vails every day. In this situation, I have concealed the num- *tion.* bers of our enemies, and given out, that the general conspiracy is but a chimera, invented by the *Natches* to prevent our acting against them. Had it been in my power to pursue the most prudent plan, I should have kept upon the defensive, and have waited for troops from *France*, to prevent my being reproached for having sacrificed two hundred *Frenchmen*, out of five or six hundred, which, perhaps, I have, for the defence of the mouth of the river. The event has shewn, that the most prudent part is not that which we ought always to follow. We were in a situation, that required violent remedies, and, if we cannot do hurt to our enemies, we ought, at least, to strike them with terror. By accident, we have done both, and we have acquitted ourselves with honour in an expedition, the success of which now gives us some time for reflexion. We have recovered above two hundred women and children, with all our negroes, and have obliged our enemies to abandon their forts, and their lands. If we could have retained our savages two or three days longer, not a *Natche* could have escaped; but such are the measures I have taken, that their destruction is only postponed. I do not look upon them as our most cruel enemies, but upon the *Chicachas*, who are entirely devoted to the *English*, and, though in peace with us, have entirely conducted the plan of this general conspiracy. I have not thought proper to engage the *Chahtaws*, to make war upon them, which they earnestly desire to do, because I have received neither orders, nor supplies from *France*; but they are so selfish a people, that it would cost us a great deal to make a step, which I am persuaded they will do of themselves, for very particular reasons of resentment.”

THE bringing over the *Chahtaws* to the *French* interest was *His prepa-* now the great object, which *Perrier* had in view, together *rations at* with the other savages in the neighbourhood of *Mobile* fort. *New Or-* He, therefore, as soon as he received the news of the *Natches* *leans.* massacre, communicated the same to *Diron*, who commanded at that post; and afterwards ordered him to sound the dispo-

sitions of the *Chaftaws*, that he might know how far he could depend upon them. But a great difficulty now presented itself; for none could be found hardy enough to undertake a journey into the country of those barbarians, whose friendship for the *French* remained still so doubtful. One *le Sueur*, a native of *Canada*, who had been carried when he was very young to *Louisiana*, and had lived mostly amongst the *Chaftaws*, undertook the arduous task, and set out for fort *Mobile*. With infinite fatigue, he travelled through all their villages, where he was every where well received; and to him was owing the raising the seven hundred warriors, already mentioned, who had marched against the *Natches*. *Perrier*, in the mean while, ordered two of the company's ships to proceed as far up the river as the country of the *Tonicas*; and sent expresses by land as far as the country of the *Illinois*, to inform the natives of what had happened, and of what he intended to do. He ordered a ditch to be dug round *New Orleans*, and guards to mount at the four corners of the city; forming the inhabitants into four companies of militia for its defence.

Loubois
commander
of the ex-
pedition.

HAVING more to apprehend as to the out-settlements and houses, than for the capital, he ordered entrenchments to be every where cast up, and forts to be built in the places that were the most exposed. After that, he went to put himself at the head of his little army, which rendezvoused at the bay of the *Tonicas*. He soon understood that his presence was more necessary at *New Orleans*, where, if the *Chaftaws* should declare against the *French*, the negroes would certainly join them, as some of them had done the *Natches*, in hopes of recovering their liberty, and sharing in the plunder. *Perrier*, reflecting upon all those circumstances, committed the conduct of his expedition against the *Natches* to the chevalier *de Loubois*, who was major of *New Orleans*, an officer of great experience and approved valour. The first effect of *Perrier*'s dispositions was, that the petty tribes living along the *Mississippi* entered into the interests of the *French*, and *le Sueur* persuaded the savages near the *Mobile* to do the same. *Perrier* was assured of the fidelity and friendship of the *Illinois*, the *Akanfas*, the *Offogoulas*, the *Tonicas*, and, by what soon after happened, of the *Natchitoches*, and all those people gave evident proofs of their attachment to the *French*, during the whole course of the war.

ON the other hand, the *Natches* seemed no way dismayed at the storm that was gathering against them. At first, they were in hopes of gaining to their side the *Tonicas*, and for that purpose, sent to them the *Tieux*, a petty tribe, which
had

had lived for a long time in their country, to offer them part of the *French* spoils to induce them to join them. But this project was unsuccessful, though they killed two straggling *Frenchmen*. The *sieur Merveilleux*, by this time, had arrived at the bay of the *Tonicas* with his detachment and some *French* soldiers, and entrenched himself to prevent surprizes. Eight days after, *Loubois* arrived with a reinforcement of five and twenty men, and found all the army properly secured, and in good condition. He had, before this, sent off an officer, one *Mexplex*, with five men to obtain some knowledge of the enemies force and situation ; and the better to succeed, he was ordered to amuse them with certain propositions of peace. But the moment he landed his men, they were saluted with a discharge of musquetry, which killed three of them, and he with the remaining two were made prisoners.

NEXT morning, the *Natches* sent one of their *French* prisoners to *Loubois*, to make him some proposals on their part ; and the *French* historian observes that their offers were such as testified great contempt for the *French*, and a vast haughtiness on their own part. At first, they demanded that the *sieur Brouttin*, who had been commandant in their country, and the grand chief of the *Tonicas*, should be delivered into their hands as hostages. They then mentioned a great number of particular merchandizes, which they demanded in ransom for the women, children, and slaves, who were prisoners in their hands ; and all this with an air, as if they had been doing a favour to the *French* in making their demands so very moderate. The *French* historian says, but with no great colour of truth, that, had those demands been complied with, their intention was to have cut the throats of all the *French* who were to have delivered the merchandizes, and then to have sold all their prisoners to the *English*. Be this as it will, the *French* certainly detained the soldier, which the *Natches* looked upon as so great a breach of faith, that they burned the *sieur Mexplex*, and the other prisoner.

WHILE matters were in this situation, *le Sueur*, on the 27th of *January*, arrived in the country of the *Natches*, with the *Chaclaws*, and immediately formed an attack upon the enemy. This impetuosity was probably owing to his being ignorant that the *French* army was then lying in the bay of the *Tonicas*, or to his being unable to restrain the ardor of the savages, who wanted to have all the plunder and prisoners to themselves, and likewise to have an allowance for the *French* prisoners, whom they should set free. Their attack was so furious, that they killed fourscore men, took sixteen women

prisoners, and retook fifty-one *French* women and children, the two workmen whom the *Natches* had saved, and one hundred and fifty negroes, male and female. This victory would have been compleat, if the *French* negroes, who had been gained over by the *Natches*, had not taken arms against the *Chaftaws*, and prevented them from coming at their powder. *De Pratz* omits this action. Both *Perrier* and *Loubois* were greatly blamed for keeping the army so long inactive in the bay of the *Tonicas*; perhaps they had motives of interest or resentment, but it certainly was shameful for *Loubois* to suffer the barbarians to carry away the greatest honour of the expedition.

THUS far we have followed the relation of father *Charlevoix*, who wrote from information; but *M. le Page du Pratz*, who was upon the spot, gives us a different idea of this war, and, in the remaining part of it, we shall chiefly follow his authority. According to him, *Loubois*, not thinking himself strong enough to attack the *Natches* without the *Chaftaws*, built a fort among the *Tonicas*, where he enlisted some *French* who had escaped the massacre, and had been hospitably entertained by the *Tonicas*. Being unacquainted with the country between the *Tonicas* and the *Chaftaws*, he had neglected to keep up a proper correspondence with *le Sueur*, and impatient to know what was passing amongst the *Natches*, he had employed *Mexplex*, with four other *Frenchmen*, to go as spies amongst the enemy, though the *Tonicas* would have been infinitely more proper for that purpose. In the mean while, soon after the massacre of the *French*, the *Natches* had projected that of the *Natchitoches*, for their inviolable attachment to the *French*; but they were awed by *St. Denys*, the commandant of the *Natchitoches* post. They therefore took along with them a *French* female slave, and marched, to the number of an hundred and fifty warriors, in hopes that, under pretence of selling the slave, they should get admittance into the fort, and surprize it. Stopping at a little distance from the post, they sent *St. Denys* a calumet of peace, informing him at the same time, that they were to make him the arbiter of their differences between them and the *French*; and that they had brought with them a slave to confirm what they had said. *St. Denys* answered the deputies, that he would admit ten of them with the slave into the fort, and would then receive their calumet of peace, and pay for the slave; that he saw their intention by their numbers, but that he would suffer them to return home, provided they brought him the *French* slave, whom he was willing to purchase. *St. Denys*, had at this

The Natchitoches
chastised
by the
French.

this time, in his fort about forty soldiers, and, at most, twenty *French* inhabitants; but, at his request, the grand chief of the *Natchitoches* reinforced him with forty of his best warriors. Upon the return of the deputies to their countrymen, they were so exasperated at their disappointment, that they burnt the poor *Frenchwoman* within an intrenchment, which they had hastily thrown up, that they might not be interrupted in the exercise of their diabolical cruelty. *St. Denys*, knowing what had been done, put arms into the hands of the forty *Natchitoches*, and leaving only twenty men in the fort, he attacked the *Natches* before day-break so bravely that he killed sixty of them upon the spot, besides a great number in the pursuit.

As to the affair of *Mexplex* and the other spies, *du Pratz* *Three* differs from *Charlevoix* in many particulars. He says, that French the spies took no precautions to conceal themselves, but drank *spies put* brandy, and, marching through the open country, were within *to death* half a league of the grand *Natche's* village, when they found they were surrounded. That they then threw themselves into a ravine, from whence they fired upon the *Natches*, who called out for them to surrender, which they did not do, till a drunken *Navarrois* soldier, who understood the language and had abused them with his tongue, was shot dead. The other four then threw down their arms, and were carried before the grand *Sun*, who was a young man. They pretended their business was to offer him peace; "then why, replied the savage, did you, without provocation, fire upon my people?" The grand *Sun*, however, told them, that he was willing to treat of peace, and ordered that they should walk about at liberty, but to be strictly watched. His letter to *Loubois* was penned by his order by a *French* lady, who was a prisoner, one madame *des Noyers*, and his demands amounted to more than all the company was worth. The two soldiers who had been left were put to death without any torments; but *Mexplex* having been a commander in the first *Natches* war, he underwent the most horrible torments before his death; so magnanimously, according to *du Pratz*, that he did not gratify the barbarous curiosity of the savages, who wanted to know whether it was possible for pain to make a *French* commander roar out, or shed tears.

As soon as the *Natches* understood that the *French* were amongst the *Tonikas*, they lost all conduct and resolution. The grand *Sun* seems to have been the only man of sense and spirit amongst them. He assembled a council of war, and ordered that the woman prisoner, who could speak the *Natches* language the best, should be introduced into it; which was accordingly

accordingly done. At first, she had no power to make any answer upon seeing herself surrounded by so many armed men ; but they talked to her so gently, that she recovered her spirits, and the grand *Sun* asked her, whether it was ever known amongst her warriors, after killing one another, that they could make peace in good earnest. She satisfied him and the assembly, that nothing was more common ; at which they seemed to be well pleased, and said that *Mexplex's* death should stand for that of one of their own chiefs, who had been killed by *Bienville's* order. She seemed to approve of this, and, after a few other questions, she was dismissed.

IN the month of *February*, the *Chaftaws* arrived in the *Natches* country, to the number of 15 or 1600, with *le Saur* at their head. Their reason for coming in such numbers, next to that of their being great cowards, was, that they might not be attacked by the *Natches* ; all whose warriors together did not amount to that number. That they might be the more sure of this, they fired, upon their approach, several guns to advertise the *Natches* of their arrival, that they might retire to their fort. The *Natches* had a contempt for the courage of the *Chaftaws*, and would have readily attacked them ; but they were afraid of their having amongst them *French* troops, and were likewise ignorant of their numbers ; and therefore they remained on the defensive. Many of the *Natches* all this while, not imagining that the *French* would be so unadvised as to attack them, lived at their ease in their country houses ; nor did the *Chaftaws* disturb them, though, had they been a little active, they might have taken the fair *Sun*, the grand *Sun's* wife, who with difficulty escaped to the fort. They, however, entered her cabin, where they found several *Frenchwomen*, who, having pretended that they were unable to follow her in her flight, had remained, as thinking themselves entirely safe amongst the *Chaftaws*, the allies of their countrymen. The *Chaftaws*, upon entering the cabin, finding nothing, they asked for the plunder of the fair *Sun*. The *Frenchwomen* replied, that it had been carried off with herself by her domestics, and explained the reasons why they had remained behind. They soon found their confidence had been misplaced ; for they were all carried off as slaves, and one of them was wounded in the leg by a discharge of musquetry, as they passed near the *Natches* fort. They likewise carried off an old *Natche* woman, whom they scalped and burnt at a slow fire. All the *Frenchwomen* were by them stript of the little the *Natches* had left them, so villainous was the nature of those cowardly savages.

ALL

ALL this while, the *Chaftaws* and the *Natches* were firing ^{They are} at one another, but at too great a distance for either of them ^{besieged in} to do any harm; so that, during a whole month, while they ^{their fort} resided at *St. Catherine* in expectation of *Loubois*, not a man ^{by the} was killed on either side, though great quantities of powder ^{French} and ball were expended. At last, in the month of *March*, ^{and} *Loubois* arrived at the ancient *French* settlement amongst the *Chaftaws*, *Natches*. *Du Pratz* accounts for the late arrival of both armies by the *Chaftaws* having their provisions to prepare; their being loaded with their beds, their arms, and ammunition; and their being obliged to hunt for subsistence, during a march of three hundred miles, which many of them performed unwillingly, and therefore slowly. *Loubois*, on the other hand, though he had but a march of ten leagues to make, could not carry his heavy artillery by land, and the distance by water was almost twenty leagues; and he found great difficulty to transport his field pieces, even in that manner. The *French* army remained encamped under the ruins of their old settlement for five days, and were three days in marching from that to the *Natches* fort, though the distance was but one league, because they were obliged by force of arms to drag their artillery along with them; but, at last, the trenches were opened. Some days after, the *Natches* made so sudden and so brisk a sally, that they drove the *French* out of their trenches¹. It is somewhat surprizing, that, when four pieces of cannon were mounted on their batteries, the *French* could make no impression upon the *Natches* fort. *Charlevoix* attributes this to the unskilful management of their artillery; but *du Pratz*, to the construction of the fort, which seems to have been formed of large massy piles or rafters of wood. The *Natches*, on the other hand, had drawn four cannons from the ruined fort of *Rosalia*, but not knowing how to use them, they did them little or no service. If we are to believe *Charlevoix*, the *French* offered terms to the barbarians, if they would surrender, and they had upon their batteries seven pieces of cannon. Be this as it will, they certainly were but poorly provided with cannoneers, not a soul in their army knowing any thing of gunnery, excepting a serjeant. This fellow, perceiving that the cannon had not beat down a single beam of the fort, filled his own pockets, and those of another soldier, with hand-grenades, which they proposed to throw over the palliades; but *Loubois*, hearing of their intention, countermanded

¹ DU PRATZ *histoire de la Louisiane*. Tom. III. p. 287.
CHARLEVOIX, Tom. IV. p. 265.

them, for fear of bad consequences (F) to the *French* women-prisoners.

ALL this while the *Chactaws* proved extremely troublesome to the *French*, and behaved rather like tyrants than allies. They had been made to believe that the siege could not last eight hours, after the heavy artillery was brought up; but seeing the small progress made in it, they were greatly chagrined, and took every opportunity of gratifying their insolence and avarice, without contributing in the least to the advantage of the siege, though arms and ammunition had been distributed amongst them for that purpose. On the 15th of *February* the *French* interpreter, one *du Parc*, had orders to advance with a pair of *French* colours in his hand, and again to summon the fort to surrender. Coming near enough to be heard, he began his speech, telling them that they might yet purchase their peace by giving liberty to their slaves and negroes. All the answer he received was a discharge of musketry, which made him drop his colours, and trust to his heels. The taking a pair of *French* colours would have been more than a triumph to the savages, and they resolved, in all events, to attempt it under the favour of a sally from the opposite side of the fort. Some *French* slaves happening to be near one of the gates of the fort, which was thereby left unguarded, took that opportunity of making their escape to the *French* camp, which they reached, notwithstanding a shower of bullets was sent after them. This incident somewhat retarded the sally; but the colours must have fallen into the hands of the barbarians, had it not been for the courage and activity of a *French* soldier, nicknamed, for his diminutive size, the little *Parisian*, who brought them off; and, upon presenting them to *Loubois*, was rewarded with a serjeant's halbert. This languid state of the siege against a barbarous enemy, evinces that some of the *French* officers, who were in the secret of their commander's murderous instructions, and the *French* soldiers, in general, were shocked in prosecuting their bloody orders. The following extract of a letter, which *de Perrier* sent to his court, is a full proof of this. "If the opening the trenches, says he, has been long deferred, the delay has been occasioned by the untowardly disposition of the soldiers, and some other *Frenchmen*, who have thereby prevented the utter destruction of the *Natchez*."

(F) We can by no means see while the *French* were battering the propriety of this reason, the fort with their great guns. which is given by *du Pratz*,

THE

THE infernal fury with which the *Natches* continued to defend themselves, is scarcely to be paralleled in history. The *French* slave women, who made their escape, declared that they would not have attempted it had they not observed the enthusiastic resolution of the enemy, who left them nothing in view but a tragical death, which to them appeared inevitable. As to the *Natches*, they were so enraged at the escape of the women, that they murdered all their children with the most exquisite torments, and exposed their limbs upon the pallisades of the fort. This horrid spectacle contributed more than any other cause to their reduction; because it took from those *French*, who were their friends, all kind of tenderness towards them. On the 22^d the savages, to the number of three hundred, made a second sally by three different places on a post of the trenches, guarded by thirty men and two officers, who all of them took flight, not doubting of their enemy being joined by the *Chactaws*. The savages would have carried off the artillery of the post, had it not been for the valour of the chevalier *d'Artaquette*, who, attended by no more than five men, drove away the barbarians and re-established the post. By this time, the trenches were advanced so near the fort that the enemy began to be daunted. *Charlevoix* tells us, though *du Pratz* is silent as to that particular, that when the battery was finished the *French* general threatened to reduce the fort, and all within it to ashes, if the *Natches* did not set at liberty their prisoners; upon which the besieged immediately sent out madame *des Noyers* with their terms, to which no answer was given, and she remained with the *French*. *Du Pratz* only says, that upon advancing the trenches, the *Natches* gave over firing, and hoisted a flag as a sign that they wanted to parley. *They capitulate and* The *French* stopp'd their fire likewise, and soon after one *Ette Actal*, *outwit the* who had lived with *Bienville*, appeared from the fort, Com-French, ing before the general, he informed him, that the *Natches*, after holding many councils, had agreed to give up the *French* women and children, who were in their hands, on condition they were granted a durable peace, and were left in tranquillity in their own country, without being again molested or invaded. *Loubois's* reply was, that he could promise them in the name of all his nation a lasting peace as they desired; but that they must not only perform the conditions they had offered, but likewise release all the *Frenchmen*, whom they kept in slavery in the fort, together with all the negroes and negroesses, with their children of both sexes, who had belong-

ed to the *French*; that they should reduce their fort to ashes, and that as soon as the peace was concluded, and its conditions performed, the *French* and the *Chactaws* would separate and return home; with which answer *Ette Aital* returned to the fort. In the mean while, the chief of the *Chactaws* had a conference with the grand *Sun*, in which he earnestly exhorted him to surrender, his nation being so resolved upon continuing the siege, that rather than abandon it they would sow the lands round the fort for their maintenance. The *Natches*, on the other hand, reproached the *Chactaws* with their being as forward as they themselves were, in entering into the conspiracy against the *French*; nor could the *Chactaws* deny the charge. *Ette Aital*, upon his return, laid before the great *Sun* the *French* proposals; but (if we are to believe *Charlevoix*) they met with great difficulties; and the *Natches* stuck to their first proposition of delivering up the prisoners only, and that into the hands of the *Chactaws*; and that in the mean while the army and artillery should be drawn off to the banks of the river, otherwise they threatened to burn all their prisoners. *Loubois* knew them, or pretended to know them, too well to doubt the performance of their threats, and drew off accordingly; upon which, on the 25th, the prisoners were put into the hands of the *Chactaws*.

who vary
in their
accounts.

DU PRATZ says, that all the *French* conditions were accepted of, provided the *French* general promised not to enter the fort with his troops. Both historians are agreed, that it was not the intention of *Loubois* to suffer the *Natches* to escape; but when he came before it next morning he found it abandoned by every living creature, nothing left in it, but some bullets, old iron, and rags: a report which *du Pratz* ridicules, it being, he says, impossible for those savages to have removed in one night all their women, children, household furniture, bedding, arms, provisions, and the rich *French* merchandizes they were possessed of. We cannot, however, help thinking, that this removal might have been executing for several days by the assistance of some of the *Chactaws*, and even the *French* soldiers; but be that as it will, the fact is undoubted. *Loubois*, finding how matters were, seemed to be petrified with astonishment; and all he could do was to raise another fort on the banks of the river. Thus ended the military operations in this expedition; the relation of which contains many inconsistencies, the *French* not chusing to avow the real intention, which plainly appears to have been to have butchered the *Natches*, notwithstanding the capitulation. The reasons alledged publicly by *Perrier*, why *Loubois* finish-

ed an expedition of so great expectation and expence, by obtaining so poor an advantage as the release of a few prisoners, are. First, that he could not trust to his troops after the several proofs he had of their cowardice. Secondly, there was reason to believe that the *Chactaws* would betray the *French*. Thirdly, that the *Natches* had given out, that the *English* and *Chicachas* were on their march to deliver them. The *French*, during the siege, lost about fifteen men. About fifteen negroes fought very bravely, as did all the *Creoles* of the country, whose valour *Perrier* greatly extolled. Perhaps the cowardice attributed to the soldiers in this expedition arose from their humanity, and their detestation of their general's orders. Upon the whole, the *French Louisianians* seem, on this occasion, to have been the dupes (in more senses than one) of the *Chactaws*, who were unwilling to diminish their own importance with them, by exterminating the *Natches*.

THE *French* prisoners were all this while in the hands of *The Chactaws*, who, when required, refused to deliver them up without an exorbitant ransom. *Loubois* found it in vain to reason with a people so insatiably avaricious as they were, and offered them a reasonable sum. This was refused; and a battle must have ensued had it not been for the interposition of the chief of the *Tonicas*, who was greatly respected by all the savages, and persuaded the *Chactaws* to accept of the sum offered them, and to deliver up the prisoners, which at last they did. When the payment came to be made, the *French* found means to put it off till next day, but during the night sent off all the women by water. Next morning, the *Chactaws* were given to understand, that it was impossible to raise the money and goods for their payment there, and that they must wait for it till the army returned to *New Orleans*. The savages returned no answer, but would have forced the women from the *French*, had they not been gone, and they detained a young *Frenchman*, and some negro slaves, who had been put into their hands by way of hostages. This affair being finished, *Loubois* began to build his new fort, the command of which, according to *Charlevoix*, was given to the chevalier *d'Artaguet*, but according to *du Pratz*, to the baron *du Crenet*, with a garrison of one hundred and twenty men, cannon and ammunition. After this, the army returned to *New Orleans*, as did the *Chactaws*, the *Tonicas*, and the other savages in alliance with the *French* to their several countries.

WHEN the *French* women, who had been released arrived at *New Orleans*, they were in a deplorable condition. They had been in the hands of the *Natches* and *Chactaws*, and were now in the hands of the *Chactaws*.

had been stript of their all, and fatigue and famine were painted in their countenances; but great care was taken to cloath and recover them by *M. de la Chaise*, the commissary, of *New Orleans*. Mean while the old fort of the *Natches* was demolished, and all its pallisades burnt. *De Pratz* is of opinion, that the dread of the *Chaftaws* was the true reason which induced the *Natches* to march out of their fort in the clandestine manner they did: but it appears sufficiently from his own testimony, that without the assistance of some of the *Chaftaws* they could not have carried their design into effect; though, according to all accounts, the *Chaftaws* were the most detestable of all the *American* savages. The hatred which
for what. *Charlevoix* discovers towards the *Natches* is easily accounted for by the following story he relates. Some time before the *Chaftaws* openly declared themselves for the *French*, they sent a deputation to the *Natches* to endeavour to bring them into some accommodation with the *French*, and the deputies were received in the following manner. They themselves and their horses were adorned with the chaufibles, and the other ornaments of the altar of the *French* chapel that had been destroyed, many of them carried the pattens, depending from their necks, while others were drinking brandy out of the consecrated cups and chalices. In short, they put every thing they found in the chapel to the most profane and sacrilegious uses. This gave great pleasure to the *Chaftaws*, who afterwards became masters of the same utensils, and employed them to the like impious purposes. In short, the *Chaftaws*, as well as the *Natches*, were always detestable in the eyes of the *French*, notwithstanding all the services they did them; and the character they bear from a missionary in one of his letters, is in the following terms. “Never in *America* have yet been seen savages more insolent, fierce, disgusting, importunate and insatiable than the *Chaftaws*.”

Negroes
 tortured.

NOTWITHSTANDING this character, which perhaps was a very true one, the *French* found themselves under a necessity of keeping fair with those monsters of nature. The *Natches*, far from being destroyed, lived to be more irreconcilable enemies to them than ever; and there was no room to doubt, that, desperate as their condition was, they would leave nothing unattempted by themselves or their allies to be revenged for the loss of their country. Add to this, that the *Chicachas* had not yet declared themselves: but it was well known they were the authors of the conspiracy, and that they would be supported powerfully by the *English*, whenever they should avow their enmity to the *French*. Such is the opinion of *Charlevoix*: but it seems to be founded only

on

on the unfavourable prepossessions he all along discovers against the *English*; for the connexions at this time between the two courts in *Europe* wore so great, that no governor nor subject belonging to the *English* in *America* durst have ventured to have abetted the *Chicachas*, or any other savage nation, against the *French*. Amongst the negroes, recovered from the *Natches*, were some who had fought against the *French*, who were immediately executed; but the three who were most guilty, were delivered over to the *Chaetaws*, who burnt them with such exquisite torments, as to encrease the horrors of the other negroes at the savages, and to render them more docile to the *French*. As to the *Yajous*, the *Corrois*, and the *Tioux*, they were still more unfortunate than the *Natches*; for the *Akanfas* fell upon them; and massacred them in such a manner that of the two first nations only fifteen remained alive, and they joined with the *Natches*; but every living soul of the *Tioux* was murdered.

ABOUT this time the secret practices of the *Chicachas* began to appear. They had in vain solicited the *Akanfas*, the *Tonicas*, and the *Illinois*, to join them in their conspiracy, and no sooner did the *Illinois* hear of the *Natches* and *Yajous* massacres, than two companies of the *Mitchigamias* and *Kaskaskias*, both of them *Illinois* tribes, headed by two of their chiefs, arrived at *New Orleans* to bewail the missionaries, who had been massacred, and to offer to the *French* governor all the assistance that was in their power to give him. *Perrier* gave them audience with great state, and their behaviour at *New Orleans* is said to have been remarkably sober and regular, an uncommon circumstance, even amongst Christian savages, as the *Illinois* pretended to be. Upon taking leave of *Perrier* they promised him that they would take care of their own country, and all the upper part of the *Mississippi*. After this, *Perrier* pretended he had advice, that the *English* had solicited the *Chaetaws* with considerable presents to declare against the *French*, and he informed his court that he could not stand his ground without new reinforcements: he added, that it cost more to keep these savages in employment than would maintain all his troops. That they were so capricious, inconstant, and whimsical, it was unsafe to have any dependence upon them; that persuaded as they were of their being necessary to the *French*, the most petty nation amongst them believed themselves to be the safeguards and bulwarks of the colony. That the forces necessary to be sent for its support might be gradually diminished, as the *Creoles* grew up, and were trained; and that, in process of time, great numbers of the savages seeing that the *French* had

The
Natches
continue
their in-
cursons.

no

no farther occasion for them, would declare in their favour. *Perrier* had but too just grounds for those representations. The *Natches* still continued their incursions and massacres, and six of them, pretending to be *Chahtaws*, from whom they could not be distinguished, were admitted into the new fort. For some time they walked about; but perceiving the entry to be guarded by a single centinel, and that no more than four soldiers, and those asleep, were upon guard, they instantly killed the centinel, and they attacked the main-guard. The soldiers were alarmed, and taking to their arms, they killed five of the *Natches*, and made a prisoner of the sixth, whom they put to death by burning upon the frame. Of the *French*, five were killed. About the same time, a party of the *Tonicas* having taken captive a female *Natche*, whom they brought to *New Orleans*, she was put into their hands by order of *Perrier*, and they burnt her upon the frame (G), in order, as they said, to shew the *French* how they put their enemies to death. It is almost incredible that this wretch suffered her torments, the most excruciating that can be conceived, without venting a groan, or shedding a tear, nothing escaping from her, but predictions of the punishment of her tormentors, which afterwards happened, as will appear by the sequel.

SOON after a *French* woman, who heard some discharges of musketry in a wood, alarmed the whole colony, as if it had been on the point of being invaded by the savages, and *Perrier* ordered his troops under arms, while a strong detachment was sent out to reconnoitre the enemy. The women of the colony took refuge, some in the church, and others on board a vessel that lay in the road; and all the *French* had notice to be upon their guard; but the detachment, after the strictest search, returned without discovering any enemy, and dissipated the fears of the settlers. Notwithstanding this, the *Natches* murdered nine *Frenchmen* and eighteen negroes; so that *Perrier* began to consider, that the *French* must either abandon the colony, or the *Natches* be exterminated. Before he proceeded farther he found himself under a necessity to detach the *Chahtaws* from the *English*, and he appointed their chiefs to give him the meeting at the *Mobile* fort, to which he repaired. On his landing there, he found the *Chahtaw* chiefs waiting for him, and was agreeably surprized to meet

(G) The original has it, *ils la mirent au cadre*. This cadre was four sticks tied together at right angles; to two of which the sufferers hands were extended, and to the other his feet, and in this condition they were consumed by a slow fire.

amongst them the grand chief of the *Caouitas*, a nation in great friendship with the *English*, and a *Chicacha* chief. By this time reinforcements had come from *France* to *New Orleans*, and *Perrier*'s first care was to inform himself minutely as to the effect which that news had upon the savages. He was told, that at first being conscious that they had merited the resentment of the *French*, they had refused to meet in a general assembly; but that they had been persuaded to it by the chiefs of the western *Chaftaws*. It was the 27th of *Octo-* Negotiations of Perrier with the savages.
ber before *Perrier* came to the *Mobile* fort, and on the 28th his negotiation opened with a vast number of speeches on the part of the *Chaftaws*, who professed the most inviolable attachment to the *French* king, and very artfully insinuated, that the wisest course the *French* could pursue would be to forget all that had passed, and to live in good correspondence together for the time to come. *Perrier* agreed to this; but talked seriously with them upon the negroes, whom they had taken from the *Natches*, and still detained without sending them, according to promise, to the colony. Their answer was, that they always had intended to send them, but that their masters must send for them, because several of them had been murdered in attempting to return.

NOTWITHSTANDING the differences between the eastern and the western *Chaftaws* seemed now to be made up, yet *Perrier* perceiving still some jealousies lurking amongst them, he suggested to the western part, who were friends to the *French*, the necessity of their having a chief as well as the eastern; adding, that he had cast his eye for that purpose upon the head of the *Castachas*, who was a man of family, wisdom, and courage (H). The savages unanimously accepted of this nomination, and *Perrier* dignified the work of his own hands with the superb title of emperor of the *Caouitas*; besides making him handsome presents. The new made emperor, on his part, devoted his life to the service of the *French*, and acknowledged their friendship, professing, that if the *English* thought as they, all the nations would be more happy. But before we proceed farther, it is absolutely necessary to give our readers some idea of the *Louisianian* savages; especially as they are now become subjects of *Great Britain*, which we shall do from *du Pratz*, who is incomparably the best authority on that subject.

AT the time *America* was discovered by *Columbus*, its continent probably, as well as its islands, was as well peopled as

Account of the natives

(H) We have given this fact reader will soon find great reason to doubt of its truth.

any

any part of the globe. That discovery was the epocha of destruction to the *Americans* in general. Besides the infernal cruelty of the *Spaniards*, millions of the natives, unwilling to survive the liberties of their country, or the deaths of their sovereigns, devoted themselves to death. As to the northern savages, two or three warlike nations amongst them spread the like desolation over their neighbours about the same fatal period. The *Chicachas* not only destroyed their neighbours, but carried their ravages, above five hundred and forty miles from their own country, into *New Mexico*, where they exterminated the natives. The *Iroquois* did the same towards the east of *Louisiana*, and their example was followed by the *Paddoucas*, and other people towards the west, to the mutual depopulation of the conquering, as well as the vanquished, countries. Besides the sword, two diseases swept off infinite numbers of the natives, the small-pox, and, what we generally call, coughs or defluxions, for both which the natives have scarce any remedy, though they have for almost all other disorders. Their manner of living, a whole family being stewed up all together in one cabin, communicates the disease to the whole; and many of the savages chuse rather to die than to outlive the beauty of their faces, which the small-pox destroys. Their colds become fatal, for the same reason, as the smallest air affects them, after living for some time shut up within a close cabin with a fire.

The Apalaches,

THE savages, who lie to the east of *Louisiana*, were the first that were known to the *Europeans*, and their nations are but few in number, compared to what they once were. The *Apalaches*, the most easterly of all the *Louisianian* savages, are no other than a portion of the great nation of *Apalaches*, inhabiting the *Apalachean* mountains, which the *French* absurdly pretended ought to be the boundaries between their possessions, and that of the *English* in *North America*. How they came to stray to such a distance as to come into the neighbourhood of the *Mobile*, is not easily accounted for; but they are only few in number, and many of them are catholics.

Alibamons,

Towards the north of the *Apalaches* are the *Alibamons*, a nation, which, according to *du Pratz*, inclines rather to the *French* than the *English*, but were neglected by the former on account of their distance, when they settled upon the borders of the *Mississippi*. It is therefore probable, that a small degree of management and good usage may bring them entirely over to the *English*. Towards the east of the *Alibamons* lie the *Caouitas*. *M. du Pratz* informs us, that *Bienville*, before *Perrier*, created an emperor of the *Caouitas*; but

Caouitas,

that they nobly rejected his nomination, saying that they had

had no idea of an emperor, who was created by, and depended on, another people; and that they would rather be destroyed by a great nation than obey it. How they came to fall from those generous sentiments by recognizing the emperor, whom *Perrier* gave them, cannot be easily accounted for. The *Caouitas* and the *English*, even when the *French* were most powerful in *Louisiana*, traded together. To the north of the *Alibamons* are the *Abeikas* and the *Conchacs*, *Abeikas*, who probably are the same people. They lie at a distance *Conchacs*. from the large rivers, and therefore few great reeds or canes grow upon their lands; but they have a small cane of a finger's thickness, which is so hard, that when split it cuts like a knife, and it is therefore called *Conchat*, which is a *Chicacha* word, the language made use of by those savages. To the east of the *Abeikas* lie the *Cherokees*, who, of late, have become so famous in *England*. They were the bulwarks of *Cherokees*. the *Apalachean* savages against the inroads of the *Iroquois*, and had credit enough to form a confederacy against them amongst the other savages we have named, which, for a long time, preserved their country in a state of tolerable tranquillity. All those savages are the most free and independent of any in *America*, and it is to be lamented, that so little care has been taken on the part of *Great Britain* to reconcile them, if not to her allegiance, to her interests.

IN describing the other savages of *Louisiana* we are to take for our guide the river *Mobile* on both its sides, beginning from its mouth, and proceeding upwards. The tribe that lies nearest the sea is the *Chatots*, an inconsiderable, but in- *Chatots*. offensive people, most of them professing to be catholics. Proceeding northwards lies fort *Lewis*, and to the north of that live the *Thomez*, a pliable, servile kind of a people, but like- *Thomez*. wise very inconsiderable, and catholics. To the north of them lie *Taensas*, composed of no more than about one hundred cabins or families. This nation is a branch of the *Natches*, and preserve with great assiduity the eternal fire which they commit to the custody of men, for this very singular reason, because their women would not submit to sacrifice their liberty in preserving it. The *Mobilians* are the people that lie towards the mouth of the river *Mobile* or *Movill*. All the nations we have named are tractable and peaceable; for each separately is too inconsiderable to be otherwise. All of them use the language of the *Chicachas*, who therefore acknowledge them to be their brothers. Towards the sea, and to the west of the *Mobile*, lie the *Pachca-Ogoulas*, or the na- *Pachca-* tion of bread, whom we commonly call *Pensacolas*. This *Ogoulas*. people is situated upon a bay of that name. They compose a

MOD. HIST. VOL. XL.

Z

small

small village, and the *French Canadians* live amongst them as the same people, but they are so peaceable, that they have no idea of war, neither have they a warrior in all their village. Proceeding up the *Mobile*, between that and *Pensacola* river, **Chaetaws.** lie the *Chaetaws*, or the flat-heads, the most numerous of all the savage nations in *Louisiana*, as they are able to muster 25,000 warriors; a stupendous number for a nation of *American* natives. Two circumstances contribute to their being so populous; the first is, that being a homely people in the features and lineaments they are no way uneasy about surviving the effects of the small-pox; a disease which they suffer with great indifference. The next reason is their pacific disposition, which preserves them from the ravages of war; so that their astonishing encrease gives rise to a proverb amongst the neighbouring savages, that they spring out of the ground. We are told by *du Pratz*, that on their arrival in *Louisiana* they settled in the country where they live, without any dispute about the possession of it, and their vast numbers kept them from being molested, by deterring their neighbours from making any experiment of their valour. Our reader may know more of their character from the preceding part of this history. The *Chaetaws* lie about eighty leagues to the northward of the sea, and their country lies more from east to west than from south to north. The direct distance between the *Chaetaws* and the *Chicachas*, who lie to the north, is but about sixty leagues: but the road is almost impassable by the mountains that interpose, though the country is beautiful in keeping along the side of the *Mobile*. The *Chicachas* are a warlike people, their persons strong and well made, and their features regular. They appear at present to be the remains of a once powerful and numerous nation, which appears from the universality of their language amongst most of the *Louisianian* savages; and which the *French* term the **Colapissas** *Mobilian* tongue. The nation of the *Colapissas* or the *Aquelou pissas*, which signifies the people, who hear and see, live near *New Orleans*, but are of little or no consequence, and the *French* have very little communication with them. About twenty leagues from *New Orleans* lie the *Oumas*, or the red nation, who were almost exterminated at the first settlement of the *French* at *New Orleans*, by their immoderate use of brandy. The next nation that falls in our way are the **Tonicas.** *Tonicas*, who have been always remarkably devoted to the *French*. They had been once a powerful people, and the *French* king, as an acknowledgment of their services, sent their chief a brevet to be brigadier of the armies of the red nations, with a silver medal hanging at a blue ribbon, and a gold

gold headed cane ; all which he wore as marks of the highest distinction. This nation speaks a different language from the others, and make no use of the letter (R), which they never pronounce.

THE *Natches*, whom we have had occasion so often to mention, lie the next in order. In the year 1720, they were situated upon the little river which bears their name. There is, according to our authors, somewhat venerable in their original, and indeed their preserving the eternal fire, with many other oriental usages, that prevailed amongst them, gives great room for speculation. In their original state their chief village, which was the residence of their grand *Sun*, lay upon the river, as their smaller villages did round it, and within a mile of the demolished fort of *Rosalie*. Amongst the *Natches* lived a foreign nation, called the *Grisgras*, so named by the *French*, from their frequent repetition of the letter (R), and likewise the remains of the *Thioux*, once a powerful people, but almost exterminated by the *Chicaws*, with whom they were perpetually at war. According to tradition the *Natches* were formerly by far the most respectable people in all *North America*, and were acknowledged by all the other nations of it, as their superiors and directors. They occupied all the territory from *Manchac*, which lies within fifty leagues of the sea, to the river *Wabash*, an immense tract of country, part of that river lying about four hundred and sixty leagues from the sea. They had no fewer than five hundred *Suns* or princes, each of whom was despotic. The fatal eastern notions, though it is impossible to account by what means, prevailed amongst them, and a grand *Sun* never died but he was attended to his tomb by great numbers of his subjects, who were murdered, and the same funeral rites were paid upon the decease, even of a common *Sun*, or the son of the great *Sun*. Such was the infatuation of the people, that they sought death on those occasions, as being the means of happiness; for they thought that when they perished with their *Sun*, there was an end of their misery, and the commencement of their happiness. This depopulating barbarity, had there been no other cause, was sufficient to have thinned the most populous nation; but the calamity was increased by war. Their chiefs being independent each on the other, often quarrelled, and their power was so absolute, that a word or a nod, was sufficient to doom any number of their subjects to death, which was instantly inflicted by their *alouez* or guards. But the most extraordinary circumstance of this remarkable people, was, that fundamentally their government was female, as the reader will find by the annexed

Z 2

note.

note (I) ; the multiplication of their princes or *Suns* served only for their destruction. *Garcilasso de la Vega*, the *Spanish*

(I) The grand chief of the *Natches* bears the name of *Sun*, and, as among the *Hurons*, the son of his nearest female relations always succeeds him. This person has the quality of woman chief, and great honours are paid her, though she seldom meddles in affairs of government. She has, as well as the chief himself, the power of life and death, and it is an usual thing for them to order their guards, whom they call *Alloux*, to dispatch any one who has the misfortune to be obnoxious to either. *Go rid me of this dog*, say they, and they are instantly obeyed. Their subjects, and even their chiefs of their villages, never come into their presence without saluting them thrice, and raising a cry, or rather a sort of howling. They do the same thing when they withdraw, and always retire going backwards. When they meet them they are obliged to stop, range themselves in order on the road, and howl in the manner abovementioned till they are past. They are likewise obliged to carry them the best of their harvest, and of the product of their hunting and fishing. In fine, no one, not even their nearest relations, and those who compose their nobility, when they have the honour to eat with them, have a right to drink out of the same cup, or put their hands in the same dish.

Every morning, as soon as the sun appears, the grand chief stands at the door of his cabin,

turns his face towards the east, and howls thrice, prostrating himself to the ground at the same time. A calumet is afterwards brought him, which is never used but upon this occasion ; he smokes, and blows the tobacco first towards the sun, and then towards the other three quarters of the world. He acknowledges no master but the sun, from whom he pretends he derives his origin. He exercises an absolute power over his subjects, whose lives and goods are entirely at his disposal, and they can demand no payment for any labour he requires of them.

When the grand chief, or the woman chief, dies, all the *Alloux* are obliged to follow them to the other world, nor are they the only persons who have this honour ; for it is certainly reckoned one, and as such, greatly sought after. The death of a chief has been sometimes known to cost the lives of above one hundred persons, and I have been told there are few *Natches* of any considerable note, who die without being attended to the country of souls, by some of their relations, friends, or servants. It appears from the different relations I have seen of these horrible ceremonies, that there is much variation in them. Here follows an account of the obsequies of a woman chief, which I had from a traveller, who was an eye-witness of it, and on whose sincerity I have good reason to depend.

The

nib historian, mentions them as being in his time, (though then they were greatly reduced) a very powerful nation. In the

The husband of this woman not being noble, that is to say, of the family of the *Sun*, his eldest son, according to custom, strangled him. Afterwards every thing was taken out of the cabin, and a sort of triumphant car was erected of it, on which were placed the body of the deceased and that of her husband. Immediately after, twelve little children, whom their parents had strangled, by order of the eldest son of the woman-chief, who succeeded to her dignity, were laid around the carcases. This done, they erected in the public square fourteen scaffolds, adorned with branches of trees and stuffs, on which were painted various figures. Those scaffolds were designed for an equal number of persons, who were to attend the woman-chief to the other world. Their relations stood around them, looking upon the permission given, to sacrifice themselves in this manner, as the greatest honour that could be done to their families. They are sometimes ten years in soliciting this favour before hand, and those who obtain it are obliged to spin the cord themselves, with which they are to be strangled.

They appeared on the scaffold, dressed in their richest habits, each having a large shell in his right hand. Their nearest relation stood on the same hand, having a battle-ax in his left, and the cord which is to do the execution under his left arm. From time to time, he sings the death-cry, at which the fourteen victims

come down from the scaffolds, and dance all together in the square before the temple, and the cabin of the woman-chief. This and the following days, great respect is paid them, each has five domestics to attend him, and their faces are painted red. Some add, that during the eight days preceding their death, they wear a red ribband on their leg, and that all that time every one is solicitous to regale them. Be this as it will, at the time I am now speaking of, the fathers and mothers of the strangled children took them in their arms, and disposed themselves on each side of the cabin, the fourteen destined to die, placed themselves in the same manner, and were followed by the friends and relations of the deceased, who had all their hair cut off, which is their way of mourning; all this time, they made the air resound with such frightful cries, that one would have thought all the devils in hell had broke loose, in order to come to howl in this place: this was followed with dances and songs; those who were to die danced, and the relations of the woman-chief sung.

At last the procession began. The fathers and mothers carrying their dead children appeared first, walking two and two, and went immediately before the litter, in which was the corpse of the woman chief, carried on the shoulders of four men. The rest followed in the same order. At every ten paces the children were thrown upon

the beginning of the present century they could have brought five or six thousand warriors into the field; but before their destruction by the *French*, they, the *Grifgras* and the *Thioux*, we are told by *du Pratz*, could not muster above 1200. Notwithstanding the barbarous, stupid, attachment of those people to their chiefs, it is certain that many of their *Suns* were en-

the ground, those, who carried the litter trampling upon them, so that when the procession arrived at the temple, their little bodies were quite torn to pieces.

While they were interring the corpse of the woman-chief in the temple, the fourteen persons destined to die were undressed, and seated on the ground before the gate, having each two *Indians* about him, one seated on his knees, and the other holding his hands behind him. The cords were passed round their necks, their heads were covered with the skin of a roe-buck, and after being made to swallow three pieces of tobacco, and to drink a glass of water, the relations of the woman-chief, who sung all the time, drew the cords at each end till they were strangled. After which all the carcasses were thrown together into a ditch, and covered with earth.

When the grand chief dies, his nurse, if still alive, must die likewise. But it has often happened, that the *French* not being able to prevent this barbarity, have obtained leave to baptize the children who were to be strangled, and thus have prevented their accompanying those in whose honour they were strangled, to their pretended paradise.

I know no nation on the continent, where the sex is more disorderly than in this. They are even forced by the grand chief and his subalterns, to pro-

stitute themselves to all comers, and a woman is not the less esteemed for being public. Though polygamy is permitted, and the number of wives which a man may have is unlimited, yet every one for the most part contents himself with one, whom he may divorce at pleasure; but this, however, is a liberty never used by any but the chiefs. The women are tolerably well-looking for savages, and neat enough in their dress, and every thing belonging to them. The daughters of a noble family are allowed to marry none but private men; but they have a right to turn away their husbands when they think proper, and marry another, provided there is no alliance between them.

If their husbands are unfaithful to them, they may cause them to be put to death, but are not subject to the same law themselves: on the contrary, they may entertain as many gallants as they please, without the husband's daring to take it amiss, this being a privilege attached to the blood of the *Sun*. He stands in a respectful posture, in the presence of his wife, never eats with her, salutes her in the same manner as the rest of her domestics, and all the privilege which this burthenfome alliance procures him, is an exemption from travel, and some authority over his wife's servants.

dowed

dowed with principles of moderation and humanity, and withdrew from their community, and are now to be found dispersed through different parts of *America*; but are easily known to be the offspring of *Natches*, by their preserving the eternal fire, and other *Natche* customs.

FORTY leagues north of the *Natches*, on the east of the *Mississippi*, lie the river and country or the *Yasous*, which *Yasous* contain not above one hundred families. Adjacent to them lie the *Coroas*, *Chaëchi-Oumas*, *Oufë-Oumas*, and the *Ta-Coroas*; *pouffas*; all of them inconsiderable people, and chiefly distinguished by their pronouncing and not pronouncing the letter, (R). After the *Natches* massacre all those little tribes united themselves under the *Chicachas*. Towards the north of the river *Wabash* lie the *Illinois*, whom we have so often mentioned, *Illinois* on the banks of a river, which carries their name. They are distinguished into the *Tamaroas*, the *Caskaquias*, the *Caouquias*, the *Pimiteouis*, and several other tribes. Near the *Tamara* village was a settlement of *French Canadians*, and one of the most considerable amongst all the savage nations. In general the *Illinois* were always attached to the *French*, who protected them against the *Sioux*, the *Iroquois*, and their other enemies; and, though far from being destitute of courage, they were very peaceably disposed. They are one of the nations who do not pronounce the letter (R). To the north of the *Illinois* lie the *Renards* or the foxes, whom the *French Renards* were at war with for forty years. Between the *Renards* and the fall of *St. Anthony*, there is a space of almost three hundred miles, uninhabited by any nation; but next to that lie the *Sioux*, a people, who are hitherto very little known in *Europe*, whatever travellers may pretend. It is agreed, however, on all hands, that they are dispersed amongst a vast number of villages both towards the east and the west of *Mississippi* river.

WE now come to objects of infinite concern to *Great Britain*; the inhabitants on the west of the *Mississippi*, who remain free, unsubdued, and unconnected, so far as we know, with any other people. The first are the *Tchaouachas* *Tchaoua* and the *Ouachas*, different tribes of the same nation. The *chag*. *Tchitimachas* were of the *Natches* nation, and formerly a considerable people, inhabiting the borders of the lakes, towards *Ouachas* the north of the *Tchaouachas*. They are extremely pacific, *Tchitimachas* and so contented with their own condition, that rather than have their tranquillity broken, they abandoned all the advantages they could have expected from the protection of the *French*. One of them happened to kill a *French* missionary, for which the *French* made war upon them; but at last, up-

Atac-
Apas.

on the *Tchitimachas* sending to them the head of the murderer, they obtained peace. On the sea-side towards the west lie the *Atac-Apas*, or the man-eaters, so called from their detestable custom of devouring their own species. They are very little conversant with any of the *Europeans*, and eat all the foreigners who have the misfortune to fall into their hands. *Du Pratz*, in mentioning this people, informs us of the following circumstance.

Adventure
of a French
officer.

THE governor of *Louisiana* having occasion to send a dispatch to the west of the mouth of the *Mississippi*, understanding that a ship from *France* had arrived in that river, sent an order, by a brigantine, to require an officer, with a small detachment, to come a-shore. The captain of this brigantine was attended by a *Canadian*, one *Charleville*, who was thoroughly instructed in all the ways of the savages, and who formerly had attempted to find out the source of the *Mississippi*, but was prevented from pursuing his enterprize by the *Sioux*. The officer and a serjeant, with the detachment, were put ashore at *St. Bernard's bay*, where they found the country so inviting, that they resolved to take the diversion of hunting against the sentiments of *Charleville*. The captain of the brigantine advised *Belleisle*, for that was the name of the officer who landed, not to separate himself and his company a great way from the ship, and to return early in the evening; if they did not, the master of the ship was to fire a musket to inform them where he lay, and a cannon if they delayed: but that cannon shot was to be signal to them, that he would set sail two hours after they heard it. The heedless hunters plunged into the woods, but the wind being contrary, the musket shots, which were discharged from the brigantine, seemed to come from a quarter opposite to that from which they were discharged, and rambling about they passed the night in the wood; next day a cannon was fired on board the brigantine, which, two hours after, set sail, as no person appeared. The hunters were then entirely destitute, and found themselves not only without any habitation, but without the means of subsisting. *Charleville*, who had gone on shore with them, left them, and was never more heard of, and the serjeant of the company perished with hunger. *Belleisle*, who was active and vigorous, when, on the point of starving with hunger, saw a rat, which he immediately devoured; and soon after, having a charge of powder left, he shot a kid, but the noise brought down upon him the *Atac-Apas*, who have a peculiar dexterity in surprizing their human prey. *Belleisle* endeavoured to make some resistance, and made signals to the savages, that he had lost his way. *Du*

Pratz

Pratz observes on this occasion, that as soon as he saw them, he ought to have grounded his arms to intimate to them that he intended to make no use of them, and to have stretched forth his hand by way of saluting them; but, above all things, to have shewn an open, smiling countenance, which seldom or never fails to gain their friendship. *Belleisle*, by neglecting those precautions, continued for some months in slavery among them, but they did not devour him. At last, a nation inhabiting *New Mexico*, who had a vast regard for *St. Denys*, brought to the *Atac-Aspas*, a calumet of peace. *St. Denys* was then commandant of the *French* settlement among the *Natchitoches*, and their deputies, discovering *Belleisle* to be a *Frenchman*, resolved to save him, but without intimating his intentions to the *Atac-Aspas*. They behaved with so much secrecy, that unobserved they instructed *Belleisle* how to address himself to *St. Denys*, which he did in the following words, "I am a *Louisianian* officer, who was lost with *M. de Charleville*." Slipping this paper, which was wrote with materials of his own invention, unperceived into the hands of the friendly savages, they gave him by signs to understand, that he need give himself no farther trouble. In short, they sent two of their number, whom they pretended to the *Atac-Aspas*, to have been lost in the woods, to *St. Denys*, in the country of the *Natchitoches*; and that about the time, when they knew they would return, they met them in the woods. Their message from *St. Denys* was to bring the *French* officer along with them, or never to see his face again; and they accordingly appointed *Belleisle* to meet them in a certain wood, where they presented him with a letter from *St. Denys*, desiring him without making any question, to follow the two savages, whom we have mentioned, which he did, and thereby redeemed himself from a slavery, which otherwise might not have finished but with his life. *Du Pratz* says, that the *Atac-Aspas* were the only man-eaters in all *Louisiana*, and that some *French*, who frequented their country, had made such effectual representations upon the abominable practice of eating man's flesh, that they promised to leave it off.

THE *Bayoue-Ogoulas* inhabit a country which carries their name, but are a mixed people. The *Oqué-Louffas* are scarcely known to the *French*, even by name, and are so termed from their living on the borders of two lakes, the waters of which are black, through the great number of leaves that lodge in them. Between the *Oqué-Louffas* and the *Red River*, no people is to be found; but above the fall of that river, there is a small nation called the *Avoyels*. This people are remarkable

Natchico-
ches.

Cadoda-
quioux.

Ouachi-
tas.
Arkansas.

Kappas.
Mitchiga-
mias.

Osages.
Missouris.

remarkable for selling to the *French*, who were settled in *Louisiana*, horses, bullocks, and cows, at the price of about 18 s. sterling each. Those cattle were purchased from the *Spaniards* of *New Mexico*, who have such quantities of them, that they are glad to get rid of them; and they multiply prodigiously in the hands of the *French Louisianians*. About fifty leagues up the *Red River*, live the *Natchicoches*, who were always averse to the *Spaniards*, but friendly to the *French*. They consist of about two hundred families, dispersed up and down the river. About an hundred leagues above the confluence of the *Red River*, live the great nation of the *Cadodaquioux*, which branches out into a vast number of tribes. This nation, as well as the *Natchicoches*, has a particular language, or dialect of their own; and yet, in all their villages, people are found, who speak the *Chicacha* language, which they call their common tongue. Upon the *Black River*, lie the *Ouachitas*, who are now but few in number, having been mostly destroyed by the *Chicachas*. The *Arkansas* inhabit the borders of a river, that carries their own name. They are a very brave people, and excellent hunters. The *Chicachas* had often tried their valour, but always came off with the worst; especially after the *Kappas*, part of the *Illinois*, and the *Mitchigamias* joined them. They are all now blended into one nation. This happens often to be the case among the *American* savages. If a weak people should be at war with another double their force, the former needs but to take refuge under another people, with whom the more powerful nation is at peace, and, if they adopt them, they are safe. Near the *Missouri* river, there is a considerable nation called the *Osages*, which is said to have been formerly numerous. The *Missouris* give name to that river, though they live above forty leagues above its mouth. The *French* once had a post amongst the *Missouris*, which was commanded by the chevalier *de Bourmont*. This gentleman, after restoring a good understanding amongst all the neighbouring savages, who before were perpetually cutting one another's throats, happened to leave the garrison; and soon after it was destroyed by the natives, so completely, that not a *Frenchman* was left alive to give the least account of the catastrophe. It is surmised that the *Spaniards* had projected this massacre, in order to settle themselves among the *Missouris*, whose country lies not above forty leagues distant from that of the *Illinois*. Their real design was to have exterminated the *Missouris* likewise; but, finding that impracticable, they gained over, by the force of presents, the *Osages*, whom they endeavoured to employ in the destruction of the *Missouris*. With this view, they

they formed at *Santa Fe* a kind of caravan, or rather an ark, consisting of men, women, and soldiers. Their purser was a Jacobine, and their commander in chief an engineer; but his colony was furnished with cattle, and beasts of carriage of all kinds. Unfortunately for them, they knew so little of the place of their destination, that, instead of the country of the *Osages*, they landed in that of the *Missouris*, and their interpreter, not doubting their being amongst the *Osages*, told them they came to make an alliance with them in order to exterminate the *Missouris*. The grand chief of the *Missouris*, to whom this discourse was addressed, far from undeceiving the *Spaniards*, seemed to welcome them, and to promise himself and his nation vast benefits from their hopeful intention. He dissembled so well, that he persuaded his guests to remain with him for some days, till he could assemble his warriors, and consult with his elders. The *Spaniards* fixed a day for their departure to take possession of their new conquest; but, the night before, the *Missouris* cut the throats of them all, excepting the Jacobine, whom they perceived to be a man of prayer, and no warrior. Him they kept for some months prisoner, and diverted themselves by making him in fair weather ride on horseback; but in this, they outwitted themselves, for the Jacobine one day mounted his horse and got clear off. After his flight, the *Missouris* carried the ornaments of the Jacobine's chapel, which he had brought along with him, to sell in the *French Illinois*, and each as they entered that country, was fantastically adorned by some piece of plate or vestment belonging to the altar; but all of them arrived in solemn procession, singing the calumet, and capering the dance of peace. *Boisbriand* was then commandant of the *Illinois* post, and, hearing of the procession, he was at first much scandalized, as fearing, that the savages had butchered and robbed some *French* settlement; but, understanding how matters went, he was greatly pleased, and gave the savages merchandizes for the furniture of the chapel, which he sent to *Bienville*, the then *French* governor of *Louisiana*.

THE most considerable nations inhabiting the banks of the *Canchez*. *Missouris* river, besides the *Missouris* themselves, are the *Outhou-* *Canchez*, the *Outhouez*, and the *Osages*, the *White* and the *ez*. *Black Panis*, the *Panimahas*, the *Aiaouis*, and the *Padoucas*, *White and* who are the most numerous of them all, the others being but *Black* inconsiderable. To the north of all those people, lie the *Panis*. *Sioux*, who are wandering savages, inhabiting both sides of the *Panima-* *Mississippi*, and whose country extends farther than any *bas*. *European* has knowledge of. But we are now to prosecute *Aiaouis*. *Padoucas*. the

the thread of our history, and to attend the *Natches* to their extermination.

THE *Chicachas* remained still contumacious, and *Perrier* treated one of their chiefs with great haughtiness. He told him, that it depended entirely upon his countrymen themselves to live happy and tranquil, and that he would resume the tenderness of a father, as soon as they should return to the obedience of children. We mention this, to shew the manner in which the *French* affected to treat those savages. The *Chicacha* chief, without making any reply, eight days after, made an apology for himself and his nation, that ever since the *French* had withdrawn from trading with them, they had been persecuted by the other savages. *Perrier* said, that he could not answer for the *Canadian* savages; but that, as soon as they came to behave like good friends to the *French*, their persecutions would cease. As to the *Chaetaws*, he had a more difficult province to manage. The company still kept their merchandizes high, and they informed him, that they could purchase what they wanted from the *English*, at almost half price. *Perrier* was obliged to gratify them, to keep them from trading with the *English*; but, to convince them that he did not do this out of fear, he refused to employ them in the expedition he was then preparing against the *Natches*. This was no small mortification to the *Chaetaws*, especially as a reinforcement at this time arrived at *New Orleans*, under *Perrier de Salvart*, brother to the governor. This reinforcement was very seasonable, as the company had been very remiss in that respect, and the governor's troops were so few, that he was in no condition to undertake any thing of consequence: nor, indeed, was the reinforcement that arrived any ways adequate to his necessities.

A reinforcement
arrives
from
France.

THE *Natches*, by this time, assisted by some smaller tribes, had intrenched themselves in three forts, from whence they disturbed the navigation of the *Mississippi*, and rendered all the commerce of the *French* extremely precarious, which *Perrier* absurdly attributed to the private assistance given them by the *English*. The reinforcement thus falling so short of the governor's expectation, he was obliged to observe more gentleness towards the *Chaetaws*, than he proposed; and he even paid them a visit, that he might prevent their joining with the *English*, during his expedition against the *Natches*. Upon his return to *New Orleans*, he found his little army ready to begin its march. His first care was to send one *Coulonges*, a *Canadian* officer, to summon the *Akansas* to meet him at the new *French* fort, that had been built amongst the *Natches*;

Expedition
against the
Natches.

Natches; and he sent off another officer, one *Beaulieu*, to reconnoitre the situation of the enemy. It was the ninth of *December*, before *de Salvert* embarked with two hundred men, consisting of marines, volunteers, and sailors; and his brother, the governor, next day set out with one company of grenadiers, and two made up of volunteers and fusilleers: the whole amounting to two hundred men. The militia, under *M. de Benac*, consisted of one hundred and fifty men, so that the whole of the *French* force employed in this murderous expedition were five hundred. On the 20th of *December*, they were joined at *Bayagoulas* by a *Colapissa* chief, with about forty warriors of his nation. Next day *le Sueur* was detached in a kind of half-galley to sail up the *Red River*, that he might thereby enter the *Black River*, or the *Ouatchitas*, where the *Natches* were supposed to have their chief residence, about ten leagues above the place where it runs into the *Mississippi*. On the 22d, the army marched in three divisions from *Bayagoulas*; that on the right, consisting of marines, was commanded by *de Salvert*; the division on the left, which was composed of militia by *de Benac*, and the general, who had under him the best officers in the army, commanded the center. The negroes were disposed of in different boats, and the savages formed a separate body. Their march was retarded by dreadful storms and tempests, and by the overflowing of the river, which rendered the current so strong against them, that they found it almost impracticable to go up it.

On the 27th, the detachment that had been sent off under *Coulonges* and *Beaulieu* was attacked by the *Natches*. It consisted of twenty-four men, of whom sixteen were killed or wounded, *Beaulieu* being amongst the former, and *Coulonges* amongst the latter. This loss was rendered still heavier, by the *Akansas* returning home, upon their being disgusted at the slowness of the *French* motions; *Perrier* having made too long a stay amongst the *Tonicas*, besides committing some other unnecessary delays. His conduct was greatly blamed by the *Canadians*; but he defended it, by pretending that he could not trust the savages he had to deal with, by sending them to block up the *Natches*, which was the most important part of the expedition. Upon the 4th of *January*, 1731, one hundred and fifty savages of different nations joined the army. By this time, *Perrier* had detached *de Benac* to the *French Natches* fort, to make some discoveries, but he returned on the 9th, without gaining any intelligence. That same day, the savages, and fifty volunteers under *de Laye*, who commanded a company of militia, were detached in the van
of

1731.

Who shut
themselves
up in a
fort.

of the army to block up the *Natches*, as soon as they could be discovered ; but the savages were so backward to the service, that this detachment returned without effect. The governor, in proceeding up the *Red*, and entering the *Black River*, had taken all imaginable precautions to keep the knowledge of his march from the enemy ; but all was to no purpose, for the savages, who were under no discipline, fired at all the game they could see on either side of the river.

ON the 20th of *January*, *de Perrier* discovered the *Natches* fort to the west of the *Mississippi*, about sixty leagues above the mouth of the *Red River*^a. It was situated upon what was called *Silver Bay*, which ran into a small lake, at a little distance from the fort. Notwithstanding the disorders of the savages during the march, the approach of the *French* was not perceived, and they surprised and seized a *Natche* boy, who was fishing, and who, being carried before *Perrier*, upon promise of life and other encouragement, conducted them the nearest way to the *Natches* fort, which was immediately invested, and that too within such a distance, that the besieged and the besiegers could talk with one another. The first day passed in skirmishes ; but the artillery being landed and brought up, the *Natches* made a desperate sally and were repulsed. The fire continuing very hot upon the fort, the besieged hoisted a white flag, which was answered by another hoisted by *Perrier* at the head of his trenches, and soon after one of the *Natches* appeared with two calumets of peace in his hand. Being introduced to the general, he demanded peace, and offered to give up all the negroes belonging to the *French* in the fort. *Perrier* insisted upon the chief of the *Natches* appearing before him. The deputy told him they were afraid to suffer him, but that he might have a conference with the grand chief at the head of his trenches. *Perrier* ordered him to bring the negroes, and then he would return him an answer. The deputy, after a little time, came back, bringing with him eighteen negroes and a negress ; but he informed *Perrier*, that the *Sun* refused to come abroad, though he was willing to make peace, provided the *French* army would retire. In that case, he was to engage, that his nation never would commit any hostility against the *French*, but live peaceably upon the spot of their ancient habitation. *Perrier* answered, that he would hear of no terms, unless the chief should appear, and that, if he should be obliged to fire one cannon more, he would give no quarter, either to man, woman, or child. The deputy returned, and came back with

^a DU PRATZ, Vol. III. p. 318.

a *Natche*,

a *Natche*, one *St. Come*, who being son of the female *Sun*, was to succeed to the sunship. This *St. Come* had always lived in good correspondence with the *French*, and told *Perrier* that his countrymen having agreed to all his demands, they expected he would draw off his troops; and, at the same time, he made apologies for what had happened. *Perrier* refused to agree to any terms, unless the grand *Sun* should appear; that he would give him (*St. Come*) leave to return to the fort, but that he would fire upon any *Natche*, who durst appear again before him, on pretence of treating, except in company with the grand *Sun*. *St. Come* took his leave, but, in about half an hour after, he returned with the grand *Sun*, and another chief, who was termed the chief of the *Corn*, and who, in fact, was the great adviser of the *French* massacre; though *St. Come* wanted to conceal that circumstance, and to throw the blame upon another. Being conducted to the *French* head quarters, the grand *Sun* began a long apology for himself, in which he pretended, that he was too young to have any hand in the massacre of the *French*, and *St. Come* confirmed what he said. But the chief of the *Corn* behaved in a more surly manner; and *Perrier*, on pretence of inviting them to take shelter from a heavy rain that fell, put them all under a strict arrest, contrary to his faith, and the word of honour he had passed. He then ordered the *Tonica* chief, and the *Pointed Serpent*, who, it seems, was uncle to the grand *Sun*, but a friend of the *French*, to sift the prisoners, which they did without gaining any information from them. *Le Sueur* was one of the three officers who had the charge of the prisoners, and in the night-time, they attempted to escape; but the grand *Sun* and *St. Come* were stopped by *le Sueur*, while the chief of the *Corn* got off (K).

The grand Sun and their chiefs surrender themselves,

ACCORDING to *du Pratz*, who mentions nothing of the arrest of the grand *Sun* and his friends, a bomb fell into the middle of the fort, which did great execution upon the *Natche*'s women and children, and brought the men to offer to capitulate; but, during the night time, they endeavoured to break through the *French* camp, and to escape to the country of the *Chicachas*, as many of them actually did; but the rest were stopt by the dispositions made by *Perrier*. This scheme, according to *Charlevoix*, was laid by the chief of the *Corn*, who had escaped safe to the fort, and, at the head of

(K) *Charlevoix* and *du Pratz* differ so greatly in their relations of this black affair, that it is easy to perceive that the whole was a proceeding not to be avowed by any man, who pretends to common humanity.

and are
sent into
slavery.

a few friends, bravely fought his way through the *French* to the country of the *Chicachas*. This being reported to the grand *Sun*, he disowned all that had been done by the chief of the *Corn*, and pretended that he had usurped his authority. Towards night, *Perrier* required the grand *Sun* to send his order to all his subjects to march out of the fort without arms, with their wives and children. The chief complied, and accordingly sent the order; but they unanimously refused to obey it. Next day, his wife, with her brother and some domestics, arrived in the *French* camp, and she was politely received by *Perrier*, on account of the good offices she had done to the *French* female prisoners. As he had a great desire to get into his hands the person of the she-chief, who has more power among the *Natches*, than the grand *Sun* himself, the female *Sun* went several times to and from the fort to persuade her to surrender herself. All she could do was to persuade about thirty-five men, and two hundred women to surrender. *Charlevoix* pretends that all the rest escaped, excepting a woman in child-bed, and one man; but there is the greatest reason to believe, from the difference of the *French* accounts, that most of them were murdered in cold blood. Upon the 26th, *Perrier* and the *French* officers endeavoured to persuade the savages to pursue the *Natches*, who had escaped, which they refused to do, saying that, as they had now no enemy to deal with, they would return home. The same day all the prisoners were fettered, and carried slaves to *New Orleans*; the grand *Sun* and his relations were put on board the *St. Lewis*, and the rest of the nation, consisting of four hundred *Natches*, were carried in other ships. When they arrived at *New Orleans*, they were confined in separate prisons, from whence they were carried in slavery to *St. Domingo*; and thus, says *du Pratz*, perished a people, formerly the most illustrious in all *Louisiana*, and the most useful to the *French*.

The
Natches
exasperated.

THE remains of the *Natches*, who had escaped under the chief of the *Corn*, and by other means, were incorporated amongst other tribes, who had once descended from them, which *le Sueur* understanding, he undertook to exterminate them at the head of a body of volunteers; but *Perrier*, who had a very indifferent opinion of those volunteers, refused to agree to this proposal. The barbarous measure of sending the grand *Sun*, his family and relations, as slaves to *St. Domingo*, exasperated the remains of the nation beyond expression, and they shewed a spirit becoming a brave though conquered people. In the month of *April*, the grand chief of the *Tonicas* came to *New Orleans*, and informed *Perrier*, that, being a hunting, four of the *Natches* had accosted him to beg his interposition

terposition for a reconciliation with the *French*, adding that even they, who had retired to the country of the *Chicachas*, were desirous of it, and that they were willing to live on any spot that should be assigned them; but more especially, if it should be near the *Tonicas*: but the chief said, he would give them no answer till he should consult *Perrier*. The latter's answer was, that he consented to their settling within two leagues of the *Tonica* village, but no nearer, to avoid quarrels between the two nations; and with the express condition of their repairing to the place of settlement without arms. The *Tonica* chief promised to conform himself to those instructions; but when he returned home, he neglected them so far, as to admit into his village thirty *Natches*, after having disarmed them. In the mean while, fifteen other *Natches*, and twenty women, came to the *Natches* fort, commanded by the baron *de Cresnay*. A few days after, the chief of the *Corn* arrived amongst the *Tonicas*, with one hundred men, their wives and children, having first concealed fifty *Chicachas* and *Corrois* in the reeds growing round the village.

THE grand chief of the *Tonicas* declared, that he could not admit them unless they were disarmed. To this condition they seemed to have no objection, only they begged that they might not resign their arms all of a sudden, lest their women should imagine them all to be prisoners, and condemn them to death. The *Tonica* chief agreed to this, and after distributing provisions to his guests, they danced all together till after midnight, when the *Tonicas* retired to their cabins, imagining the *Natches* would go to sleep likewise. But an hour before day-break, it being then the 14th of *June*, the *Natches* and their confederates rushed into the *Tonica* cabins, and murdered all whom they found asleep. The *Tonica* grand chief, hearing a noise, ran out of his cabin, and killed five *Natches* with his own hand; but, at last, he was overpowered, and cut in pieces with twelve of his followers. His general, or commanding officer under him, rallied about a dozen of his warriors, with whom he made good his grand chief's cabin, and defended it so bravely, that the fugitive *Tonicas* repaired to his assistance, and killed thirty-three of the *Natches*, besides making three prisoners, whom they burnt. Of the *Natches*, twenty men were killed, and as many wounded. Such is the relation *Charlevoix* gives of this massacre; but from what *du Pratz* says, it appears, as if the *Natches* had been exasperated to it by the cruelties which the *French* and the *Tonicas* used towards their nation; and, indeed, those two authorities agree in no single circumstance of their nar-

MOD. HIST. VOL. XL.

A a

ratives;

ratives; for *du Prat* pretends that almost the whole *Tonica* nation was massacred on this occasion.

A new
war set on
d'Artaquette
with orders to
raise the other
savages, and to
pursue the
Natches, and,
at the same
time, to put
de Crespigny
upon
his guard
against the
Natches, who
were in his
fort. Char-
levoix, against
every appearance
of probability,
pretends that
those Natches
attacked the
French, who
killed every
man, woman,
and child of
them, in their
own defence;
and that another
party of fifteen,
with their chief,
being put in
irons in the
isle of *Toulouse*,
rose upon the
French, who
were obliged
to put every
one of them
likewise to
death. In the
mean while,
the chief of the
Corn, after the
massacre of the
Tonicas, joined
the remains of
his nation, who
were settled
upon the *Black
River*, and led
them to the
country of the
Natchitoches,
and besieged
St. Denys in
the fort, where
he commanded
with a very
weak garrison.
Perrier immediately
dispatched,
on the 21st of
October, *Loubois*,
at the head of
sixty men, from
New Orleans
to his assistance.
When he advanced
six leagues
up the *Red River*,
he received
intelligence, that
the strength
of the *Natchitoches*
being greatly
inferior to that
of the *Natches*,
they had been
obliged to
abandon their
village, which
the *Natches*
had taken
possession of,
and had
intrenched
themselves
in it; that
St. Denys
having received
a reinforcement
of *Assinais*
and *Attacapas*,
with some
Spaniards, had
forced the
Natches
intrenchments,
and had killed
eighty-two of
them, with all
their chiefs;
and that the
Natchitoches
were in
pursuit of their
enemy (L).

FEW of the *Natches* now remained alive; but their sufferings affected the *Chicachas* so much, that they gave them refuge, and even interrupted the *French* commerce. *Charlevoix* says, that at this time, the *Chicachas* were the most warlike of all the savages in *Louisiana*, and that they could bring to the field 1000 warriors, besides the remains of the *Natches*, the *Yasaus*, and the *Corrois*, who were ready to join them. In short, the colonists of *Louisiana* saw a new war almost inevitable, which threatened to put an end to their establishment. The *Chicachas*, if we are to believe *Charlevoix*, were instigated by the *English* in all their practices against the *French*. There is, however, no proof of this but his own

(L) All those relations concerning the *Natches* generally terminate in massacring them. The reader, perhaps, will be of

opinion with us, that the introductory narratives are only designed to screen those detestable scenes of murder.

surmise;

surmise; but it is probable, that a conspiracy was at this time actually formed amongst the *Louisianian* negroes who had been imported into the colony, an event which we have often seen happen in other countries, without any instigation but the love either of liberty, power, or revenge. The progress of this conspiracy is related as follows by *du Pratz*.

A NEGRESS and a soldier happening to quarrel about a trifling incident, the fellow beat her severely, and she was heard to mutter that *Frenchmen* would not long have it in their power to beat negroes. Upon this the poor wretch was taken up and confined in prison, where she was examined, and, very probably, put to the torture by the lieutenant-criminal, but without his being able to draw any thing from her.

Conspiracy of the negroes suppressed.

Du Pratz, hearing of this affair, offered his services to *Perrier*, and the government, for discovering the truth, and preventing the effects of the conspiracy, which they seemed to make light of; but, at last, his reasons brought them over to think there might be some reality in it. *Du Pratz* went in the night-time to the negro camp, attended by another negro, whom he could trust, and after opening the outer gate, they went from cabin to cabin, *du Pratz* being convinced that some of them certainly would be caballing together concerning their intended project. At last, they discovered a light in one of the cabins, and creeping softly near they found three negroes in consultation, and one of them advising the other two to be very cautious whom they trusted, because *du Pratz* was so well-beloved by their countrymen, that they might be discovered. As *du Pratz* himself was a considerable planter, and chief director of the company's negroes, he was surprised to find that one of those slaves was his head negro, and his chief confidant, and upon listening farther, he perceived that the conspiracy was far advanced, and cautiously managed, and that they only waited to be joined by the negroes in the country of the *Illinois*; and that the three in consultation were the head negroes of all the colony. *Du Pratz* and his companion, who served as his interpreter, withdrew softly, and upon comparing together what they had heard, found that eight negroes were capitally concerned in the conspiracy, six of whom they knew personally. Next morning, *du Pratz* communicated to *Perrier* all he had learned, and the governor promised that whatever assistance he could desire should be readily granted him, in securing the six conspirators whom they knew, and discovering the other two. Next night, *du Pratz* came to the knowledge of the other two, and made such a disposition of the whole body, in assigning them their different tasks, that the chief conspirators were separated from each other. The measures which *du Pratz* took in consequence

sequence of this discovery were childish and trifling, and seem to have been concerted only with a view of giving his countrymen and readers high ideas of his refined policy. The whole terminated in his arresting and putting in irons all the eight conspirators without any resistance, and confining them in separate prisons, to the great satisfaction of *Perrier*. The morning after they were seized, they were tortured with burning matches; but they would confess nothing, though the torture was several times repeated. If we are to believe *du Pratz*, the head of the conspiracy was one *Samba*, who, after betraying the *French* in *Africa*, was put on board a ship, where he conspired with his countrymen to murder all the crew; but being discovered they were put in irons, and brought to *Louisiana* (M), where he formed the conspiracy in question. Their tortures being every day repeated, it was no wonder if the wretches sought refuge in death, by owning all the particulars of this sham conspiracy, as drawn up by *du Pratz*. The eight men were broken upon the wheel, and the woman was hanged. The reader needs to require no other proof of the whole of this transaction being an infamous conspiracy against the poor negroes by the *French*, than that *Charlevoix* relates it with circumstances totally different and contradictory to those mentioned by *du Pratz*.

Beginning
of the Chi-
cacha
war.

IN the mean while, some of the *Chaftaws* had been gained over by the *Chicachas*, and the nation in general refused to send three hundred of their warriors to the assistance of the *French*; but the latter, by murdering, as usual, thirty or forty of those harmless savages, brought them over to their party. The *Chicachas* then applied to the *Miamis*, the *Illinois*, and the *Akanfas*, but found them all too much frenchified to undertake any thing for the recovery of their common liberty. The *Illinois* even delivered up to *Perrier* three of the *Chicacha* deputies, and he put them into the hands of the *Chaftaws* at *New Orleans*, who burnt them alive. Those are inhumanities that the *French* writers repeat without any symptoms of disapprobation, because they take it for granted, that those savages were born to be their slaves. The cruelties practised upon the natives of *Louisiana* were as impolitic as they were barbarous, and so far from serving the *Mississippi* company, that they ruined it; for, on the 23d of *January*, 1731, the company surrendered back, into the *French* king's hands, their

(M) After so many attempts, which could be no secret to the colony, to betray and butcher the *French*, how came this

Samba, the author of them, to be so highly in favour with *du Pratz*, and the *French*?

gran

grant of *Louisiana* and the country of the *Illinois*, together with their exclusive privilege of trading, only reserving to themselves a power of granting permits to native *Frenchmen* to trade in that colony. Their king accepted of this surrender, and, on the 10th of *April*, *de Salmont*, who acted as commissary at *New Orleans*, took possession of that province, in the name of his majesty; but *Perrier* was continued in his government. The reason of this surrender was the inability of the company to continue longer their wars with the savages, and to undergo the vast expences of their settlement. *Perrier* himself grew tired of his government, and solicited his recall, which was at last granted him; and *Bienville*, in 1734, again succeeded to the government of *Louisiana*. Cardinal *Fleury* was then first minister of *France*, and great schemes of œconomy took place in the colony; but it now remains that we pursue the detail of the war with the *Chicachas*, in which *Bienville* found himself involved upon his return to the government of *Louisiana*.

IT appears from the acknowledgments of all the *French* ^{its pro-} writers, that their government had no manner of pretext to ^{greys.} quarrel with the *Chicachas*, but because the latter were so hospitable, as to receive into their protection the unfortunate, but brave, remains of the *Natches*. No maxim is more sacred amongst those savages, than that when one nation takes refuge with another, if they are received, they are adopted, and both people become one, and have a common interest. *Bienville* was no stranger to this; but, in consequence of the detestable policy of the *French* court, he no sooner arrived at his government, than he made preparations for carrying on the war against the *Chicachas*, that lasted for two years; so weak was the *French* interest then in *Louisiana*. At last, he sent a formal demand, that the *Chicachas* should deliver up to him all the *Natches*. He was answered with great spirit and justice, that no such nation then existed as the *Natches*, they being become *Chicachas* by adoption. Besides, continued the latter, should *Bienville* shelter our enemies, should we insist upon his giving them up? and why should we give up his at his request? This answer served only to hasten the preparations of war, and *Bienville* sent an officer, one *le Blanc*, with five armed shallops, two of them laden with powder, and other merchandizes, to the *Illinois* post, where *d'Artaguet* commanded, to order him to repair, by the 10th of *May* next year, to the *Chicachà* country, at the head of all his troops, and as many of the *Illinois* as he could bring along with him; and he was there to be joined by *Bienville* and the main army. The *Chicachas*, being informed of this convoy,

A a 3

watched

They take
a French
boat with
powder.

watched the borders of the river, and attacked it, but without success; and *le Blanc* arrived safe in the country of the *Akansas*, where, having refreshed himself and his detachment, he most unaccountably left all his powder, and proceeded on his voyage. Upon *le Blanc's* arrival, and delivering *Bienville's* orders to *d'Artaquette*, the latter, perceiving that a boat laden with powder had been sent him for the use of his post, and for carrying on the *Chicacha* war, instantly dispatched another to the country of the *Akansas* to bring it up. This boat was discovered by the *Chicachas*, who formed an ambush, which was so well disposed that they took the boat, and at one discharge, killed all the crew but two, who were carried into slavery. Thus the *Chicachas* became masters of the powder that was destined for their own destruction.

BIENVILLE was, at this time, at fort *Mobile*, in conference with the grand chief of the *Chaetaws*, who attended him in consequence of a summons he had received, and whom he engaged to assist him, in consideration of a certain quantity of merchandizes, part of which was delivered to him upon the spot, and he was to receive the remainder in a certain time. *Bienville* then returned to *New Orleans*, where he made all the necessary preparations for setting out on his march. His army was composed of regulars, colonists, free negroes, and some slaves, and, on the 10th of *March*, 1736, it assembled in the country of the *Chaetaws*, where it remained till the second of *April* following. The savages, who had promised to join *Bienville*, could not comprehend the policy of this delay, and would have left his army, had they not been detained by the hopes of receiving the remainder of the merchandizes, which had not yet been delivered to them. The army then resumed their march towards the east, on the banks of the *Mobile*, the savages by land, and the *French* by water, in thirty large boats, and as many periuagas. Their progress was so slow, that it was the 20th of *April*, before they arrived at *Tomberbec*, where the *Chaetaws* were to receive the remainder of their merchandizes, and where *Bienville*, some months before, had ordered a fort to be built. He encamped near this fort, erected ovens, and baked his bread; and the *Chaetaws*, presenting him with a calumet of peace, received their remaining merchandizes.

A CONSPIRACY had been formed by four soldiers, one of whom was a serjeant, for putting the commandant of the fort to death, and for delivering it up into the hands of the *Chicachas*, the two *Frenchmen* who had escaped when the powder was taken, to procure them a favourable reception from those savages, whom they intended to assist in the war, and

and then to go over to the *English*, joining in it. These trait- *Expedition*
 tors were tried, and being found guilty were all put to death *against the*
 at the head of the army; but the trials lasted so long, that it *Chica-*
 was the 4th of *May* before the troops could resume their march. *chas.*

Twenty days more brought them to their landing place, and, when they disembarked, they immediately enclosed a large space of ground with pallisades, and erected a warehouse for their merchandizes and ammunition. Next day, having distributed powder and ball to the soldiers, the general proceeded on his march, leaving his sick, under proper care, in the pallisaded entrenchment, and committed himself to the direction of a *French* trader, who was acquainted with the country, and served him for a guide. He had still seven leagues to march between this inclosure and the fort of the *Chicachas*, through woods. The *Chactaws*, to the number of 1200, headed by their chief, marched on the flanks of his army, which proceeded in two columns. When they drew near the fort, *Bienville* dispatched two of the *Chactaws* to reconnoitre the situation of the enemy; but they returned without any information, being themselves, as they said, discovered by four of the *Chicachas*. Proceeding forwards, the army entered a very fine plain, and discovered the fort, which was erected on a gentle eminence with cabins round it, all which appeared to be fortified; and near the fort ran a rivulet. The *Chactaws* no sooner saw the fort, than they set up a most dreadful war-whoop, or cry of death, and they ran towards it with prodigious fury till they came within gun-shot of it, and then they stopt. As to the troops, they marched in good order, till they came to a small wood, within cannon-shot of the fort, where they saw the *English* colours flying, and four *Englishmen* enter it from the cabins below. The *French* summoned the *English* to leave the fort, and the *Chicachas* to surrender it; but no regard was paid to the summons. *Bienville* then formed his troops into three large detachments of about four hundred men each, and ordered them to march up with all quickness possible, and to storm the fort sword in hand, as they had not an utensil in the army with which they could throw up intrenchments. When they came to the eminence on which the fort stood, all they did was to burn a few straggling cabins that lay near it, and to drive, but with some loss to the *French* themselves, the savages who inhabited them into the fort. The regulars then changed their manner of approach; but some dispute arose between them and the militia, about the post of honour. This was easily adjusted in favour of the regulars, by the vigorous defence made by the fort, and the militia very quietly took their post in the rear, the officers

and the regulars being resolved to reserve to themselves all the honour of the expedition; but the fire from the fort continued to be so furious, that many of their bravest officers and best men were now killed or wounded.

who are
besieged in
their fort.

DU PRATZ describes the fort as being formed of prodigious thick pallisades, crossed by others of an equal thickness; so that the balls of the *French* could make no impression either upon the fort or the savages, who, being numerous and safe from danger, might have killed half the *French* army without any loss to themselves, had they known how to direct their fire. Within the fort they had erected, quite round it, a pent-house, or platform, of wood covered with earth, which secured them from the grenades. *Bienville*, who was in the rear of the army, saw the folly and madness of this attack, and that it was impossible the *French* fire could do any execution upon the savages, while his own men were wasting their ammunition, and dropping on every side. At last, the *French* having maintained this murderous attack three hours and a half, he ordered them to retreat, or rather they were fairly beaten back to their camp, without attempting even to carry off their dead and wounded, which amounted to about one hundred and twenty; and amongst them were some of their most considerable officers. While they were deliberating what to do, a body of *Chicachas* were seen at a distance coming from another village, and holding up a calumet of peace with a letter, which it seems was from *d'Artaguette*, who was a prisoner amongst them. They had been discovered by the *Chaetaws*, one of whom brought the account to *Bienville*, who immediately ordered them to be fired upon; and four of them being killed, the rest ran away. After this, the *French* raised a kind of retrenchment of logs of wood to secure them from the fury of the savages, while they took some refreshment and repose; and the *Chicachas* are said to have exercised such barbarities on the dead bodies, no *Frenchman* having been taken alive, that it was with difficulty *Bienville* could keep back his troops from rushing upon certain death, to be revenged. Next morning, it was perceived, that the *Chicachas* had, during the night time, beaten down some cabins, where the *French* had sheltered themselves the day before, during the attack.

but force
the French
shamefully
to retire.

NEXT day, being the 27th of *May*, was spent in skirmishes between the fort and the *Chaetaws*; but both of them were at too great a distance from each other for either to receive much harm. An adventure, however, happened, which, though inconsiderable in itself, deserves to be related, because it gives us a lively picture of the cunning and presence

of

of mind of those barbarians. Two of the *Chaftaws* drawing nearer the fort than the others, a *Chicacha* issued out of it, and was observed by the two *Chaftaws* to creep softly along, that he might come near enough unobserved to fire upon them; which he accordingly did, and one of the *Chaftaws* dropt while the other made off. The *Chicacha* ran then full speed to scalp the fallen *Chaftaw*; but as soon as he came within ten paces of him, the *Chaftaw* started up, raised the war-whoop, shot his antagonist dead, and carried off his scalp in triumph. In the camp, *Bienville* employed the negroes in making hurdles for carrying off the wounded, and orders were given to march to the distance of a league from the fort, upon which a party of the *Chaftaws* foreseeing what would happen, ambushed themselves behind a little wood hard by. While the *French* were on their march, nine of the *Chaftaws*, who had seen them decamp, came from the fort to scalp the dead, whom they had left behind them, but no sooner were they come to the spot, than the *Chaftaws* ambuscade fired, and killing every man of them, carried their scalps with great triumph to the *French* army. Next day, the army, after this inglorious, hair-brained, expedition, came to the place of their reimbarcation. Here a quarrel happened between the *French* and the *Chaftaws*, which was fomented by one of the *Chaftaw* chiefs, called the *Red Slipper*, and to whom the *French* writers give a very bad character, very possibly, because he behaved with a spirit of independency; but just as the quarrel was proceeding to blows it was made up by the grand chief of the *Chaftaws* threatening to shoot the *Red Slipper* through the head. Powder and ball was then distributed amongst the soldiers, and the army went cautiously by water to fort *Mobile*, and from thence to *New Orleans*, where it broke up.

THE fate of *d'Artaquette* was truly deplorable, and gives *Deplorable* us a fresh instance of the manners of the savages. The death of a reader may remember, that this officer was by *Bienville* ordered to repair with all the men he could to the country officer and the *Chicachas* by the 10th of *May*, where he was to be joined by the general, and the main body of the army. *D'Artaquette* was punctual to his time, and, upon his arrival at the place of rendezvous, he sent out three scouts to reconnoitre whether the army was approaching; and he did the same till the 20th, when the savages he had with him hearing no tidings of the *French*, threatened they would return home, unless he immediately fought the *Chicachas*. *D'Artaquette* was obliged to comply, and on the 21st, he drove the barbarians from one of their forts and a village, as he did next day from another

another village; but, in pursuing the fugitives, *d'Artaquette* received two wounds. This accident determined his savage allies to abandon him, which they did. He was left with no more than forty-six soldiers, two serjeants, and a jesuit, and they defended their wounded commander for a long time against his enemies; but at last, being overpowered by numbers, and spent with fatigue, he was obliged to surrender himself, and all his company, prisoners to the savages. They were conducted to their village, where they were treated with great humanity, and their wounds carefully dressed and cured. All this tenderness was shewn them, that they might have an opportunity of presenting them to *Bienville*. But his brutality completed the misfortunes of the unhappy prisoners, as his trifling delays had drawn them on. *D'Artaquette* was prevailed upon to write *Bienville* a letter, which, as we have seen, he not only refused to receive, but inhumanly fired upon, and killed, the bearers, who could be considered in no other light than messengers of peace. The barbarians were exasperated at this cruelty; and understanding about the same time, that the *French* had been shamefully driven out of their country, they took their revenge upon the unfortunate *d'Artaquette*, and their other *French* prisoners, whom they roasted to death at a slow fire. One serjeant, by the kindness of his master, had the good fortune to escape, and he brought to *New Orleans* the account of this dismal catastrophe.

A new expedition
against the
Chicachas

BIENVILLE, to repair the disgrace he had received, represented it in such favourable terms to his court, that a resolution was taken to enable him to revenge it, and orders were sent for the *French* of *Canada* to be assisting to him. In the mean while, he sent a large detachment up the river *St. Francis*, where they built a fort of the same name with the river. When the squadron arrived, which brought him his reinforcements, his army proceeded up the *Mississippi* to take possession of another fort that had been built there (N). It consisted of marine troops, those of the colony, a number of militia, negroes, and some *French* savages. Being arrived at their place of rendezvous, they went up as far as a little river called *Margot*, where they all landed within fifteen miles of the *Chicacha* country. They chose a fine plain to encamp on, and after fortifying their camp, they built a house for the commandant in the fort, with cazernes and storehouses for

(N) Those forts and rivers *du Pratz* and *Charlevoix*, not-are very inaccurately laid down withstanding the boasted accuracy of the latter.

their

their ammunition and merchandizes, and named it fort *Assumption*; that being the day when they landed. While the army lay there, *Bienville* endeavoured to profit by his past mistakes. Waggons and carts were made, and the roads were cleared for transporting the artillery, and all the necessaries of war provided for carrying on the siege. While *Bienville* continued in this place, his *Canadian* succours joined him, consisting of *French*, *Iroquois*, *Hurons*, *Algonquins*, and other savages. Soon after arrived the new commandant of the *Illinois* with his garrison, his volunteers, and all the neighbouring savages, together with a good number of horse. According to *du Pratz* never was there before, and perhaps never will there be again, a body assembled in *North America*, composed of so many different nations, and yet they remained inactive in their camp from the month of *August* 1739, to the month of *March* next year.

THIS long inactivity produced, at first, famine, and, at last, mortality amongst the men. From great plenty of provisions they fell into such scarcity, that they fed upon the horses that were to have drawn their artillery, and vast numbers died of an epidemic disease. This brought *Bienville* to reflect upon his situation, and determined him, if possible, to conclude a peace with the *Chicachas*, or at least to know upon what terms he was to stand with them. On the 15th of *March*, he detached a company of foot, with its proper officers, which was followed by the *Canadian* savages, and the *French* had orders to treat of peace, if the *Chicachas* should demand it. The latter were, by this time, fully apprized of the vast strength of the *French* army, and seeing its van-guard approaching, attended by the *Canadian* savages, they made no doubt that the main body was at hand, and concluded, that it would be in vain for them to hold out any longer. They accordingly made signals of peace, and *With* their deputies came out of their fort with a most dejected air, *whom the* putting themselves entirely in the power of the *French*. They *French* swore that they were then, and ever would remain, the real *make peace,* friends of the *French*; that they had been instigated to all their opposition by the *English*, with whom they had then broke for that very reason, and they offered to produce two *Englishmen*, whom they had made slaves. *St. Laurent*, a *French* officer, demanded to be admitted into the fort; and accordingly he entered it, attended by a little slave; but the savage women no sooner saw him, than they called out to have him put to death, that the war might continue. Their men were more moderate; for, after conferring together, they resolved to preserve him, and to purchase their peace of the *French*,

French, by delivering up the two *Englishmen*. *Du Pratz* here observes, that amongst those savages the men in time of war meet with no quarter, being either killed in battle, or, if taken prisoners, put to lingering deaths; whereas the women and girls are only reduced to be slaves; and a state of slavery amongst the *French* is, by them, looked upon to be more desirable than to live as wives in their own country (O). *St. Laurent*, upon this matter being explained to him, promised them peace in the name of *M. Bienville*, and all his nation. They then went out of the fort, and presented the calumet to *de Coloron*, the commanding officer, who accepted of it, and confirmed *St. Laurent's* engagement.

SOME days after the detachment returned to the *French* camp, attended by a numerous body of the *Chicachas*, who were deputed to carry the calumet of peace to the *French* general, and to present him with the two *English* slaves. When they came into *Bienville's* presence, they prostrated themselves at his feet, and renewed all the oaths and protestations they had made to *Coloron*, still throwing all the blame of what had happened upon the *English*, with whom they offered to make war, if it was *Bienville's* pleasure, for they could look upon them as no better than traitors. This treaty was concluded in the beginning of *April*, 1740. *Bienville*, having ratified it, made handsome presents to all his auxiliary troops, and dismissed them. In his return to *New Orleans* he ordered fort *Assumption* to be demolished, and fort *St. Francis* likewise, and arrived at *New Orleans*, after being absent from it ten months. Upon the whole, notwithstanding all the softening with which the *French* writers have touched up *Bienville's* conduct in his expedition against the *Chicachas*, it appears to have been that of a madman, rather than a military officer; and whatever they pretend with regard to the submission of the *Chicachas*, it is evident, that during the whole of the war, they acted as a brave and a spirited people, and that they preserved their independency to the very last, against the greatest power *France* had ever brought into the field in *America*, assisted with powerful reinforcements from *Old France*.

M. de VAUDREUIL succeeded *Bienville* in the government of *Louisiana*; and upon his arrival there he found the old quarrel still subsisting between that colony and the *Red*

(O) Whatever truth may be in the observation when applied to the *Chicachas*, it is contrary to the whole stream of history with regard to the other *American* savages, amongst whom we read of women fighting as bravely, and suffering as courageously as the men.

Slipper,

Slipper, who had committed many hostilities against the *French*. *Vaudreuil* informing himself as to the grounds of the original quarrel, immediately published an order, prohibiting all the *French* of his government from furnishing to the *Chactaws* arms or ammunition upon any pretext whatever. He then sent a message to their grand chief to demand whether he was, like the *Red Slipper*, an enemy to the *French*. The grand chief, by his interpreter, returned for answer, that he was their friend; but that the *Red Slipper* was a young chief, and devoid of sense. Upon this, *Vaudreuil* sent a present to the grand chief, who was extremely surprized that it did not contain, as usual, any arms, powder, or ball, in that time of amity between the two people; and being informed of the prohibition that had been published, he sent a new deputation to expostulate with the governor. His answer was, that they must expect neither arms nor ammunition, especially as he informed him that the *Red Slipper* had no sense; because all the *Chactaws* being brothers, the *Red Slipper* certainly would have his share of them. This answer produced a message from the grand chief to the *Red Slipper*, informing him and his subjects, that if they did not instantly make peace with the *French*, all the rest of the *Chactaws* would make war upon them. This menace had its desired effect; and a good *Makes* understanding was soon restored by the *Red Slipper* begging *peace with* the *French*; and the colony, which was in no con- the *Chactaws*. dition to have undertaken a war against so powerful a nation, returned to its former tranquillity. Nothing, after this, that is material occurs in the history of *Louisiana*, till the definitive treaty of peace concluded at *Paris* on the 10th of *February*, 1763.

LONG experience had taught the *British* ministry, that *Louisiana* remaining in possession of the *French*, they and their savages would be perpetual thorns in the sides of the *British* colonies; and, upon our conquering *Martinico*, a fair opportunity presented for demanding *Louisiana* as an equivalent for that valuable island. The *British* ministry were the more intent upon this demand, when they considered that the colony of *Louisiana* was then in a manner only in its infancy; and that a time might come when *France*, profiting by experience, and encreasing in power, might avail herself, which she had not hitherto done, to the full of the advantages arising from that country, naturally one of the most fruitful, and the best fitted, by inland navigation, for the purposes of commerce, of any in the world. Not only the *French* themselves, but all *Europe*, were astonished when they heard

General
treaty of
peace,
1763.

heard that his most Christian majesty agreed to the following article, which is the seventh of that treaty.

“ In order to re-establish peace on solid and durable foundations, and to remove for ever all subjects of dispute, with regard to the limits of the *British* and *French* territories on the continent of *America*, that, for the future, the confines between the dominions of his *Britannic* majesty, and those of his most Christian majesty, in that part of the world, shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river *Mississippi*, from its source to the river *Iberville*, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lake *Maurepas* and *Pontchartrain*, to the sea; and for this purpose the most Christian king cedes, in full right, and guaranties to his *Britannic* majesty the river and part of the *Mobile*, and every thing which he possesses, or ought to possess, on the left side the river *Mississippi*, except the town of the *New Orleans*, and the island in which it is situated, which shall remain to *France*, provided that the river *Mississippi* shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of *Great Britain*, as to those of *France*, in its whole breadth or length, from its source to the sea, and expressly that part which is between the said island of *New Orleans*, and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth. It is further stipulated, that the vessels belonging to the subjects of either nation, shall not be stopped, visited, or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever. The stipulations, inserted in the fourth article, in favour of the inhabitants of *Canada*, shall also take place, with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article.” In the 24th article of the said treaty is the following stipulation, “ *Great Britain* shall, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done, enter into possession of the river, and port of the *Mobile*, and of all that is to form the limits of the territory of *Great Britain*, on the side of the river *Mississippi*, as they are specified in the seventh article.”

NOTHING now remains for *Great Britain*, but to improve, as much as possible, this immense acquisition; and, above all, to cultivate the love and regard of the natives. This makes it necessary, before we close the history of *Louisiana*, to give our reader a slight sketch of the nature of the country, and of the tempers, customs, and principal qualities of those savages.

Account of the French posts in Louisiana. The first establishment of the *French* there was upon the *Mobile*, and on a spot which is now by treaty ceded to *Great Britain*. The ready entrance from thence into the gulph of *Mexico* appears to have been the first temptation for the *French* *Mobile*.

French to make that settlement, and the opportunity they had of carrying on a clandestine trade with the *Spaniards*, counterballanced all the inconveniencies arising from an ungrateful soil, and a very inconvenient harbour. The *English* may find great benefit in maintaining, and even improving that settlement to overawe the *Chactaws*, who, as we have seen, are the most numerous, as well as the most designing people in all *Louisiana*; and for that reason, as well as for keeping the *Chactaws* from any communication with the *English*, the *French*, even after the building of *New Orleans*, never entirely abandoned the *Mobile* fort. With regard to the *Chactaws*, they certainly are a pacific people, and it is more than probable, that the selfish imposing character given them by the *French* writers arose from the poverty of their *Louisianians*, who, not being able to gratify the *Chactaws* for the services they performed them, took occasion to depreciate them. They may, however, be useful both as the subjects and allies of the *English*. Add to this, that the peltry trade between the *French* and the *Chactaws*, by means of the *Mobile* fort, was extremely beneficial to the former. Fort *Tombebec* was another post raised by the *French* upon the *Mobile* after the *Chitacha* war, to cut off all communication between the *Carolínians*, *Virginians*, and *New England* men, who often passed the *Apalachean* mountains, to that warlike people.

Tombebec.

WITHIN the country ceded by the late treaty lies the small establishment of the *Pachca-Ogoulas*, where quiet and industry, on account of the inoffensive disposition of the people, may find profitable and happy settlements. This was experienced by a number of *Canadians*, who lived there retired and contented, during all the distractions of the colony, there not being a single warrior in all the nation. There is at present no post between the *Pachca-Ogoulas* and *New Orleans*, excepting *Biloxi*, which is almost entirely abandoned. The fort *de la Balise*, according to the line of partition laid down by the late treaty, belongs to the *French*, is built upon a small island, and is of an irregular form. *Du Pratz*, however, seems to think that the canal might be easily deepened. In going up the river, the *Detour a l'Anglois* (so called from an *English* ship proceeding no higher up the river, and returning at that place) is the next post to be met with, and consists of two forts, one built on each side of the river, so as to command it; but it seems to lie within the *French* division, it being six leagues below *New Orleans*, following the course of the river. We have already mentioned the building of *New Orleans*, which was regularly laid out, but so disadvantageously

Pachca-Ogoulas.

The Red-
Staff.

Cut-Point

The Nat-
chitoches.

tageously situated, and the navigation between the mouth of the *Mississippi* and it, is so difficult, that it never can answer the expectations, which, by the magnificence and regularity of its plan, the *French* seem to have formed of it; not to mention that it is subject to most ruinous inundations. On the border of lake *St. Lewis* is a post, which guards the entrance into the lake, and which now seems to belong to the *English*, as does that of the *Oumas*. The *Red Staff* is a post likewise their property; and may in time become of the utmost consequence to a people more industrious than either the *French Louisianians* or the *Canadians*. This post acquires its name from its producing one of the most beautiful, as well as most useful trees in the world, the cypress, the wood of which is red. They grow to such a height and largeness, that a boat builder, out of one of their trunks, undertook to hollow two perugas, one of sixteen, the other of fourteen tons. Though this cypress was perhaps of an uncommon largeness, yet there are few of those trees out of which a common peruga may not be hollowed. The wood of it is, next to that of the cedar, the most valuable that *America* produces; and is by many believed to be incorruptible. Proceeding up the river, is another small post, but of little or no importance, excepting for erecting a water mill; a circumstance of consequence. The post of *Pointe-coupée*, or *Cut Point* is, where the river made a winding of about ten leagues circumference, but the *Canadians*, by digging the channel of a small brook, forced the waters of the river into a direct line, and the channel of the former winding is now dry, but at times of inundation; “an evident proof, says *Charlevoix*, that the river inclines its channel towards the east, a circumstance which cannot be too much attended to by those who settle on either side. This new channel has been, since that time, founded with a line of thirty fathoms, without finding any bottom.” This operation was so strongly assisted by nature, that the whole is said to have been performed by two *Canadians* only, whose peruga the stream forced after they had made an opening through the direct channel. This post is at present one of the most considerable of any in *Louisiana*, it consisting of a fort and a regular garrison, commanded by an officer. On the east side of the river near it the inhabitants make excellent tobacco, and great care was taken by the *French* government to settle inspectors amongst them, who were to overlook the packages, and to take care that the traders should not be imposed upon. Twenty leagues above

Cut-Point, and forty above *New Orleans*, lies the mouth of the *Red River*, and in an island, which it forms, lies another *French* settlement consisting likewise of a fort, a garrison, a commandant, and officers. This island was at first occupied by *French* soldiers, whose time of service was expired; and they raised upon it good tobacco; but its leaves were sometimes covered with a fine sand, which hurt the quality of the tobacco, and therefore they removed to the main land, where they carried on the same culture to great perfection. This is the famous post of the *Natchitoches*; and *St. Denys*, whom we have had so often occasion to mention, commanded in it; a proof of its vast importance. It is so happily situated for a communication with the *Spaniards*; that vast numbers of the *French* resorted to it, but were disappointed; for the *Spaniards* in the neighbourhood at port *les Adaines* were so miserably poor, that they could purchase none of their commodities but upon credit.

FROM the mouth of the *Red River*, still proceeding north-^{and the}wards upon the *Mississippi*, lies the new *French* post of the *Natches*. *Natches*, now belonging to the *English*. Its fort is raised two hundred feet above low water, and affords a prospect of a most prodigious extent towards the west across the river; so that the eye is bounded only by the horizon. The foundation of the fort, according to *du Pratz*, being higher than the trees that cover the opposite banks; while towards the east the grounds lie in a gentle gradual descent, and the view is terminated by little eminences. There are, it seems, some of the *Natches* still living in the neighbourhood of this fort; and are so gentle, so obliging, and serviceable, that all the travellers, who pass that way, visit them, and are charmed with the sweetness of their manners, particularly their women, who are said to be amiable. The nature of our undertaking does not admit our being more particular than we have already been in our relations of this curious people; but the reader may be fully satisfied on that head, by having recourse to the travels of *Charlevoix* and *du Pratz*. The *French Louisianians* multiply'd extremely at this post; but the garrison consisted only of about forty men, a captain, two lieutenants, and two serjeants. *Du Pratz* frankly acknowledges the misbehaviour of the *French* towards this injured people. About forty miles above the *Natches* is the post of the *Tafous*. It was one of the most commodious and pleasant of any upon the *Mississippi*, before it was destroyed by the *Chicachas*. Its garrison was composed of a company of regulars and their officers, and the profits arising from the post were so great, that all the expence of the garrison was defrayed out of the private pockets of M.

The Akan-
sas.

le Blanc, the *French* minister at war. If, as the *French* allege, the *English* instigated the *Chicachas* to destroy this fine post and settlement, we may reasonably presume that both of them will be soon re-established. Twenty leagues above the *Yasous* settlement, and two hundred above *New Orleans*, lie the *Akanfas*, but to the west of the river; so that it belongs to the *French*, to whom those people are entirely devoted. As they are warlike, and live in a very fine country, it will require all the vigilance of the *English* on the opposite bank to prevent their paying them a visit.

The Illi-
nois.

THIRTY leagues north of the *Akanfas*, lies the river *St. Francis*, where a small *French* fort has lately been built. To the west of the *Mississippi*, but still keeping northwards about thirty leagues, lay fort *Assumption*, which we have already mentioned to have been demolished by the *French* governor of *Louisiana*. It may be extremely convenient for the *English* to re-establish it, whether they are in friendship or not, with the *Chicachas*, in whose country it lies. In the one case it will serve to bridle them, and, in the other, it will make a most excellent store-house: but the chief conveniency and advantage of such a re-establishment, is its being in the neighbourhood of the torrents of *Prud'homme*, falling from the neighbouring mountains, which contain inexhaustible mines of iron ore, besides vast quantities of wood for making charcoal to manufacture it. The *Illinois* post, the first that was formed by the *French*, in what is properly called *Louisiana*, is the most northerly of the colony, and was so inviting a situation, that it was almost entirely inhabited by the *Canadians*. In this post, which was very populous, was a strong garrison, and the settlement itself, as well as the neighbouring savages, was entirely governed by, and devoted to the *Jesuits*, which may make it more proper for the *English* to keep a watchful eye over them. Besides those forts, the *French* of late had established a great number of stockaded posts at convenient distances for the reception of the travellers and traders between *Canada* and *Louisiana*, even as far as *New Orleans*. Thus it appears, that nothing but the entire cession of *Louisiana*, as well as of *Canada*, could have preserved the *British* interest from the most dreadful insults after any peace that could have been made. The *Canadians* would have exchanged their fogs, frosts, and snows, for the warm fertile plains of *Louisiana*; they would soon have brought all the savages of *America* to have joined them, and, towards the *Apalachean* mountains, (between which, and the sea, they wanted to confine the *English* colonies) they would have been more powerful than ever.

THERE

THERE is great reason to believe that all the nations of *Louisiana* were originally the same people, and that they extended to *Florida* likewise. Other nations besides the *Natches*, particularly the *Pachca Ogoulas*, preserved the sacred fire, and their languages are, for the most part, radically the same, though prodigiously disguised by different articulations. Notwithstanding this, their intercourse in some places with the *Europeans*, their mixtures with the savages of *Canada*, *Sioux*, *New Spain*, and the *Apalaches*, have introduced into *Louisiana* a vast confluence of different people and tribes; some of whom are very inconsiderable, diminishing even to single families, so that every separate nation has some rite, custom, or character, peculiar to itself. To distinguish amidst such a variety of blendings would be a task equally impracticable as unprofitable. All, therefore, that belongs to us, is to lay down the great out-lines that may direct us in treating with a people with whom we are now so intimately connected, and to express them by such characters as are most general, and most frequently found amongst them.

THE *American* savages are, for the most part, very well made; their height is seldom under five feet six inches; but they often are much taller. The men, for the most part, are much handsomer than the women, who are of a smaller size, but none of either sex degenerating into dwarfs. One of them who was but four feet and a half high, was so ashamed of his size, that he concealed himself from the eyes of the *French* for several years; nor would he have appeared then, had he not been discovered by accident. *Du Protz*, from whom we take our information, says, that the *French Creoles* of *Louisiana*, by which is meant children born in a distant country, but of parents of the same nation, are remarkably large, well made, and vigorous, and that those qualities amongst the native *Louisianians* in general are chiefly owing to the manner in which the females treat their children in their infancy. As soon as a female savage is brought to bed, she goes to the water-side, where she washes herself and her child. After that she returns home, goes to bed, and lays the infant all along in a cradle of a very curious construction, made of canes, and so light that it does not weigh above two pounds. She places this cradle upon her bed, but without rocking it from side to side, and the child is swaddled up so as to leave the motion of its lungs and belly always free; but its head is bound to a little pillow, stuffed with *Spanish* hair, but not raised above the rest of its bed, with leathern thongs; which renders those natives all flat-headed. When the child is rocked, the construction of the

Manners of
the Savages.

Education
of children
amongst the
savages.

cradle is such, that it is performed end ways. When it is a month old they tie under its knee a garter made of wool; and wrap fillets of the same round its ancles, three or four inches high, according to the child's age, and they wear those fillets by way of buskins, till their fourth or fifth year. When born, they are white, and they are suffered to crawl on all fours till they can stand and walk. Their skin, when very young, is rubbed over with oil, and other materials, which gives them their copper colour, their hide being in a manner enamelled with them by the heat of the sun. The reasons they give for this unction are, that it renders their joints more supple and flexible, and prevents the flies from tormenting them. Each child sucks its mother as long as it pleases, unless the mother is with child. When the boys grow to about twelve years of age, they are taught to shoot in a bow, at a mark, and rewarded according to their proficiency. The paternal authority is greatly venerated amongst them. The oldest of every family is, by all his descendants, who are sometimes very numerous, termed their father, and his word is their law. Unless they are cut off in war, or by colds, or the small-pox, those savages live to a vast age, in so much that they often are unable to stir, merely through natural weakness, the concomitant of length of days; and, in those cases, they grow tired of life.

*Their
great docility.*

NEITHER men nor boys, belonging to the same tribe, ever quarrel with one another, or grow riotous about domestic affairs: and it is admirable to see with what order they live, merely by the light of nature; they having amongst them no principle of policy, or form of government. If any one amongst them shews the least turbulence of disposition, if his seniors tell him, he shall be cabined a great way from their nation, he is immediately quieted. The fathers educate the boys, as the mothers do the girls; but the latter toil the most. The men are chiefly occupied in hunting or fishing; in cutting wood, or preparing land; and those exercises being over, they divert themselves with others less laborious: but the women, besides having their young infants to take care of, have all the maize to prepare for the family, fire-wood to provide, and a vast number of utensils to make, which last but a very short while, with the earthen ware, mats, and a thousand other particulars. Children of both sexes, when about ten or twelve years of age, are accustomed to carry burthens, which are gradually encreased as they grow up, so that they are sometimes capable of bearing a great weight. The savages of *Louisiana*, however, are very cautious of overstraining the strength of their children, and they seldom suffer them

them to marry before they are twenty-five years of age; because they think that copulation enervates them. The care and wisdom with which, in other respects, parents train up their youth, is very surprizing, and with what judgment they moderate their exercises, such as running, leaping, swimming, shooting, or the like, least they should hurt their tender constitutions, and be rendered less active and vigorous in their manhood. On the other hand, they are equally careful to keep them in exercise, as the want of it may be prejudicial to their health. From their tenderest years they bathe every morning, winter as well as summer, and they begin early to learn to swim, both boys and girls. They think this to be so essential a part of education, that, in every village, one of their elders is appointed to call out all the boys and girls, even so young as three years of age, and their mothers are obliged to attend them, and teach them to swim. Notwithstanding the continual toils and fatigues, which those mothers are forced to undergo, they are never heard to repine or to complain, but when their children are ill. Amongst the girls there is great emulation, as they are taught to believe from their infancy, that if they are lazy or idle, they will have a lumpish fellow for their husband. Experience proves, that this gradual method of education is most proper for those savages; for no people in the world, when they are come to the perfection of their strength, undergo greater fatigues and hardships, than they do, or with more alacrity.

As they have no means of communicating the knowledge of past events, by writing, they have recourse to tradition. *Their traditions.* Of this, their old men are the depositories; and they take so great care to preserve it pure and unmixed, that it is not communicated indifferently to all their young men, lest they should make a wrong use of it, and either diminish or add to it. The elders have a particular art in knowing the dispositions of their youth, who are always under their eye, and intrust only the most stayed and sedate amongst them with their antient word, for so they call their traditions. Most part of the *Natches*, though they had a peculiar dialect of their own, speak the vulgar tongue; but being now incorporated with the *Chicachas*, it is probable the purity of their original language will soon be lost. According to *du Pratz*, like the *Chinefe*, their nobility had one language, and their common people another. The manner in which the men speak, is full, sonorous, and grave; and they laugh at nothing more than to hear a man speak like a woman; which the *French* commonly do.

Religion.

As to the religion of the *Louisianian* savages, most, or all of them, have an idea of a supreme being, whom they call the grand spirit, by way of excellence, and whose perfections are as much superior to all other beings, as the fire of the sun is to elementary fire. *Du Pratz*, who lived in intimate friendship with the chief guardian of the temple of the perpetual fire, tells us, that they believed in an omnipotent God, the maker of all things, either visible or invisible, and that he was so good that he could do no evil to any one, even if he inclined. That though he created all things by his will, yet he had under him spirits of an inferior order, who, by his power, formed the beauties of the universe; but, that man was the work of the creator's own hands. Those spirits are, by the *Natches*, termed free servants or agents; but at the same time they are as submissive as slaves. They are constantly in the presence of God, and prompt to execute his will. The air, according to them, is full of other spirits of more mischievous dispositions, and these have a chief, who was so eminently mischievous, that God Almighty was obliged to confine him, and ever since, those aerial spirits do not commit so much mischief as they did before, especially if they are intreated to be favourable. For this reason the savages always invoke them when they want either rain or fair weather. Their fasts are very long, and the grand *Sun* himself has been known, for nine days successively, to abstain from women, and from all kind of food, excepting a little maize and water. Their account of the creation of the first man is almost correspondent to the *Mosaic* account; that God first formed a little man of clay, and breathed upon his work, and that he then walked about, grew up, and became a perfect man; but the antient word is silent as to the formation of the woman. It would be improper to enter into any farther deduction of the religion of those savages, which they pretended to have from a bright man and his wife, who descended from the *Sun*; and indeed there is something so striking in the account, which *du Pratz* gives us of the whole system, that there is some room to suspect that he has been imposed upon.

Policy.

THE grand *Sun's* power was despotism itself. Though he was the uncontrouled master of the lives and properties of his subjects, yet he was free from the evils attending arbitrary government in other countries, being under no apprehensions of treason against his person or insurrections against his state. On his pronouncing sentence of death, the criminal, though he could make his escape, never attempts it, but quietly submits to his fate without ever begging for life. All
exc.

executions are done on the spot the moment the criminal is found. The other *Suns* partook of the grand *Sun's* authority, according to their several degrees of relation to him, and the *Pointed Serpent* at the time when his nation had war with *France*, killed, with his own hand, three *Natches*, who had taken and bound a *Frenchman*, his friend. They have political as well as religious feasts. The last is in honour of the great spirit to thank him for his benefits, and the first is for the convenience of the sovereign, who, on those occasions, gathers in his revenues; for the reader is to observe, that he is so very absolute as to have no stated income; therefore every one contributes to it, as their inclination or abilities permit, and no farther questions are asked. Their year consists of thirteen moons, and at the end of every moon a feast is made, which takes the name from the chief fruits of the ground, which the preceding moon afforded, or the game that was then in season. The first feast of the year, which is that of the kids, is very grand. On this occasion they perform a kind of a drama, founded on one of the chief events of their history. Antiently one of their grand *Suns*, hearing a sudden commotion in his village, ran hastily out of his palace to appease it, but fell into the hands of enemies, from whom he was rescued by his warriors. To commemorate this important incident, they act it over, but without words, and yet not quite in dumb shew. They divide themselves into two parties, the one distinguished by white, and the other by red, feathers; they engage; the chief rung out rubbing his eyes, as if awakening from his sleep, makes a great slaughter of his enemies, who at last surround and prepare to carry him off, when he is rescued by his warriors. Every incident may be known, without seeing the action, by the different cries of hope, joy, death, and fear, which the two parties put up; and though no hurt is received, no players in *Europe* can equal their action, and during all the time of the representation, the elders, women, and other spectators, join in the chorus of cries. *Du Pratz*, who has seen this exhibition, says that the grand chief, at the age of ninety, used to perform his part with an address and vigour, which no man of thirty could come up to, especially as it must have continued longer than the action of any *European* drama. The most solemn, however, of all their feasts is the seventh, which is termed that of the *Maiz* or corn; but its ceremonies are too various, and too tedious to have place here.

THE politeness of those savages in some points, is the reverse of that of the *Europeans*, all priority and preference being

B b 4

being given to the men, and the women being considered as only household drudges. The ladies, however, in the more early parts of their lives, are not without their pleasures. As soon as the two sexes are judged by their parents to be of proper years for procreation, the men and women mix together without the ceremony of marriage; but after they are married all amours are dropt on both sides, and neither husband nor wife is then considered as having a heart to dispose of. Though the former have a power of divorce, yet examples of that kind are very seldom known amongst the *Natches*, and never but when the woman is next to a fiend. The women are so well practised in the art of abortion (P), that they never have children before marriage; and the bridegroom never fails to value his wife the more the greater fortune she brings to his, from her amours with others; for it seems the fair ones there are far from being void of mercenary views, and take care always to make a previous bargain with their lovers.

*Mar-
riages.*

WHEN a treaty of marriage is proposed, the two parties never apply to their own fathers, but to the head of the family, who sometimes happens to be their great great grandfather; and when the two elders meet, their first care is to examine whether the bridegroom and bride are not within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, a circumstance of which they are very jealous; but, when this interview happens, it is always supposed that the intermediate parents on both sides are agreed upon the match, for, if any amongst them disapprove of it, it never takes place. Thus it happens that amongst those disciples of uninstructed nature, family-jarrings are seldom or never heard; as no woman can enter into a family who is not perfectly agreeable to every member of it. After the two elders are agreed, the day is fixed; the men go a-hunting to provide good cheer, the woman prepares the maize, and lavishes all her art in decking out the cabin of her bridegroom. When the day comes, the elder of the bride's family issues out of his cabin, and conducts her to that of her future spouse. All the family, men and women, follow him in silence, and no immoderate marks of joy appear. Before the bridegroom's cabin are ranged all his relations and parents, who receive the others with rude acclamations of joy. The bride's elder is introduced by the other into the

(P) This detestable custom is said to be common amongst all the *American savages*, and without searching for other causes, sufficiently accounts for the thinness of their population, as it undoubtedly is a great enemy to parturientcy.

cabin;

cabin; after this, the ceremony is very simple. You are here, says the landlord; yes, answers the guest; sit thee down, replies the other; and after a quarter of an hour's silence, they proceed to business. The two elders rise, order the bride and bridegroom to advance towards them; and then they give them a lecture, worthy even Christians, upon the reciprocal duties of a married state. The bridegroom's father then brings the present he intends to give his son; and the bride's father does the same by his daughter. The bridegroom then says to his bride, will thou take me for thy husband? Her answer is, "with all my heart; love me, as well as I love thee, for I love thee, and never will love any other man." Upon this, the bridegroom holds the father's present above the bride's head, saying, "I love thee, and therefore I take thee for my wife, and behold what I give to thy parents to purchase thee." The bridegroom then carries the feather of an aigrette, a particular fowl, upon the link that depends from his left ear, as a mark of his superiority, with an oaken sprig to it, thereby signifying, that he is not afraid of the woods, or the labours of hunting; and he takes into his hand a bow and arrows, to mark that he is not afraid of his enemies, and that he shall always be ready to defend his wife and children. The bride holds in her left hand a small branch of laurel, and in her right an ear of maize, which her mother gives her at the time the father receives the present. The laurel signifies, that she shall always keep herself sweet and clean; and the maize, that she shall take care to prepare and dress her husband's victuals. After this, the bride drops the ear of maize, and the husband joins his right hand to hers, saying, I am thy husband; and she answers, I am thy wife. The husband then joins hands with all his wife's family, and she does the same with his. He next shews her his bed, and says, behold our bed, keep it in good order, meaning, that she should not defile it. Those ceremonies being over, the rest of the day is spent in feasting, sports, and dancing. The bounds of this undertaking do not admit our enlarging farther in this place upon the customs of those savages; and, therefore, we must proceed to the history of *British Florida*, which naturally follows that of the *British Louisiana*.

*Nuptial
ceremonies
amongst
the sa-
vages.*

LOUISIANA was formerly reckoned by the Spaniards *Farther* part of *Florida*, which country, since our general account of it, has become the property of *Great Britain*; and, therefore, *the British* having had some fresh materials communicated to us, we *Florida* cannot, in justice to the public, omit giving a more particular history of that valuable acquisition; especially as it will prove
of

of what prodigious consequence the *Spaniards* thought it to their interest in *America*, not, indeed, so much on account of its utility to them, as to keep it out of the hands of the *English* and *French*.

Expeditions of Ponce de Leon,

WITHOUT entering into the common topic, that has been so much agitated, concerning the first discoverers of *Florida*, of which little is known, (and indeed the whole dispute is now immaterial) we shall take up this history from the year 1512, when, on the 3d of *March*, *John Ponce de Leon*, a *Spaniard*, sailed from the island of *Porto Rico* with three ships, and steering northwest, he made land on the 3d of *April* following, in the latitude of thirty degrees and eight minutes north. As the insolent *Spaniards* of those days thought themselves sufficiently warranted by the pope's grants for taking possession where-ever they landed in *America*, he went through that ceremony, and named the country where he landed *Florida*, because he discovered it upon *Easter-day*, or what the *Spaniards* call the flourishing day of *pasch* (Q). He then, on the 8th of the same month, sailed towards the south, coasting along the shore, but was long before he could discover any of its natives; but, at last, seeing some, he ventured to land, and, if we are to credit the *Spanish* accounts, the savages attempted to rob him of his boat, which brought on a skirmish, in which two *Spaniards* were wounded. He afterwards, in going to water, made prisoner one of the natives, who served him as a guide and interpreter, and erected a cross and an inscription upon the banks of a river, which is from thence called *Rio de la Cruz*. All this while, *Ponce* imagined *Florida* to be an island, and, in that persuasion, he returned through the *Lucaya* islands to *Porto Rico*.

and Vaquez.

No farther attempts seem to have been made for eight years by the *Spaniards* to pursue this discovery, or rather they had given over all thoughts of it; and, if we are to credit the

(Q) That *Florida* was discovered long before this, appears from *Sebastian Cabot's* own words in 1496. "But after certain days, I found that the land run towards the north, which was to me a great displeasure. Nevertheless, sailing along by the coast, to see if I could find any gulph that turned, I found the land still continent to the fifty-sixth degree under our pole: and, seeing that there

the coast turned toward the east, despairing to find the passage, I turned back again, and sailed down by the coast of that land toward the equinoctial, (ever with an intent to find the said passage to *India*) and came came to that part of this firm land, which is now called *Florida*, where my vessels failing, I departed from thence, and returned into *England*."

French.

French writers, their *Canadians*, at that time, actually traded with the savages of *Florida*. In the year 1520, *Luke Vasquez* of *Aylon*, with some associates, formed the inhuman project of stealing some natives from the neighbouring islands, to supply the scarcity of hands in working the *Spanish* mines. Fitting out two ships, he sailed, from the harbour of, *Plata* in *Hispaniola*, on the north western coast, and came to the *Lucaya* islands, and, from thence, proceeded to that part of *Florida*, now called *St. Helena*, lying in the 32d degree of north latitude. The natives, seeing his ships, as they drew near land with expanded sails, took them for two monstrous fishes driving towards the shore, and ran in crowds to view them; but, seeing them land, they were so struck with the cloathing and appearance of the *Spaniards*, that they fled from them with the greatest marks of consternation. Two of them, however, were taken prisoners, and the *Spaniards*, carrying them on board, gave them victuals and drink, and sent them back on shore cloathed in *Spanish* dresses. This insidious kindness had its desired effect with the unsuspecting savages. The king of the country admired the dresses, and the *Spanish* hospitality, so much, that he sent fifty of his subjects to the ships with fruits and provisions; ordered his people to attend the *Spaniards*, whenever they had a mind to visit the country; and made them rich presents of gold, plates of silver, and pearls. The *Spaniards*, having learned all they could concerning the country, watered, and re victualled their ships, and invited a large number of their generous landlords on board, where they plied them with liquor, and most treacherously weighing anchor, they sailed off with them. This villainy, however, had not all the success its perpetrators expected. Most of the unhappy savages either pined themselves to death, or were wrecked in one of the ships that foundered at sea; and only a very few suffered a fate worse than death, that of being carried into *Spanish* slavery. This villainous action obtained to *Vasquez* from his catholic majesty the reward of a discoverer of new lands; and, in 1524, he sent over more ships to *Florida*, and hastened thither himself the next year with three more. No commodity in *America* is so precious as men; *Vasquez* lost two hundred of his, who were landed, and cut off by the natives, and one of his ships was wrecked near *Cape St. Helen*. Those losses, and his perceiving that the advantages arising from his discoveries, which reached no farther than a part of the *English Carolina*, (which both the *French* and *Spaniards* formerly reckoned to belong to *Florida*, as they did *Georgia*,) near the river *Con-*
garac

garec or *Santee*, made him return to *Hispaniola*, where he broke his heart.

Unsuccessful expedition of Narvez. THE next adventurer in the discovery of *Florida* was *Pamphilo Narvez*, who obtained from *Charles V.* a grant of all the lands lying from the river *Palm*s to the boundaries of *Florida*, a space of territory so indefinite, that it reached as far as the adventurers pleased to extend it on a map. In 1628, he sailed from *Cuba* with four hundred foot, and twenty horse, and arrived at *Florida*, on the 12th of *April*. His anchoring place was so near the land, that he could discover the huts of the savages from his ships, and when he came on shore, finding an utensil made of gold, which the savages, who fled, had left behind them, he concluded that all their other utensils were of the same metal; and, landing his troops, he again took possession of the country for the king of *Spain*. The savages seemed displeased at this ceremony; but such was the innate benevolence of the people, that many of them offered him and his soldiers maize. His business was to get intelligence, and, proceeding up the country, he discovered four wooden boxes containing bodies wrapped up in painted skins, and upon them lay some pieces of stuffs, both linen and woollen, and likewise some gold, which increased his sanguine expectations as to the richness of the country. He ordered his troops to march by land, and his ships to attend him by sea, and the scene of his adventures seems to have lain towards the north coast of the gulph of *Mexico*. On the 1st of *May*, he began his long, painful, and romantic march, against the remonstrances of his treasurer. The fatigues his men underwent were very great; but the few inhabitants they met with were humane and hospitable. An *Indian* prince, cloathed in a stag's hide elegantly painted, and with attendants who blew horns, treated him in his towns with maize and venison.

ACCORDING to all accounts, the *Floridians* were in *North America* what the *Athenians* were in *Greece*; and it is to be regretted, that the original manners of them, and many other people in *South America*, are now lost by the infection they have received from the *Spaniards* and the *Europeans*. Rude as those nations were, they knew that gold was the great motive of the *Spanish* invasions, and their constant custom was to shift, upon more distant nations, the crime of possessing that mischievous metal. The natives, where *Narvez* landed, pretended they had it from the *Apalaches*, and their report engaged him in that laborious march. At last, on the 25th of *June*, he came to the village of *Apalache*, which consisted

of no more than forty cottages ; but those constructed with all the conveniencies, and furnished with all the comforts, of savage elegance, all which he plundered, many of the unsuspecting natives flying to their marshes, but their cacique or prince fell into the hands of the *Spaniards*. *Narvez* remained at *Apalache* for twenty-five days ; but could make no discoveries, excepting those of unfrequented wilds. After a farther journey of nine days southwards, being all the way harrassed, and many of them cut off by the savages, they came to *Aute*, a village lying in a country abounding with corn and necessities of life. The savages had the spirit to oppose their entering into their town, which brought on a sharp engagement, wherein several *Spaniards* were killed ; but *Narvez*, at last, made good his quarters, and became master of large quantities of maize, peas, gourds, and other vegetables. Notwithstanding this seasonable relief, his army was in so miserable a condition, and the country round was so unpromising, that he was forced to direct his march towards the sea, his ships being now the only refuge his soldiers could have to save them from perishing. It was with great difficulty they could provide a kind of boats, to cross the rivers they encountered, their ropes were made of horse hair, and their sails of the soldiers shirts, and the savages took advantage of their distress to cut off ten of their people. Their computation was, that, from the bay of *Santa Cruz*, where they landed, to their place of embarkation, they marched above eight hundred miles. After they were embarked on the 22d of September, they were as miserable as ever, being bewildered amongst bays, distressed for want of water, and never landing without being attacked, and many of them cut off, by the *Indians* ; who, at last, wounded the governor, and had almost destroyed the whole army. His treasurer, *Cabeca de Vaca*, was amongst the number of those unfortunate adventurers, and, being almost the only one amongst them who escaped, it is to him we owe the history of this expedition. In their wanderings, they met with a nation of an unusual size, whose kings wore marten's skins ; and, when the *Spaniards* were reduced to as much misery as human nature could suffer, many of them as could land, who were but a very few, were hospitably relieved by the natives. The rest were obliged to devour one another, and of fourscore, fifteen only remained alive ; and four of them, of whom *Cabeca de Vaca* was one, after enduring inexpressible miseries, arrived at *Mexico* ; but *Narvez* himself never was heard of afterwards.

NOTWITHSTANDING the unfortunate events attending the above three expeditions to *Florida*, *Ferdinand de Soto*, who

was

Expedition of Soto. was governor of *Cuba*, received from *Charles V.* the title of marquis of *Florida*, or more properly of the lands he should conquer there. He was, like the other *Spanish* adventurers, brave, enterprising, intrepid, and persevering, from no principle but that of avarice, and, on the 12th of *May*, 1539, he embarked, on board nine ships, three hundred and fifty horse, and nine hundred foot. This was the most formidable armament of *Europeans* that, till then, had appeared in *North America*; for his number of sailors was proportionable, and he carried with him all kinds of necessaries. On the 25th of the same month, he came to an anchor in the bay of *Spiritu Sancto*, and there disembarked, while the natives, on the first sight they had of his ships, gave alarms by fires all over the country. *Moscofo*, who seems to have been the first in command under *Soto*, drew up the army, and without resistance took possession of a small village, where was a temple; and an idol, and which served as a lodgement; and here the army was cantoned; but we do not find that any of the natives remained in their village, for the *Spaniards* met with an irreparable loss by two *Floridan* interpreters running away from them; and the country round was so marshy, that they could, at first, lay hold of none of the natives. *Soto's* soldiers, at last, took four of them; but they were rescued by their countrymen, (who proved to be an ingenious, brave, vigorous people,) falling off at first from the attack, that they might renew it with double force; so that they drove the *Spanish* detachment back to their head-quarters. Another detachment attacked ten or twelve *Indians*, amongst whom was *John Ortiz*, a noble *Spaniard*, who could not be distinguished from a native, and who, having served under *Narvez*, had been taken prisoner, but had his life spared by the *Floridans*. He surrendered himself to his countrymen, and persuaded the *Indians* to go along with the detachment to the *Spanish* camp, where they were received with vast exultation:

Wonderful adventure of a Spaniard. *Ortiz*, it seems, owed his life to the interposition of a lady, daughter of the chief, by whom he was taken. Humanity alone was the lady's motive, without any amorous inclination; for she advised *Ortiz* to fly to a neighbouring chief, who she knew would receive him favourably, and she shewed him, in person, part of his way. *Moscofo*, (for that was the name of the chief,) received him kindly, and promised to protect him, and, with great nobleness of soul, no sooner heard of the landing of the *Spaniards*, than he counselled *Ortiz*, who had lived his subject for twelve years, to join his countrymen, and gave him, for that purpose, the escorte which the *Spaniards* carried to their camp. *Ortiz*, being equipped

as a *Spanish* officer of horse, informed *Soto* that at the distance of thirty leagues, lay a plentiful country, governed by one *Paracoxi*, the most powerful prince in the neighbourhood. Soon after *Mocoso* paid a friendly visit to the *Spanish* general, who made him a few presents, and dismissed him; after which *Soto* dispatched *Balthazar de Gallegos* to reconnoitre the country of *Paracoxi* with about thirty men: that chief hearing of the *Spaniards* approach, left his capital, but sent a deputation to know what they demanded; and whether he could be of service to them, but he, at the same time, on pretence of an indisposition, declined paying the *Spaniards* a visit. *Gallegos* demanded of the messenger, whether any country thereabouts produced gold and silver, and they directed them to a province called *Cale*; upon which *Gallegos* put them in irons, that they might be useful in the march of the army to *Cale*, where it indeed arrived, but found the town deserted. The army, at this time, was on the point of being famished, but were refreshed by the maize they found at *Cale*, the only commodity it produced. The natives they found there, like their countrymen, willing to get rid of their rapacious guests, directed the general to another plentiful province, called *Palache*, to which he marched against the advice of all his officers, carrying along with him, prisoner, the cacique of *Caliquien*, a province through which he passed. The *Indians* several times applied with great humility for the deliverance of their chief; but that being denied them, *Ortiz*, who understood their language perfectly well, learned from a native that the cacique's subjects and friends had assembled, to the number of four hundred men, in a neighbouring wood, to deliver him by force. Notwithstanding this, they very politely sent two messengers to intercede with the general for their cacique's deliverance; but knowing where the main body was posted, he ordered his soldiers to fall upon them, which they accordingly did, and put forty of them to the sword, while the rest leaping into the water, were surrounded by the *Spanish* horse in such a manner, that all of them but twelve, who resolved to die rather than become slaves, surrendered themselves. Their slavery was so dreadful, that they rose upon the *Spaniards*, and, though only armed with clubs, killed many of them; but, at last, they were subdued, and numbers of them were bound to stakes, and shot by the *Paracoxi Indians*, many of whom had attended the *Spanish* camp. *Soto*, after this, pursued his march to *Palache*, through *Soto* various places and provinces, the names of which are now *marchés* to lost; all the way chaining together the miserable natives who *Palache*, fell into his hands, and forcing them to carry the baggage of his

his soldiers. Upon his arrival at *Palache*, he quartered his army round the residence of that cacique, and it was plentifully supplied with maize, beans, cucumbers, and a kind of plumbs, more delicious than any to be found in *Europe*, but which grow there without cultivation. *Palache* lies within ten leagues of the sea, and from thence *Soto* sent out one of his officers, *Maldonado*, to reconnoitre, and to try whether he could discover any country producing gold, or a good harbour. *Maldonado* discovered an excellent harbour, and was sent by the general to the *Havannab* to procure a supply of arms and tools. A young *Indian* prisoner was soon after brought before *Soto*, who gave him an account, that far off towards the east, lay a province, called *Yupaba*, which produced abundance of gold; and he described the manner of melting and refining it with so much accuracy, that the *Spaniards* thought it impossible they could be imposed upon, and leaving *Palache*, they began a most arduous, difficult, and dangerous march, in which most of their *Indian* prisoners perished through fatigue, to *Yupaba*. The first place they arrived at was *Capachiqui*, from whence they proceeded to *Toalli*, where they found the natives living in a convenient, comfortable, manner, far beyond all the *Floridans* they had seen. The next town they came to was *Achesé*, where *Soto* impudently pretended to the cacique, who hospitably came to visit him, that he was the son of the sun, and set at liberty all the cacique's subjects, whom he had taken prisoners. On the 24th of *April*, the army arrived at *Altaraca*, and from thence at *Ocuté*, where the cacique sent 2000 men with presents to the general, and gave him four hundred of his subjects for service. The *Spaniards* next came to *Cofaqui*, and then to *Patofa*; the country all the way for fifty miles presenting a most beautiful appearance. The *Patofans* said they knew of no such country as *Yupaba*; but *Soto* still pursued his march to the eastward, though the *Patofans* directed him to a fertile province, lying to the north-west. The march proved so tedious, that the general threatened to throw the young *Indian* who had deceived him to the dogs; but he was saved by the interposition of *Ortiz*. *Soto*, in vain, sent out parties to make discoveries, and his army must have perished for want of provisions, had it not been for some swine, which he had brought to *Florida*, and carried along with him, and had multiplied extremely. At last, *Danbusco*, one of his officers, who had been sent out on a reconnoitring party, returned with an account of his having discovered a town, at the distance of about thirty-six miles, which revived the spirits of the army; but they were obliged to dismiss the *Patofans*, who had served

Altaraca,
Ocuté,
and Co-
faqui.

the *Spaniards* with great fidelity and affection. On the 26th of *April* the general took possession of this town, and understood that, near it, lay another nation, called *Catífachiqui*, ^{A female cacique.} which was governed by a woman. The general sent his compliments to that princess, who returned hers by her sister; and soon after she appeared herself in a canoe, attended by many others, with all the state of her country. She was received by *Soto*, and made him a present of a pearl necklace, the pearls of an uncommon size, and while he remained in her dominions, she furnished him with provisions of fowls. Her country was pleasant, and her people more civilized than any *Soto* had met with in *Florida*, wearing cloaths and drawers. Here the *Spaniards* found a very advantageous port for the ships from *New Spain*, *Peru*, *St. Martha*, and the main; and most of them wanted to settle there; but gold being the sole view of the general, he rejected all their applications, and pretending that *Maldonado* was to wait for them at *Ochuse*, he prepared to set out for *Catífachiqui*.

In the mean while, the *Spaniards* had behaved with such *Soto's* rudeness and barbarity to the attendants of the female cacique, ^{farther progress.} that she had formed a design of escaping from them, but was most infamously put under arrest by *Soto*, notwithstanding the generous manner in which she received him, and obliged to attend his army on foot as a prisoner for seven days of a wretched march through a desert country, until they came to *Chalagne*. The princess thus basely betrayed into slavery, discovered no sign of reluctance or discontent; but ordered her subjects to carry the *Spanish* baggage, and dissembled so well, that on their march to *Xualla*, she found means to escape, carrying off with her a casket of very valuable pearls. This elopement was a vast mortification and disappointment to *Soto*, who intended to have kept her as a pledge for the fidelity of the extended dominions she possessed, many of the neighbouring caciques being her tributaries. Five days after, the *Spaniards* arrived at *Quaxalla*, from whence *Soto* sent a messenger to the cacique of *Chiaha*, desiring him to provide maize for his army, as he intended to reside for some days in his dominions. The country from *Catífachiqui* was so beautiful and so fertile, that it naturally produced fruit, as fine as any to be found in the best *European* gardens. After five days march, the army approached near *Chiaha*, where the governor met with a most hospitable reception from the cacique; and the *Spaniards* here found lard made of bear's fat, and likewise honey, the first they had seen in *Florida*. This country presented them with the face of tranquillity; the people were generous and peaceable; and the soil so fertile, that the *Spanish* ^{to Chiaha}
 MOD. HIST. VOL. XL. C c hories

horses soon grew fat in grazing on the neighbouring meadows. In short, the situation of the *Spaniards* here, after the vast fatigue they had undergone, was so enchanting, that *Soto* made it the place of his army's residence for thirty days. *Soto* then demanded of the cacique thirty of his subjects to carry his baggage, which, with a great deal of difficulty on the part of the cacique, as, well as the general, was complied with; those princes being obliged on such occasions to consult their people.

*in search
of gold.*

SOTO's ravenous appetite for gold and silver still prevailed, and the cacique of *Acofte*, who came to pay him his compliments, informed him, that the province of *Chisca*, towards the north, produced copper, with other metals of a more lively appearance. This information was sufficient to add wings to the general's expedition, and, on the 12th of *July*, he arrived at *Acofte*, which he entered attended only by eight of his guards. He was received with great hospitality by the cacique; but others of his rapacious soldiers beginning to ransack and plunder the town, the *Indians* fell upon them, and the general's person being in the hands of the savages, he must have lost his life, had he not, with great presence of mind, joined them in beating his plundering soldiers. This reconciled the cacique and his people so much to him; that he found means to draw the cacique and some of his principal attendants to his camp, where he put them all under arrest; and declared that they should not regain their liberty, till they furnished guides for his soldiers, and till two messengers he had dispatched to *Chisca* were returned in safety, which they did next day. They reported, that the ways were so impracticable, and the country so barren, that they could not reach *Chisca*, and the cacique furnishing the guides that were required from him, he was set at liberty, while the *Spaniards* marched to *Tali*. Here, as usual, they met with a generous reception from the cacique, who furnished him with some of his subjects to carry their baggage, and, on the 16th of *July*, they arrived at *Cofa*. The cacique there met them in great state, before they entered the town. He was cloathed in a robe of marten's skins; he wore on his head a feather diadem; and the litter on which he sat was carried on the shoulders of his nobles; his other subjects playing round it with instruments of music. The reception the *Spaniards* met with in this delightful country, which was well peopled, well cultivated, and abounded with all the beauties of nature, was the most hospitable that can be conceived; for the inhabitants resigned even their own houses for the accommodation of the *Spaniards*. But when *Soto*, as he had always done to the others, put their cacique under

*His reception
by the
cacique of
Cofa.*

under arrest, the inhabitants fled to the woods, from whence they could not be drawn, but by the entreaties of the cacique himself, to carry the baggage of the *Spaniards*.

ON the 20th of *August*, *Soto* continued his march to *Tallimachuse*, and from thence to *Itava*. He then reached *Ulliballi*, and marching leisurely through the cultivated spots, but hastily through the deserts, he reached *Toast*; and five days after *Tallise*, a large town lying in the midst of a well cultivated country; and here he dismissed the cacique of *Cosa*, whom, till then, he had most ungratefully and ungenerously detained in captivity. From thence he marched to *Tascaluca*, the residence of a powerful warlike prince, who reigned over well cultivated and populous countries. This cacique received *Soto* sitting in a balcony, and with great state, and the *Spaniard* seating himself by him, whispered to him, that he was his prisoner, and must go along with him. Two days after, *Soto* continued his march to *Piaché*, and a *Spaniard* being missing, he gave the cacique of *Tascaluca* to understand, that if he expected his liberty, the *Spaniard* must be produced. The savage, with great quickness, under pretence of giving the necessary orders for that, and for provisions for the army, on the 18th of *October*, dispatched messengers to *Maville*, a large town of which the cacique was his tributary, to inform him of his condition, and to gather as great a force as he could for his deliverance. *Soto* had some intimation of what was intended, but obstinately entered the town, and the cacique of *Tascaluca* fairly apprized him of his danger, and endeavoured to persuade him to march no farther, and to leave him at his liberty. *Soto* continued deaf to all his remonstrances; upon which the cacique made his escape to his friend and subjects, and put the haughty *Spaniards* to defiance, nor would he deign afterwards to have the least intercourse with them.

SOTO would gladly have compounded with the prince, whom he had but an hour before held greatly in contempt, and offered to let him remain at liberty, if he would give him a guide, and a few of his subjects to carry his baggage. This offer was rejected by the generous cacique with silent indignation; and one of his chief subjects, who refused to carry a second message on the same head, being wounded by an insolent *Spaniard*, the natives ran to arms, drove *Soto* wounded out of their town, killed five of his attendants, and made prize of all his valuable baggage, with a number of arms. *Soto*, regaining his camp, charged the savages at the head of his cavalry, and drove them behind the pallisade, and then, bringing all his army up, he attempted to storm the

He is in danger of being cut off.

town. The savages, foreseeing their fate, had sent off their cacique, with the most valuable baggage they had taken from the *Spaniards*, to a place of safety, and had they been equally armed with the *Spaniards* would have defeated them; but, being in a manner naked, the *Spaniards* forced their way into their town with the slaughter of 2500 *Indians*, who bravely fell with their arms in their hands.

Soto arrives at Chicoca.

THIS unmanly advantage was far from recompensing the avaricious *Spaniards* for their loss. The *Indians* had carried off all that they had gained by their long, toilsome, and expensive expedition; and Soto, who was upon his march to *Ochuse*, where *Maldonado* was waiting for him at the distance of seven days journey, ordered that the late action should not be mentioned in the army, the soldiers being ignorant of the vast loss he had sustained; and he still trusting to the expected land of gold and silver, which was to make up for all miscarriages and losses. On the 18th of *November*, he resumed his march, and after various adventures, he arrived at *Chicoca* the 18th of *December*, where he resolved to winter. The country being fine and fertile, the cacique of it was invited by Soto to visit him, which he did, together with two other chiefs, who made him presents of what the country afforded. At last, Soto and the cacique of *Chicoca* grew so intimate, that the former lent the latter a part of his troops to reduce some of his rebel subjects; but, in this expedition the *Spaniards* had no opportunity to shew their valour, as the rebels fled upon the approach of their cacique. While the *Spaniards* wintered here, they behaved so little to the satisfaction of the natives, that in *March*, when Soto was about to move his army, he could not obtain from the cacique, who pretended that he must consult his great men, any *Indians* for his service. At last, the natives rose upon the *Spaniards*, and attacked them in the night-time, all at once setting fire to the town, where they were cantoned, and killing the *Spaniards* as soon as they set foot out of their tents or cottages. It is possible, that the whole body of the *Spaniards* might have been destroyed, had not the savages set fire to the town, and the *Spanish* horses breaking loose, they imagined that the riders were forming to attack them; upon which they retired after burning the town, and all the effects, which the *Spaniards* had in it. Twelve *Spaniards* were killed, many were wounded or scorched by the flames; but fifty horses were burnt, together with four hundred pigs, an animal which the *Spaniards* had imported into *Florida*, where it thrived prodigiously, and the *Indians* were so fond of its flesh, that many quarrels happened on that account between them and the *Spaniards*. The

His army attacked by the Indians.

latter had now no shelter against the vast inclemency of the weather, till a soldier invented a robe, woven of dry grass, which, though ridiculous at first, was soon imitated by all the army, to whom it proved a comfortable cloathing. Had the *Indians* attacked them in this distress, they might have been ruined; but they delayed giving them any molestation till the 15th of *March*, when the *Spaniards* were so well provided to receive them, that they were repulsed with the loss of forty men.

SOTO then pursued his march; but was opposed by the *Indians*, who had entrenched themselves behind a pallisade, and for some time fought them very bravely, till being obliged by the *Spanish* fire-arms to retire, they threw themselves into a river, which they crossed; the *Spaniards* not daring to pursue them. *Quizquiz* was seven days march from *Alimama*, where the late encounter happened, through most dreadful roads, the fatigue of which the *Spaniards*, however, surmounted, and, surprizing the place, they made the cacique's mother a prisoner. *Soto* intended to keep her as a pledge for her son's friendship, but offered to set her at liberty, provided the cacique would come to his camp. The savage refused to trust him, till his mother and all the other prisoners were delivered up, which *Soto*, whose army was upon the point of perishing, was obliged to comply with. All that this compliance gained him, was liberty to proceed unmolested to *Ria Grande*. Here he found a station that afforded maize, and wood for building boats, and he was visited in vast state by the cacique of the place, who was very powerful, and attended by two hundred canoes. After some conferences together, the cacique made a seasonable present of fish, and a sort of cakes, made of plumb paste; but he could not be persuaded to land; and it was thought he would have attacked the *Spaniards*, had he found them off their guard. The *Spaniards* then crossed the river, which was the largest in *Florida*, but were all the while exposed to excessive showers of arrows from the savages. After painfully traversing the province of *Quixo*, they marched to that of *Pacha*, and from thence to that of *Casqui*. The cacique of this country being at war with him of *Pacaba*, through whose territories *Soto's* march lay, entertained him and his attendants very plentifully, and they were received through all the province with great joy. Before *Soto*, who had always called himself the son of the *Sun*, resumed his march, the cacique brought him two blind men to be cured, as a proof of his divine extraction, which put *Soto* to some confusion, and he was obliged to refer his patients to *Jesus Christ*. *Soto* and his army passed the river here upon a bridge most ingen-

He penetrates into Casqui and Pacaha.

niously constructed by the savages, and falling into the province of *Pacaha*, he was followed by the cacique of *Casqui*, and his army. The cacique of *Pacaha*, at first, stood upon the defensive in a little island, from whence being driven, a considerable booty fell into the hands of the *Casquians*, who, finding that the *Spaniards* were strongly inclined to claim it, separated from their army; and this obliged *Soto* to take the *Pacahan* cacique into his friendship, and, at last, to reconcile the two chiefs together. He remained forty days in this station; but, not being able to discover any road from that to *Chisca*, the fancied land of gold and silver, he returned back to *Casqui*, and, on the 4th of *August*, arrived at *Quigate*, the largest town the *Spaniards* had seen in *Florida*. Great part of it was burnt by way of precaution by *Soto*, and, its cacique being made prisoner, he was by him directed to the province of *Coligoa*, to which they marched through a road so very marshy, that they were sometimes obliged to sleep in the water. After travelling about forty leagues in this uncomfortable manner, they proceeded to *Paliseme*, and from thence to *Tafalicoya*, where the cacique furnished them with a guide to *Cayas*, where the army remained a whole month. Here the natives manufactured salt, a commodity which the *Spaniards* had not before seen in *Florida*, and the soil fattened their horses to an amazing degree. *Soto*, as usual, made the cacique his prisoner, and he offered him a guide to *Tulla*, which lay a day and a half's journey to the southward; but, he having been long at war with that people, no interpreter could be procured.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, *Soto* set out with a party of horse and foot; but was soon obliged to return, the natives having fallen upon the army he had left. The people of *Tulla* at first made resistance, but *Soto* cut off the right hands and noses of six of them, and sent them in that condition to their cacique, threatening that, unless he submitted, he would treat himself and all his subjects in the same manner. This menace had the desired effect; and amongst other presents made to the *Spaniards* by the natives were a great many cow-skins covered with wool, as soft as that of sheep, which in that cold country was of infinite service to them. *Soto* had likewise here the good fortune to meet with an interpreter; and it is said that some of the marshes through which he passed were so full of fish, that his soldiers could take them up with their hands. Upon enquiry, he found that he was within eighty leagues of *Autiamqué*; which, by the description he had of its being a plentiful populous country, and situated near a great lake, which he thought might be an

am

arm of the sea, he resolved to make his winter quarters, especially as it might open him a communication with *Cuba*. This was the more necessary as he had now lost above two hundred and fifty of his army, whom he expected to be recruited from *Cuba*. In his route to *Autiamqué* he marched through the towns of *Annouxi* and *Catamaya*. When he arrived at *Autiamqué* he pitched his camp at a distance from the houses, and fortified it with a wooden pallisade. The cacique sent him presents, but would not go near him in person; and perceiving from *Soto's* evasive manner, that he intended to remain for some time in his country, he would gladly have forced him away, but *Soto* kept his people so alert, that his camp was not to be surprized, and the *Indians* could not attack him in any other manner. While he lay here, his army had great plenty of provisions, and particularly of fine large rabbits.

ON the 6th of *March* 1542, *Soto* marched from *Autiamqué* 1542. with his army, which was now reduced to three hundred *His army reduced to* men, and forty horses, several of them lame; amongst others, *John Ortiz* died at *Autiamqué* to the inexpressible loss of *Soto*; *three hundred men, and forty horses.* whose design was to march to *Nilco*, from whence he hoped to have a passage to the sea. After a march, in which his army was obliged sometimes to swim, so marshy was the country, he arrived at *Tutelpina*, and three days after at *Tianto*, in the province of *Nilco*, which, excepting *Palache* and *Cosa*, appeared to be the most fertile and best peopled of any they had seen in *Florida*. After various difficulties and adventures he came to *Guachoya*, whose cacique being at war with him of *Nilco*, offered to serve him with his forces; but finding *Soto* determined to visit *Guachoya*, he fled with all his people to the opposite banks of the great river. The *Spaniards* reached *Guachoya*, where *Soto* was accosted with apologies from the cacique, and upon farther enquiry was directed to the dominions of one *Quigaltan*, which lay three days journey down the river on the opposite shore. The difficulties which occurred to the scouting parties, who were sent out to know whether *Quigaltan's* country lay near the sea, were so great that the vexation they occasioned threw *Soto* into a fever. Notwithstanding this, such was his pride and arrogance, that he sent to the cacique of *Quigaltan* to pay him the usual homage and submissions, which he had received from the caciques, and demanding he should do it in person. The cacique returned to this summons an answer full of scorn and indignation, putting the *Spaniard* at defiance; nay, making even preparations to attack him. This exasperated *Soto* *Desired by the Indians,* so much that he sent a detachment, which, in conjunction

with the natives of *Guachoya*, committed a most horrible and unprovoked massacre upon the inhabitants of *Nilco*, who were now returned to their habitations. *Soto* was now confined to his death-bed, and piously poured out his soul in acknowledgments to God for having enabled him to shed such torrents of innocent blood, and carry on so many wars against savages, and in exhorting his followers to tread in his most Christian footsteps; for which purpose, he advised them to name his successor. This they modestly declined, and the nomination being left to himself, he pitched upon his lieutenant-general, *Lewis Moscoso d'Alvarado*, to whom the *Spaniards* immediately swore obedience.

His death.

Succeeded by Moscoso.

MOSCO took great care to conceal *Soto's* death from the savages, whom he endeavoured to persuade, that he was immortal, and only gone to heaven for a short time; a journey which he had often performed; but they suspected the truth, and the cacique of *Guachoya* sent *Moscoso* two very handsome young *Indians* to accompany *Soto* to the other world. *Moscoso* gave orders that they should be sent back; but one of them never would part with him, because he thereby saved his life. *Moscoso* then deliberated about the course they were to pursue, whether to make the best of their way by land to the *Spanish* settlements, or endeavour to reach *Cuba* by sea: the former was resolved on, and on the 5th of *June* the *Spaniards* quitted *Guachoya*, and after six days march through a desert, reached *Chaguata*, in which province they remained for two days. On the 4th of *July* they arrived at *Agua-cay*, from whence they proceeded to the province of *Mayé*, and thence to *Naguata*. Here they were bravely attacked by the savages; but hunger and despair rendering them invincible, they forced their passage cross a river, where the cacique's habitation lay, and entered a most plentiful country. Here the cacique made his submission, throwing the blame of all that had happened upon his brother, who had been killed by the *Spaniards* in the attack made upon them, and he was taken into particular favour by *Moscoso*. The swelling of rivers, though no rain had fallen, detained *Moscoso* for eight days in this province; but in three days more he reached *Misfobene*, and *Lacané*, both of them lying in the midst of wild deserts. He then came to *Mondaca*, from thence he marched to *Sacatino*, and then through the province of *Aays*, where the *Spaniards* were dreadfully harrassed by the natives, and after sustaining incredible fatigues they reached *Nagisosa*.

Who is forced to return to Nilco.

In this situation of the *Spaniards* we are to consider them in the light of out-casts and wanderers upon the face of the earth. Surrounded as they were by wilds and deserts they had

had no object on which they could exercise their courage, nor could they exert any virtue but patience. After consultation they resolved to return to *Nilco*, that they might get from thence a passage to *Cuba*. While they were on their march back, they were most agreeably surprized to see that the industry and activity of the savages had repaired all the horrible ravages which they themselves had committed in their marches. The town of *Naguata*, which they had destroyed, was rebuilt, and the natives were employed in a manufacture of earthen dishes, resembling those of *Spain* and *Holland*. Upon their arrival at *Nilco*, where they were to provide ships, they met with a very different appearance of things; the inhabitants having not recovered the consternation into which the *Spaniards* had thrown them, and their country was void of all the means of subsistence. Their enmity with a neighbouring people, those of *Minoya*, saved the *Spaniards* when they were on the point of perishing, by directing them against the *Minoyans*, in whose country they found prodigious quantities of maize and wood very fit for ship-building. Through incredible industry and application, seven brigantines were built, and upon the sudden swelling of the waters at the encrease of the moon, they were set on float. On the 2d of *July*, 1543, the *Spaniards* embarked, and sailing down the river amidst clouds of *Indian* arrows, which poured on every side, and which killed a great many of their men after a most uncomfortable passage of fifty-two days, the thin remains of them arrived at *Panico* on the continent of *Mexico* on the 10th of *September* 1543 (R). Thus ended the expedition of *Ferdinand de Soto* and *Mascoso* in ruin and poverty to all who were concerned in it; nor did they leave a *Spaniard* in all *Florida*.

THIS last circumstance suggested to the famous admiral de *Caligny* the idea of transplanting to *Florida* a colony of *French* *Adventures of Ribaut*.

(R) The above relation of *Soto's* expeditions, or rather mad adventures in *Florida*, is taken from the famous *Inca Garcilasso de la Vega*, printed at *Lisbon*, in 1605. Though his authority has been always deemed unquestionable, yet *Charlevoix* has accused him of exaggerating the power and riches of the *Floridans*, but we cannot see with what propriety. It is certain from the relations of the

French themselves, that the inhabitants of *Florida* are strong, ingenious, active and brave; if they are otherwise at present, it is owing to the harrassments of the *Spaniards*, and the *French*; but the nature of the soil is still the same, and the mildness and benevolence of a *British* administration, may soon restore the present *Floridans* to all the virtues of their ancestors, and render them excellent subjects.

pro-

Protestants, and he had the permission of *Charles IX.* for that Purpose; that prince being anxious to get rid of his huguenots at any rate. As *Coligny* had the entire direction of this new project, he committed the execution of it to one *Ribaut*, a native of *Dieppe*, an experienced sailor and a zealous huguenot. On the 18th of *February*, 1562, he sailed from *Dieppe* with two ships well equipped, and well manned; the crews consisting of prime sailors, with a body of land forces, amongst whom were several gentlemen volunteers. To the first land which he discovered, which was woody, though low, he gave the name of *Cape François*. He then turned to the right, and discovered the river of *Dauphin*, without entering it; after which he sailed to the river of *May*, so called from his entering it the first of that month. Here he was welcomed by great numbers of the savages, and he erected a kind of stone column, on which the arms of *France* were engraved. This idle ceremony of possession being over, *Ribaut* visited the cacique of the savages he was amongst, and made him some presents. After this, he arrived at the river *Jourdain*, which we have already mentioned to have been discovered by *Vasquez*, and coasted, still keeping sight of the land, all along the shore of what is now the *English Carolina*, and which the *French* affect to comprehend in their *Florida*, tho' the province of *Georgia* interposes between *Carolina* and *Spanish Florida*. *Ribaut*, as he proceeded, gave *French* names to all the rivers he met with; but sometimes mistook bays for the mouths of rivers. Arriving at that of *St. Croix*, which he mistook for *Jourdain*, he built a fort which he called *Charles* fort. Its situation was in the midst of a most delightful country; the neighbouring rivers abounding with fish, and the savages extremely compliable: but he could not prevail with one of them to follow him to *France*, where he intended to present them to his court, and his patron, the admiral.

Who leave
a French
Huguenot
colony in
Florida.

RIBAUT, having made a settlement round his new-built fort, left one of his officers, *Albert*, to command it, and he himself returned to *Dieppe*, where he arrived on the 20th of *July*. During his absence, *Albert*, according to orders, made excursions, that he might extend his discoveries further up the country, during which he visited several paraousties or chiefs, for so they are there termed. Here one of them, *Andusta*, admitted him to be spectator, but secretly, of one of their festivals in favour of a divinity they called *Toya*, which began in the funeral, but ended in the bacchanalian, manner. *Albert* fell into the common fault of all adventurers. Instead of sowing grounds, and rearing stock for the subsistence of the colony, he roved about the country in quest of gold and silver

silver mines. In a short time his provisions failed him; after that his powder and ball, and, at last, the season for fishing passed over; nor could his infant colony be any longer supplied by the savages; as an accidental fire consumed the small remains of maize that was left him. The truth is, this captain *Albert* was a downright tyrant over his people, whose patience was at last worn out, and they cut his throat. They chose for his successor one *Barre*, who was a prudent, moderate man; but *Ribaut* not returning according to his promise, the colony precariously depended upon the savages for subsistence, till they came to have nothing before their eyes but death, by famine. In this extremity of distress, though there was scarce an artizan or a sailor amongst them, they made shift to build and rig out a vessel by an effort of industry, the half of which, if exerted in cultivating their lands, would have enabled them to have lived comfortably. Putting to sea, they were soon destitute of all the means of subsistence, their provisions and fresh water entirely failing them. At last, their ill constructed vessel being every moment in danger of foundering, they prepared to draw lots who should be killed for the benefit of the survivors. A soldier, one *Lachau*, who had been basely treated by *Albert*, offered to be the victim; upon which, he was immediately butchered and devoured. Soon after this tragedy was acted, just as they were upon the point of repeating it, they were taken up by an *English* ship, on board of which was a *Frenchman*, who told them that the civil wars of *France* had prevented their being relieved.

WHEN *Charles IX.* and *Coligny* were, to appearance, reconciled, that admiral strongly solicited reinforcements for his colony; and he obtained three ships well manned and victualled for succouring *Charles* fort, under the command of one *René de Laudonniere*, a good officer, who had before served in that country under *Ribaut*. He carried along with him a number of soldiers, amongst whom were incorporated several gentlemen volunteers, who served at their own expence with a body of excellent artizans, and every man amongst them protestants. The king furnished *Laudonniere* with 50,000 crowns ready money; but *de Morgues*, who served in the same expedition, makes them amount to 100,000 (S). *Laudonniere* sailed with his three ships from *Havre de Grace*, the 22d of *April*, 1564, and on the 22d of *June* he arrived at *Florida*, where he landed, and where he was almost

1564.

(S) The history of the two voyages made to *Florida* was written by *Laudonniere* himself, and is of better note than that wrote by *de Morgues*, which is printed in the first volume of *India Occidentalis*.

WOR-

worshipped by one of the *Floridan* princes, by the *French* writers named *Paraousti Saturioua* (T). This chief was excessively fond of the *French*, and brought to *Laudonniere* his two sons; the eldest of whom was a most amiable prince. At the same time he instructed him in the state of the country, of his friends, his enemies, and of every thing he had either to hope or fear. Without regarding *Charles* fort, he made his residence on the banks of the river *May*, and engaged the *Paraousti* to make a sort of an excursion with him up that river, that he might become entirely acquainted with the adjacent lands. When he had proceeded a little way up the stream, he ordered his tent to be pitched, and sent two of his officers *Ottigny* and *d'Erlac* to make discoveries higher up. In their journey they met with savages, who were entirely independent of *Saturioua*, and who, recovering from the fright into which the sight of the *French* had at first thrown them, brought them to a *Paracousti*, said to be two hundred and fifty years of age, and had that appearance, though his son did not appear to be above sixty. The two officers having had an interview with this aged prince, returned to the place where they had left *Laudonniere*. As the finding mines of gold and silver was the great motive that brought the colonists to *America*, they applied themselves entirely to that discovery, without minding the culture of the lands, which were there very fertile and inviting. *Laudonniere* assisted them in their madness, and became the dupe of the savage *Saturioua*. He demanded of that chief, how he came by a piece of silver he had presented to him. The sagacious *American* answered him, that his own country afforded no such metal; but that it was the product of a distant land, whose *Paraousti's* name was *Timagoa*, and who was his mortal enemy. *Laudonniere* offered to assist him in subduing this enemy; and the *Paraousti* assuring him that *Timagoa's* country afforded abundance of mines, the bargain was struck.

An aged
Paracou-
sti.

A settle-
ment made,
and fort
Caroline
built.

LAUDONNIERE, either repented his having promised to engage in a war that might prove ruinous to an infant colony, or willing to find out the mines without the assistance of the savages, decamped, and without taking *Saturioua* along with him, sailed up another river, where he met with the *Para-*

¶ Vide *THEVET*, page 663.

(T) This *Saturioua's* life is the last in the *Vies des hommes illustres* of *Thevet*, who calls him *Saturiona*. *Thevet* was himself in

that country about the time we are treating of, and therefore deserves some credit.

usti

oussi of the province, his wife, and four well made women, his daughters, and was hospitably entertained by him. Amongst other presents the *Paraoussi* made him, was one of a small silver bullet. This confirmed *Laudonniere* in his opinion, that the neighbourhood was full of mines; and assembling his people, it was unanimously agreed to settle near the mouth of the *May*, as being the shortest passage to the country of the mines, and next day their little squadron was ordered to repair to the mouth of that river, and, about two miles within land, fort *Carolina* was built. It was of a triangular form, its strength and situation advantageous enough against any party of the savages, but the place where it was built was sometimes subject to hurricanes. According to *Laudonniere's* relation, *Saturiova* was so well pleased with the company of the *French*, that he ordered his people to assist in building the fort. Other relations say with greater probability, that all the friendship he shewed the *French* proceeded entirely from his fears, and that he could not bear the thoughts of their making a settlement upon his territory. His dissimulation went so far that he not only furnished the *French*, with abundance of provisions of every kind, but his subjects made them presents of gold, silver, and pearls, which *Laudonniere* ordered, under pain of death, should be deposited into one common stock.

As soon as fort *Caroline* was finished, *Laudonniere* dispatched one of his vessels to *France* for recruits to his colony, and sent *Ottigny* to improve his discoveries about the country of *Timagoa*, and particularly to learn where the mines lay. *Ottigny* was indefatigable in his researches, and one of his soldiers whom he had sent out upon distant discoveries, actually brought him some pounds of silver; but, in fact, the *French* were outwitted by the savages. Nothing precise could be learned from them; nor did the natives so much as agree amongst themselves concerning the places where the mines lay, though all of them pretended they were very distant, that they might remove the *French* farther off. Sometimes they said that towards the *Apalachean* mountains there was found yellow iron, which the settlers immediately concluded to be gold, but, in reality, it was only copper, though bits of gold were sometimes found washed down the banks of the rivers by torrents. In short, those savages behaved so artfully, that they soon stripped the *French* of most of their merchandizes, and paid them only in promises. Amongst the nations thro' which *Ottigny* passed, many ridiculous ceremonies prevailed and he observed that every chief bore the name of his province. By this time *Saturiova* put *Laudonniere* in remembrance

New discoveries,

Laudon- niere urg- ed by Sa- turiova. brance of his promise to be the friend of his friends, and the enemy of his enemies, and asked him whether he was ready to accompany him in an expedition he was about to undertake against *Timagoa*. *Laudonniere* answered him, that he had not forgot his promise, but that his presence was still necessary amongst the *French*; and that he had not made provision for so long an expedition; nor could he be ready to set out in less than two moons. This evasion was very disagreeable to *Saturiova*, whose army was assembled to the number of five hundred men; but at that time he shewed no resentment. Before he set out, he performed a kind of baptismal ceremony amongst his followers, whom he sprinkled with water, and he himself continued for some time under strong agitations in prayer for victory over his enemies.

Laudon- niere robs of his pri- soners. THOSE indispensable ceremonies being over, the army began its march, and in two days time reached the borders of *Timagoa's* dominions. Here a council was held, and it was resolved that the army should separate, one half to proceed by land, and the other by water, towards the town which they were to attack, and matters were ordered so well, that both divisions arrived at the same instant. All who ventured to oppose them were put to the sword, and *Saturiova* returned with about twenty-four prisoners, women and children; thirteen of whom fell to his own share. The day after his return home, *Laudonniere* sent his compliments to him upon his victory, and to beg him to send him two of his prisoners. *Laudonniere's* intention on this demand was to have made a friend of *Timagoa*, by sending him back his prisoners without ransom; but *Saturiova* flatly refused to comply with his demand. The insolent *Frenchman* upon this, taking along with him forty of his soldiers completely armed, thrust himself into *Saturiova's* cabin, and without paying him any civility, demanded to see his prisoners. At first *Saturiova*, who had added some reproaches to his denial of *Laudonniere's* request, pretended that the prisoners had, upon seeing the *French*, fled into woods; but perceiving himself to be in danger, ordered them to appear, which they did, and *Laudonniere* committed them to the care of *d'Erlac* and *le Vasseur* to carry them to their own country, informing *Saturiova* at the same time, that he took this step that he might establish peace between him and *Timagoa*. The two deputies, before they set out, were strongly enjoined to gain over *Timagoa*, and to repair to the country of one *Outina*, who, it seems, was a very powerful prince, and lord paramount of *Timagoa*, and, after doing every thing that could gain his good graces, to contract an alliance with him.

SATU-

SATURIOVA, though touched to the quick at the injury that had been done him by *Laudonniere*, dissembled so completely, that he gave the *French* more marks than ever of his confidence, and promised to stand by every thing concluded between *Laudonniere* and *Timagoa*. There is little room to doubt that he would have taken a proper time to have wreaked his resentment upon the *French*, had it not been for the following unforeseen accident. On the 21st of August 1564, the most dreadful hurricane happened that ever had been seen in those parts; and if we are to believe the relations of eye-witnesses, the lightning that fell (perhaps assisted by some subterraneous eruptions which are common in those cases) even made the waters of the river boil over, while the woods, for the same reason, were all on fire, and great numbers, both of fishes and birds, were destroyed. The savages, who never had before known such dreadful combustions of nature, ascribed them immediately to the artillery of the *French*, while the *French* imagined that the burning of the forests proceeded from the savages, who wanted thereby to force them out of their country. *Laudonniere*, however, perceiving the consternation of the savages from a message they sent him, begging him to give orders for the storm to cease, resolved to avail himself of it. This message came by the subjects of one of *Saturiova*'s vassals, who had refused to send *Laudonniere* his prisoners, and the latter pretended that the storm was owing to his obstinacy, and that he would burn him in his cabin if he did not instantly deliver up the prisoners. The savage punctually complied with this demand; but was so frightened that he fled to the distance of twenty-five miles, and it was two months before he appeared again in his own dominions. To complete the consternation of the savages, the river was infected by the dead fishes, and many who drank of it fell ill.

ON the 10th of September *d'Erlac* and *Vasseur* set out with the captives, under an escort of ten men and a serjeant. Having delivered up their charge to *Timagoa* they set out for *Outina*'s residence, which lay at the distance of one hundred and twenty-seven miles from fort *Caroline*. They were received by *Outina* with transports of joy, who was preparing to set out on an expedition against a neighbouring prince, called *Potanou*, and he invited *d'Erlac* to accompany him, which he agreed to do with half his escort, sending the other half back to fort *Caroline* for fresh instructions how to behave towards *Outina*. That *Paraousti* being in hopes to surprize his enemy, had made no great preparations to take the field, and began his march with a small army; but was terribly discon-

Outina
gains a
victory by
the help of
the French

disconcerted, when he saw his antagonist marching against him at the head of all his forces. He was re-assured by *d'Erlac*, who, on the first onset, shot *Potanou* dead; upon which all his army lost heart and took to their heels. They were pursued by *Outina* and *d'Erlac*, who made a great number of prisoners, and the *Paraoussi* nobly rewarded the Frenchman for his service. Upon their return, they found a boat from *Laudonniere*, which he had dispatched to recal *d'Erlac* to fort *Caroline*, on account of a growing discontent there upon the following occasion.

Mutiny at
fort Caro-
line.

AMONGST the volunteers were a great many gentlemen, whom *Laudonniere* kept as strictly to hard labour as he did the meanest artizans. They complained of this, and likewise that they had with them no clergyman; so that they were without divine service: but indeed their most real grievance was, that they were threatened with a famine. Those causes of discontent were aggravated by an impostor, who pretended that he had the art of discovering gold and silver mines, and that *Laudonniere* refused to suffer him to put it in practice. Their discontents arose to such a height, that at last it was no secret that a conspiracy had been formed against the governor's life. *Laudonniere* behaved on this occasion with wonderful prudence and intrepidity. He hanged up a fellow who had betrayed his confidence to the conspirators, and sent off to *France* in a ship that happened to be then in the river, some of the most dangerous amongst them. Perceiving that many male-contented still remained, he sent them off under the conduct of a gentleman, one *Rache-Ferriere* to complete the discovery of *Outina's* canton, and kept *Outigny* and *d'Erlac* about his own person, being assured of their fidelity. He did not, however, as yet, know the whole extent of the conspiracy against him. Of the two barks which he employed for bringing provisions to the colony, one was carried off by thirteen of his people, and the other by two carpenters, who never were heard of more. One *Stephen*, a *Genevois*, and two *Frenchmen*, *des Faurneaux* and *la Croix*, brought over some volunteers, and several soldiers to the number of sixty-six, to a scheme of cruising upon the *Spaniards*, the plunder of whose least bark they imagined would enrich them all of a sudden. This conspiracy was so strong, that several joined in it, for fear of being ill treated by the conspirators. At last, while *Laudonniere* was busied in giving orders for the construction of two new barks in the room of those he had lost, and was confined to his bed by sickness, the conspirators entered his cabin in arms, and confined him in a vessel lying in the river. It was in vain for *Laudonniere*

to represent to them the danger of the course they were pursuing, his instructions bearing, that he should cultivate a good understanding with the subjects of *Spain in America*; for they not only plundered him of every thing that could be useful to them, but forced him, with a dagger at his throat, to sign a commission for their cruizing upon the *Spaniards* in the gulph of *Mexico*, and obliged him to furnish them with a pilot. They then embarked on board the two new vessels, and set sail on the 8th of *December*.

THEIR intention was to plunder *Yaguana*, and they were *The conspirators turn* in hopes of ordering matters so as that they should appear before the place on Christmas eve, while the inhabitants were at their devotions. Before they left the river *May*, they fell at variance amongst one another, and the two vessels separated, the one steering for the isle of *Cuba*, and the other, which was never heard of again, for the *Lucayan* islands. On board the former was the pilot *Trenchant*, and it was commanded by one *d'Oranger*, who took a *Spanish* brigantine, laden with wine and cassava; and he then bore towards the western part of *Hispaniola*, where, in a harbour near *Yaguana*, they careened their prize, which drew water. They then sailed to *Baracoa* in the island of *Cuba*; where they made themselves masters of a caraval between fifty and sixty tons burthen; and holding towards *Hispaniola* they took, near cape *Tiberone*, a patache richly laden, on board of which was the governor of *Jamaica*, then in possession of the *Spaniards*, and his two sons, whom they detained prisoners. They then stood for *Jamaica*; but were outwitted by the governor, from whom they expected a large ransom. He pretended to write to his wife a letter, which he shewed to *d'Oranger*, injoining her to send by the bearer, who was to be his own son, the sum which the pirates demanded for his ransom; but he slipt into his son's hands another letter of very different contents; for next morning the pirates saw their two ships beset by three *Their ill* *Spanish* vessels of a superior burthen, which took the largest, *success*, wherein were *d'Oranger* and the governor; but the other, on board of which were twenty-five men, slipt her cables, and bore away for the north coast of *Cuba*.

TRENCHANT, the pilot, who had been forced into the service, in concert with others of the crew, who had been forced likewise, unknown to the others, carried the ship they were in across the *Bahama* islands, to the river *May* in *Florida*, where she threw anchor. *Laudonniere* had timely notice of her arrival, and appearing at the head of thirty well armed soldiers he made them all prisoners. Four of the most mutinous, amongst whom were the *Genevois*, *le Croiz*, and *des*

MOD. HIST. VOL. XL.

D d

Four-

And punishment. *Fourneaux*, were instantly condemned to be hanged; but *Laudonniere*, at the earnest request of his own men, permitted them to be shot to death.

Farther discoveries In the mean while *la Roche-Ferriere* proceeded with vast success in his discoveries. He had visited the savages lying near the *Apalachean* mountains; and, notwithstanding the reluctance which *Outina* shewed to his undertaking, he had made alliances with them, and returned to *Laudonniere* with abundance of fine presents from the new friends of the *French*, consisting of little plates of gold and silver, curious quivers, furs, arrows ornamented with gold, hangings made of beautiful feathers, hatchets, and the like. A soldier, one *Gambie*, pushed his discoveries on the other side of the country, and was returning well laden with merchandizes, which he had received in exchange for trinkets, when he was murdered in his boat by two savages, who had undertaken to be his guides. From those travellers, *Laudonniere* understood that a paraousti, one *Onathaca*, had in his possession two *Europeans*, and upon *Laudonniere's* promising to pay their ransom they were sent to fort *Caroline*. They proved to be *Spaniards*, and they had been so long in slavery, that when they were presented naked to the governor, their hair reached to their knees; but one of them had concealed a piece of gold worth twenty-five crowns. Those *Spaniards* reported, that *Onathaca* reigned over the eastern part of *Florida*; but that towards the west reigned another prince called *Callos*, who was far richer, and was master of all the gold and silver mines that *Florida* contained; but that his sea-coasts had been fatal to a great number of *European* ships, which had been wrecked upon them. They affirmed that this savage prince had dug a ditch, six feet deep and three wide, which he had filled with riches; and that he detained in his town four or five *European* women of rank, with their children, who had been shipwrecked upon his coast fifteen years before; and that the savage persuaded his subjects that the fertility of the earth was owing to him; for which reason he sacrificed every year about the time of harvest an unhappy captive, who had been shipwrecked upon his coast. The same *Spaniards* counselled *Laudonniere* not to trust the *Floridians*, who were the most dangerous when they made the greatest expressions of friendship, and they offered with one hundred men to put the *French* in possession of *Callos*, and to make many other discoveries (U).

(U) The account given by this country receives some countenance from an affidavit, made by the *Spaniards* of the riches of

by
I

Soon after the arrival of those *Spaniards*, *Saturiova* renewed his solicitations with *Laudonniere*, that he would assist him in his wars against *Outina* and *Timagoa*; and that he would, at least, call home the *French* who were in the service of the former. *Laudonniere* was so far from complying with this request, though it was supported by several other *Paraoussis*, that he did all he could to reconcile the natives to each other, and formed alliances with many of their chiefs, to which he intended to have recourse in case of new disturbances amongst his colonists. He then applied himself to the storing his magazines, in giving employment to his people, and in dispatching *Ottigny* upon new discoveries. That officer returned with an account of a vast lake he had discovered, and probably was the same that was known to *Ferdinand de Soto*, in his journey to the *Apalachean* mountains; and it was pretended that the sands upon the borders of this lake were mingled with grains of silver. In returning to fort *Caroline*, *Ottigny* visited *Outina*, with whom, at his earnest request, he left some of his acquaintance. Two years after, one of them, *Groutaut*, came to fort *Caroline* with a very plausible proposition made to *Laudonniere* by a *Paraoussi*, neighbour to *Outina*, to put the *French* in possession of the *Apalachean* mountains, provided they would assist him in reducing one of his enemies, who then held them. *Laudonniere*, as well as his people, was still haunted with a firm belief that those mountains contained mines of gold and silver; but his colony was now so much reduced, that he forbore returning any answer to the *Paraoussi*, till he should receive some succours which he expected from *France*.

IN a short time an embassy arrived from *Outina*, desiring *The* *Laudonniere* to send him a reinforcement of twelve or fifteen French as men, as the war between him and *Patanou* had again broke out. *Laudonniere*, by the advice of his officers, instead of twelve men, sent *Ottigny* with thirty to *Outina*'s assistance, who no sooner received this reinforcement than he took the field with three hundred of his own subjects. Having marched two days, he had intelligence that his approach was discovered by the enemy, which disconcerted him so much that he had recourse to his Iona or priest, to know whether he should advance or retire. The juggler advised him to retire, assuring him, that *Patanou* was waiting for him with 2000 men with cords to bind him and his subjects. This discouraged *Outina*

by one *Sagean* before the regent ny, and which about eight years ago was translated into *English*, projected the *Mississippi* company, and published.

And beat
his enemies.

still more, and he was upon the point of returning; but being made ashamed of his cowardice by *Ottigny*, he advanced, and came with *Potanou*, who, as the juggler had said, was at the head of 2000 men. *Ottigny* immediately attacked them, and his musketry made such havock amongst their foremost ranks, that their whole army was in an instant put to flight, *Ottigny*, vexed at being obliged to serve under such a coward as *Outina* was, left him twelve of his men, and made the best of his way with the rest back to fort *Caroline*. He found *Laudonniere* and the colony in the utmost distress, having been disappointed of the reinforcements and provisions they expected from *France*. The barbarians saw the difficulties they were under, and having now abated in their passion for *European* trinkets, they forced the *French* to pay exorbitantly for every thing they sold them, and when they had nothing more to dispose of, they withdrew to a distance. To complete the misfortunes of the colony, the fishes in the river disappeared, as the game did from the woods and mountains; so that they were obliged at first to feed upon acorns, and then upon wild roots and herbs, which they found in the fields. This extremity of misery was attended by insults offered to the *French* on the part of the barbarians, who murdered one of the settlers, and robbed him of some gold he was in possession of. *Laudonniere*, weak as he was, gave orders to set fire to the village where this savage lived; but the *French* found there only empty cabins, the murderers and all the inhabitants having fled to their fastnesses, where they were secure.

Great distresses of the colony.

Outina arrested and distressed.

1565.

THE colony being now reduced to a state of despair, and its best and bravest members being carried off by diseases, the survivors amongst them pressed *Laudonniere* to arrest *Outina*, and thereby to force him to furnish them with some means of subsistence. *Laudonniere* held long out against this proposal; but he was at last obliged to give way to the voice of famine. *Outina* was made a prisoner, but all his subjects took arms for his rescue, and the unhappy settlers found themselves plunged in a war, which they were in no condition to support. A negotiation succeeded, by which *Outina* bought his liberty for a trifle, which was paid in provisions; but they were retaken by his subjects, while they were carrying to fort *Caroline*, two *Frenchmen* being killed, and above twenty wounded. This encounter, which happened on the 27th of *July* 1565, lasted for the whole day, and the savages discovered in it unusual marks of resolution and conduct, by squatting down on their bellies as soon as they saw the *French* soldiers ready to present their pieces; and it was owing

ing to the courage and authority of *Ottigny* and *d'Erlach*, that *Laudonniere* regained fort *Caroline*. Soon after, he received a supply of millet by a *French* ship; and he then formed the resolution of returning to old *France*, when he discovered four ships on the 4th of *August*. He and his people at first believed them to be *French*, and their joy was excessive. But he soon perceived them to be *English*. They were commanded by capt. *John Hawkins*, and obliged to put into the river to water; but not before the captain had asked the *French* commandant's leave for that purpose. This generous *Englishman* understanding to what a miserable condition the *French* were reduced, and that they were protestants, did all he could to relieve them. He came on shore unattended and unarmed. *Laudonniere* treated him with some wild fowl, which he happened to have by him, and *Hawkins* furnished bread and wine, which neither the *French* commandant, nor any of his people had tasted of for six or seven months before. The savages, imagining the *English* and the *French* to be but one nation, soon became more tractable towards the colony, and brought provisions from all quarters. *Hawkins* was so humane as to offer to carry the *French* to *France*, and he furnished them with every thing they stood in need of; but they unaccountably refused his kindness, though their own ship was in no condition to carry them. At last, at the earnest request of *Hawkins*, *Laudonniere* purchased one of his vessels, the settlers loudly declaring, that they were determined to leave a country where the prospect of famine was every moment before their eyes. This spirit of despair arose from the bad principles upon which those colonists set out. They had no idea of the habits of industry, and had formed to themselves the hopes of becoming rich all at once, by dropping into mines of gold and silver, the searching after which cost them more time and labour than the clearing, improving, and sowing their grounds could possibly have done, by which they might have lived with comfort and in plenty.

HAWKINS. leaving one of his ships with *Laudonniere*, *Arrival* took leave of him, and, by the 15th of *August*, the settlers of seven were ready to sail, but the wind did not prove fair till the *French* 28th. As they were weighing anchor several ships came *ships under* in view, and *Laudonniere* sent out a boat to speak with them; *Rit aut.* but to his great surprize, it did not return, upon which he shut himself up in his fort, where he was determined to hold out as long as he could. Unfortunately, for him, his people, having formed a resolution of leaving the fort, had begun to demolish it, for fear it should be taken possession of by the *English*, the *Spaniards*, or the savages. Next morning *Lau-*

donniere perceived seven chaloupes full of armed people proceeding up the river, but observing a profound silence, till they came opposite to the fort, from whence some muskets were discharged, but at too great a distance to do any execution. The garrison at last threatened to fire upon them with cannon; and then they understood that the ships were under the command of *Ribaut*. Upon his landing he very fairly laid before *Laudonniere* all that had been said to his disadvantage to ruin him both with the king, and his patron, the admiral *Coligni*. The chief heads of the accusation were his behaving in a haughty tyrannical manner, his affecting airs of independency; so that if the *French* king had a mind to preserve that country in his own allegiance, he ought instantly to force *Laudonniere* to resign his command, otherwise the settlers must be obliged to cut him in pieces, as they had done captain *Albert*. Such were the motives that had induced the *French* king to send off *Ribaut* with those seven ships, on board of which were many catholics; and their passage had been long and tedious; *Ribaut* having spent some time after he came upon the coast, in treating with the savages. *Laudonniere* soon convinced *Ribaut* of his innocence so thoroughly, that he pressed him to retain his command, and offered to settle himself elsewhere (X). *Laudonniere* persisted in his resolution to vindicate his conduct at the court of *France* in person, and then *Ribaut* put into his hands a letter from admiral *Coligni*, desiring him to return to *France*, that he might advise with the king and his ministry concerning the good of the colony. While *Laudonniere* was preparing to depart, the savages resorted to *Ribaut* in great numbers with presents, amongst which was a large piece of golden ore, which they said they had from a mine in the *Apalachean* mountains, and they offered to conduct him to it. *Ribaut*, probably, by this time, was tired of mine-hunting, and applied himself to repairing the fort; but perceived that there was not water enough upon the bar of the river to carry his four largest ships over it, and therefore he was obliged to let them remain in the road.

Arrival of
the Spaniards in
Florida.

THINGS were in this situation on the 4th of September, when six *Spanish* ships cast anchor in the same road near the four *French* ones. Those *Spaniards* were commanded by *don*

(X) This was a pretty extraordinary offer of M. *Ribaut*, considering the occasion on which he had returned to *America*; but indeed, if we consi-

der the whole complexion of this settlement, the *French* king took very little concern in it; and the management of it was left entirely to *Coligni*.

Pedro

Pedro Menendez de Avilez. This gentleman was a complete enthusiast; for popery and bigotry had stifled in his breast every sentiment of humanity; but at the same time he was brave and resolute. Those qualities, joined to his extraordinary gravity of behaviour, recommended him to *Philip II.* who gave him the command of a fleet and army, with very full powers to drive the huguenots out of *Florida*, and to settle it with good catholics. He likewise gave him the title of hereditary *Adelantade* of *Florida*, with considerable appointments. The largest ship of his fleet was the *St. Pelage*, about 1000 tons burthen, and in ten other ships he carried about 1000 men, amongst whom were many workmen for the forts. Most of the armament was at the *Adelantade's* charge, the king only furnishing the *St. Pelage*, about three hundred soldiers, and one hundred mariners; but the whole of his armament consisted of above 2600 men. It was the 29th of *June* before it left *Cales*; but his fleet was very rudely treated on the voyage by the weather; so that several of his ships parted from him, and when he landed at *Porto Rico* on the 9th of *August*, he had not with him above the third part of his force. His soldiers were without experience; but he could depend upon his officers, who, like himself, were all of them bigots, and considered the expedition they were engaged in as a holy war, it being given out in *Spain*, not without some appearance of truth, that it was secretly encouraged by the *French* king himself in hatred to the huguenots.

MENENDEZ, notwithstanding the diminution of his force, bore away for *Florida*, which he discovered the 28th of *August*, and, coming upon that coast, he understood with a good deal of difficulty, from some savages, that he was about twenty leagues to the northward of the *French* settlement. At the same time, he gave the name of *St. Augustine* to the river of *Dauphin*, having discovered it on that saint's day. Some of his officers were now for returning to *Hispaniola*, till they could be joined by the rest of the fleet; but he continued firm in his resolution to attack the four *French* ships, which he saw lying in the road of fort *Caroline*. According to the *French* historians, he approached them very softly, and assured *Ribaut*, that the *French* had nothing to apprehend from him; but that all of a sudden he turned short upon their ships, and they had but just time to cut their cables, and to make off. The *Spanish* historian¹ is more circumstantial. He says, that the *French* fired in the night-time

¹ D. ANDRE GONZALEZ DE BARCIA, Ensayo Chronologico para la Historia de la *Florida*.

The four
French
ships es-
cape.

Obstinacy
and mis-
conduct of
Ribaut.

upon *Menendez*, who, in the morning, declared who he was, and demanded of the *French* to know whether they were Lutherans or Catholics. Being answered Lutherans, he told them that he had a strict charge from his master to put every man of them to death, which he would most punctually execute; but that, if any catholics were amongst them, he would give them quarter: then proceeding to attack the *French* ships, they gave him the slip, without his being able to come up with them. Returning to the mouth of the *May*, he saw the smaller *French* ships drawn up under the fort, and the beach lined with their soldiers; upon which he bore away for the river of *St. Augustine*. In the mean while, the four *French* ships returned to their anchoring place, and *Cosset*, who commanded them, having informed *Ribaut* of what had happened, the latter called a council of war, where the general opinion was, that they ought to complete the works of fort *Caroline*; and that a strong detachment should pass by land to fall upon the *Spaniards*, as they were disembarking. *Ribaut*, upon this, produced a letter from *Coligni*, advising him of *Menendez*'s expedition, and injoining him to suffer the *Spaniards* to undertake nothing prejudicial to the crown of *France* in *Florida*, and gave his opinion for attacking the *Spaniards* by sea. All the council opposed this resolution, on account of the approaching hurricanes; but *Ribaut* persisted in it so obstinately, that he obliged *Laudonniere*, to whom he had entrusted the charge of fort *Caroline*, to give him the greatest part of his garrison, and almost all his provisions, and then he went on board of one of the four *French* ships in quest of the *Spaniards*. *Laudonniere* was left in the fort, with about fifty men, besides women and children; but he himself was confined to his bed, and the rest of his garrison so sickly, that not above twenty of them were in a condition to carry a musket.

In the mean while, *Menendez* had planned out his new fort of *St. Augustine*; and, understanding about the 10th of *September*, that he was about to be attacked by the *French* under *Ribaut*, he prepared to stand on the defensive within the bar of the river. It is probable, however, that he must have been taken or destroyed, had not, at the very moment of the charge, a most dreadful hurricane, as had been foreseen, arisen, which drove *Ribaut* and his ships to sea. *Menendez* then called a council of war, and, after ordering abundance of masses to be said, he, like a true enthusiast, concluded that the late hurricane was a divine judgment upon the heretics, and that they ought directly to attack fort *Caroline* by land, and to give no quarter to any one of the garrison.

This

This resolution was agreed to. *Menendez* put himself at the head of five hundred men, properly officered and armed, and notwithstanding the remonstrances of several of his officers, who differed from him, he began his march, leaving the charge of his new town to his brother, and of his navy and artillery to his vice-admiral. While he was upon his march, it was with great difficulty he could prevent his troops from openly mutinying; but the Adelantade obstinately persisted, notwithstanding a continual rain, and the hardships of the road, till they came within a quarter of a league of the fort, when the whole army was in so distressed a condition, that the officers upbraided *Menendez* to his face with leading them like so many beasts to be slaughtered. *Menendez* bore all this with invincible patience; and, though the general voice was for returning to *St. Augustine*, yet he brought over his quarter-master general, and his serjeant major, who had great weight with the rest, to agree not to defer the attack one moment. *Menendez*, who all along pretended that he had divine assurances of success, instantly marched towards the place, which was easily surprized, the garrison having retired to rest, little imagining, in so dreadful a night, that their enemies were so near them. At first, they butchered all the sick, the women and children, who fell into their hands, and *Laudonniere*, after making a very brave resistance, was obliged to retire to the woods. The *Spaniards* being now masters of the place, *Menendez* published an order, that all the women, and the children under fifteen years of age, should receive quarter; but all the others were put to the sword.

Fort Caroline taken by the Spaniards.

THE three *French* ships were still in the river, and the Adelantade summoned the crews to surrender, offering to suffer them to transport themselves in any one of their ships they should chuse; but he threatened, at the same time, if they did not comply, to give them no quarter. This summons was rejected by young *Ribaut*; and the *Spaniards* beginning to play upon the ships from the fort, they were obliged to retire without cannon-shot. All this while *Laudonniere*, who had been joined by about a dozen of his garrison, suffered inexpressible miseries in the woods; but, at last, he gained the *French* ships in the river, and proposed to young *Ribaut* that he should go in search of his father. *Ribaut*, whose conduct on this occasion was greatly blamed, answered that he was determined to sail directly for *France*, which provoked *Laudonniere* so much, that he went on board another ship; but, though *Ribaut* had four pilots on board his vessel, he refused to spare one of them to *Laudonniere*. As for the third ship, it was without a crew, and *Laudonniere* proposed to set

Misconduct of young Ribaut.

set her on fire, which *Ribaut* refused to do; for which reason, to prevent her falling into the hands of the *Spaniards*, *Laudonniere* sent on board her his own carpenter, who secretly stove her in, and sunk her to the bottom. After this, we hear no farther of young *Ribaut*; but *Laudonniere* set sail for *Europe*, and being obliged to land at *Bristol*, after suffering great hardships during his voyage, he remained long ill in *England*, and, when he went over to his own country, notwithstanding all his services, he met with but a cold reception from the *French* king, who was then more embroiled than ever with *Coligni*. *Laudonniere*, before his departure, had not been able to persuade all the *French* to follow him. Some of them fled to the savages, and others surrendered themselves to the *Spaniards*, who chained them along with their countrymen. The *French* accounts agree, without being contradicted by the *Spaniards* themselves, that all of them were hanged upon a tree, to which was fixed the following inscription. "Those persons are not treated in this manner, because they are *Frenchmen*, but because they are heretics, and enemies of God." After this horrid execution, the *Spaniards* hearing of the *French*, who had retired to the savages, did all they could to find them out, and intimidated those barbarians so much, that the poor wretches were obliged to surrender themselves to their enemies, who hanged them up, as they had done the others. About twenty other *Frenchmen*, who still remained in the woods, were pursued and shot dead like so many wild beasts by the *Spaniards*. The reader is to observe, that fort *Caroline* now lost its name, being changed by *Menendez* into that of *St. Mattheo*, on whose day he took it. Upon his mustering his troops, he perceived that he had not with him four hundred serviceable men, the rest having returned, from the bad opinion they had of his enterprise, to *St. Augustine*, or remained upon the road, either through backwardness or weariness.

The
French
in fort
Caroline
banged.

MENENDEZ having laid out ground for a church, and appointed *Gonzalo de Villareal* to be governor of *St. Mattheo*, with a garrison of three hundred men, returned with no more than thirty soldiers, being all who were in a condition to march to *St. Augustine*, which he was afraid might be visited by *Ribaut*, who still kept the sea. He was received in vast triumph by the garrison; and, notwithstanding his barbarities, he is still spoken of by his countrymen, as a complete hero, statesman, and catholic. Mean while, an accidental fire had almost reduced the fort of *St. Mattheo* to ashes, and the garrison had mutinied against their officers. But this was not all which distracted *Menendez* at this time.

He

He had, upon his arrival in *Florida*, taken some *French* prisoners, whom he sent on board the *St. Pelage* to be carried to *Hispaniola*. In the voyage, the prisoners mastered the *Spanish* crew, put the officers to death, and carried the galleon to *Denmark*. *Menendez* every day expected to be joined by the ships, from which he had separated on his voyage; but he had not so great cause to be uneasy as he imagined. The hurricane which had driven *Ribaut* from his intended attack of the *Spaniards*, carried him into the straits of *Bahama*, where all his ships were wrecked in pieces upon the rocks (Y). The crews and soldiers saved themselves, but nothing else, and arrived on the coast without arms or provisions. As they were entirely unacquainted with the country, and had only the sun and stars to direct them in their return to fort *Caroline*, their miseries were inexpressible. At last, they discovered an empty sloop that was driving along, and *Ribaut* gave the command of it to *Vasseur*, with orders to look into the river *May*. *Vasseur* immediately returned with an account, that he saw the *Spanish* colours flying on the fort. Upon this, it was agreed that two of the *French* officers should march up the banks of the river till they came opposite to the fort, and that they should endeavour to inform themselves what terms they were to expect from the *Spanish* commandant. They were accordingly carried before him, and he told them, that *Laudonniere* and his garrison had been sent in a good ship to *France*; and that, if *Ribaut* and his party would surrender themselves to him, he would grant them the same terms. Upon the return of the two officers, the *French* were divided in their opinions; and being sensible how meritorious the

Dismal account of the French fleet under Ribaut.

(Y) The particulars that follow are told in two different manners by the *French* and the *Spanish* writers; though both of them agree as to the inhuman catastrophe. *Charles-voix*, for very obvious reasons, seems somewhat to incline to the *Spanish* relations, rather than that of the *Huguenots*. We cannot be of the same opinion, were it only for one consideration, which is, that the *Spanish* relation is founded only upon the authority of *Solis de las Meras*, brother-in-law of *Me-*

nendez, and therefore, as we may easily imagine, interested to give the most softening representations he could; nor was his narrative published, till about an hundred and sixty years after the thing happened. But the protestant account is given by one of the sufferers themselves, and is strengthened by the petition, which the widows and orphans of the sufferers presented next year to the *French* king. We shall not, however, entirely disregard the *Spanish* narrative.

Spaniards

Spaniards held it not to keep any faith with heretics, they sent one of their officers back, and he obtained an oath from the commandant, who proved to be *Menendez* himself, that, if the *French* would surrender, they should be furnished with a good ship, and every thing necessary, to carry them to *France*. They were obliged to trust to this solemn engagement, and chaloupes were sent to carry them cross the river, where they were bound by fours together. *Ribaut* and *Ottigny* endeavoured to expostulate with the *Spaniards*, but could not obtain a sight of the commandant; instead of that, a *Spanish* soldier came up, and gravely asked *Ribaut*, whether he did not expect, that the *French* soldiers under him were to obey his orders? Without doubt, answered *Ribaut*. Then, replied the soldier, you are not to be surprized, if I obey my general's order likewise. Upon which, he plunged a dagger into *Ribaut's* heart. *Ottigny* shared the same fate, and in an instant the throats of all the *French* were cut, excepting those of some workmen, who were employed upon the fortifications at *St. Augustine*.

Spanish
account of
the same.

SUCH is the relation the *French* have given us of this horrible massacre. The *Spanish* accounts lay the scene of it at *St. Augustine*; and tell us, that *Menendez* never promised or swore to shew them any mercy, and rejected the offer of a large ransom. That the *French* were divided into two parties. The first was of two hundred, whom he brought across the river in boats; and, finding that eight of them were Catholics, he spared them, but gave orders that the throats of the rest should be instantly cut, which were obeyed. Next day, the other party of the *French*, which was the most numerous, consisting of three hundred and fifty souls, was discovered upon a raft; and *Menendez* informed the officer, who came to treat with him, how he had served the former party of his countrymen; and even carried him to the place where their dead bodies lay. After this, he had an interview with *Ribaut* in person, and, after repeating to him all he had said before, he dismissed him back to his party, two hundred of whom threw themselves on shore, but the other hundred and fifty, with *Ribaut* at their head, surrendered themselves, and were all put to death, excepting four Catholics. Soon after, *Menendez*, understanding that the two hundred *French*, who had fled, had begun to build a fort far up the river, surprized them with a party of *Spaniards* on the 1st of *November*; and, upon their flying to a neighbouring mountain, he invited them to surrender themselves upon promise of pardon, and of being treated as his own soldiers, which they did,

did, and he punctually performed his engagements ; but we are told, at the same time, that many of them turned *Roman Catholics*.

WHATEVER partiality *Charlevoix* may shew in favour of this *Spanish* relation, it carries upon its face the most palpable marks of forgery. Is it to be imagined, that a brave man, like *Ribaut*, at the head of a force, equal, at least, to that of his enemies, with arms in their hands, (for by the *Spanish* accounts, most or all of them saved their arms) would have tamely given up their throats to be cut, after being again and again refused quarter ; and after seeing how punctually cruel the *Spaniards* had been to their companions ? There are other inconsistencies equally gross in this relation ; but they are too many to be particularized. We shall but just observe, that *Ribaut* and his companions in martyrdom must have been the worst of fools and enthusiasts, not to have gone off with their two hundred countrymen ; and to have discovered (as the *Spanish* writers say they did) that they had 100,000 crowns in their possession, which they offered for their ransom.

UPON the whole of this dreadful tragedy, it seems almost demonstrable, that *Menendez* acted nothing but in concert of de with the court of *France*, who considered the huguenots of *Gourgues* *Florida* as the very worst of rebels and traitors, though they had been settled there under the charter, and by the authority of the *French* king, *Charles IX.* himself ; the public is no stranger to the history of that prince ; and that he acted in the same manner by his protestant subjects in *France*, as *Menendez* did by those of *Florida*. All *Europe* was amazed, that, in whatever light he might view the *Floridan* huguenots, he did not resent the insult done to his own dignity ; and all that has been said in vindication of his tameness, is that his connections with *Spain* at that time did not admit of his breaking with her. The cause of his slaughtered subjects was not however neglected, but retaliated by a catholic gentleman, named the chevalier *de Gourgues*. He seems to have been a soldier of fortune, and was by birth of a good family in *Gascony*. He had served with unparalleled intrepidity against the *Spaniards* in *Italy* ; and such was the inveteracy they bore to the *French* at that time, that, being taken prisoner, he was chained to a *Spanish* galley, and obliged to work as a slave. This galley was taken by the *Turks*, and, afterwards, by the *Maltese*, by which *de Gourgues* recovered his liberty. After this, he betook himself to the sea service, and made some voyages to *Africa*, *Brazil*, and other places. Upon his return to *France*, he was looked upon to be one of the

the ablest navigators in *Europe*; and, hearing of the massacre of his countrymen in *Florida*, he immediately laid a plan for revenging their deaths, and for driving their murderers out of that fine country.

For this purpose, he converted all he had into ready money, and likewise took up large sums upon credit. With this money, he built three frigates, on board of which he put an hundred and fifty soldiers and volunteers, most of them gentlemen, and eighty sailors. His ships drew very little water, and were constructed so, as that they could be worked in a calm by oars; so that they were proper for entering the mouths of rivers. It was the 22d of *August*, 1657, before he finally sailed from *France*. He had, hitherto, kept his main intention a secret from all the world; and had therefore obtained from *M. de Montluc*, the *French* king's lieutenant in *Gascony*, a commission for going to the coast of *Africa*, upon a slaving voyage. Having traded, or pretended to trade, there for some time, he, all of a sudden, bore away for the coast of *America*. He first fell in with the little *Antilles* islands, and beat up to *Porto Rico*, and from thence to the small island of *Mona*, where he is said to have victualled and watered. Proceeding to *Florida*, he was obliged to put into *St. Nicholas* harbour, on the east side of *Hispaniola*, by a storm, which damaged great part of his bread; but the *Spaniards* refused to supply him with any more. Sailing from thence, he met with another storm; and it was with great difficulty, that he reached cape *St. Antony*, on the west of *Cuba*. Here, for the first time, he opened his real intention to his company; and painted the cruelty of the *Spaniards* towards his countrymen in so lively a manner, that they resolved unanimously to follow him wherever he should lead them. Sailing through the straits of *Bahama*, he came upon the coast of *Florida*, where the *Spaniards* thought themselves so secure against any attack, that they took their ships for those of their own countrymen, and saluted them accordingly; and they were duly answered by *de Gourgues*, who was unwilling to deceive them. Next night, he entered the river *Tacatacouron*, called by the *French* the river *Seine*, lying within fifteen miles of the river *May*.

Who lands
in Florida.

THE *Spaniards*, by this time, had rendered themselves so odious to the natives, that the latter, taking *de Gourgues* squadron to be *Spanish*, prepared to oppose his landing. But *de Gourges*, having some notion of their mistake, immediately sent ashore his trumpet, who having served under *Laudonniere*, was master of the savage language, and knew *Saturiova*, whom he met by accident, along with the *paraousti* of the country.

country. The trumpeter informed them, that the *French* were come back to renew their alliance with them ; and next day, *Saturiova* had an interview in person with *de Gourgues*, who found him exasperated as much as he could wish against the *Spaniards*. He complained of their pride and cruelty ; and offered, if the *French* would attack them, to back him with all his force, and that of his allies and dependents. *De Gourgues*, who, it seems, was well instructed in the manner of treating with the savages, pretended, at first, that he had not come there with any intention to make war, but to pay them a friendly visit, and to renew the former leagues between the *French* and them ; and that he intended, if he found they suffered any grievances from the *Spaniards* to return to *France*, and bring to their assistance a larger force. He added, however, that he had now changed his resolution, and was ready to second them with the few soldiers he had on board his ships. His answer won *Saturiova*'s heart, and amongst other presents he made *de Gourgues*, he put into his hands *Peter de Bray*, a young *Frenchman*, whom he had preserved from the fury of the *Spaniards*, and whom he had always treated as his own son. A few days after, all the paraousties, who were either allies or vassals of *Saturiova*, assembled to deliberate concerning their future operations. Here it was resolved, that *d'Esampes*, a *French* gentlemen, and *Olacatora*, a brave *Indian*, nephew to *Saturiova*, should reconnoitre fort *St. Mattheo*. Before they set out, *de Gourgues* had the precaution to make *Saturiova* put into his hands, as hostages for the safety of *d'Esampes*, one of his sons and his best beloved wife. They returned in three days, with an account, that the *Spaniards* had built two additional forts, one on each side of the river ; that all three were in good condition, and garrisoned by four hundred men ; but that the *Spaniards* lived in perfect security, as having no idea of any enemy being near them.

FROM this report, *de Gourgues* concluded he had no chance for success, but from secrecy and surprize, and ordered a general rendezvous of all his allies upon the river *Somme*, called by the savages *Suraba*. They attended punctually ; and, after entering into solemn engagements never to abandon the *French*, they set out on their march ; but such heavy rains had fallen, that their expedition was in danger of being defeated. At last, a savage undertook to conduct them by a safe way, though somewhat round about. This he did, but with great difficulty, and in the morning *de Gourgues* found himself so near the fort that he could reconnoitre it at leisure. At first, he was a little startled at seeing the people in motion ; but he afterwards

wards understood that this was occasioned by their being busied in repairing a fountain. About ten o'clock, the *French* passed the river, and so thorough was the hatred of the savages towards the *Spaniards*, that the latter, till the very moment of the attack, knew nothing of the *French* being in *Florida*; an uncommon instance of secrecy in those barbarians. *De Gourgues* divided his little army into two parties, giving the command of the one to his lieutenant *Cafenove*, and himself marching at the head of the other. He had advanced so near the platform of the fort, that a *Spanish* engineer discovered him, and fired two culverins upon his party. This might have been fatal to the *French*, had not the brave *Olocotora*, creeping near the platform, mounted it all at once, and laid the *Spanish* engineer dead with his lance. So daring an action discouraged the *Spaniards* so much, that they gave over all thoughts of defending the fort, and fled out of it; but happened to run the way by which the other division of the *French* under *Cafenove* was advancing. Thus, being put between two fires, all the garrison, consisting of sixty people, were cut in pieces, excepting a few, who were taken and reserved to be hanged.

MEAN while, the second fort was incessantly firing upon the *French*; but *de Gourgues* drawing out the artillery of the first fort, played upon the *Spaniards* so effectually, and the savages seconded him so vigorously, that the *Spaniards* betook themselves to the woods, where all of them but fifteen, who were taken prisoners, were put to death. The main fort, that of *Caroline*, remained only now to be reduced. This being a matter of some difficulty, *de Gourgues* obliged an old *Spanish* serjeant, who was his prisoner, to give him information as to the strength of the place; and he quickly perceived, that he had no means of succeeding against it, but by a scalade. The two following days were passed in preparatives for that purpose, during which time, *de Gourgues* planted such a number of *Indians* around the fort, that it was impossible for the *Spaniards* to come at any knowledge of his real strength. Notwithstanding this, a *Spaniard* disguising himself like an *Indian*, mingled with the besiegers, but was discovered by *Olocotora*, and upon examination proved to be a spy. Upon this, he was destined to the gallows; but the informations he gave were so useful, that great part of the success of *de Gourgues* was owing to him. When every thing was ready for the attack, *de Gourgues* made such dispositions of his *Indians*, as rendered it extremely difficult for any of the *Spaniards* to escape, when the fort should be taken. He then

then advanced to the attack under the guidance of the *Spanish* serjeant and the spy, who led him to the top of a little hill, from whence he had a full view of the strength and weakness of the fort. His intention was to have delayed the attack till next morning; but the besieged made a sally with fourteen musketeers, who by the disposition of *Gourgues* had made, were completely surrounded, and every man of them put to death; though they fought very bravely. This slaughter being made under the eye of the besieged, they lost all heart, and, without minding any orders, they ran out of the fort towards the woods, where the savages were ambushed, and who gave them no quarter. They then endeavoured to escape another way, but were met full in the front by *de Gourgues*, who laid most of them dead on the spot; and, to complete his revenge, with some difficulty, he saved the rest from the hands of the savages, that he might resign them to those of the executioner. He then reproached them with their cruelty, their perfidy, and violated faith, and ordered every one of them to be hanged up upon a tree, on which was the following inscription, in imitation of that of *Menendez*. "I do not hang those people as *Spaniards*, nor as the spawn of infidels, but as traitors, robbers, and murderers." Nothing but the detestable example of the like cruelty, set by the *Spaniards* themselves, could have apologized for this barbarity; which indeed has been variously censured. That the *Spaniards* deserved such a retaliation has been generally allowed; but the law of nations disapproves of its being made by a private person, and, in violation of the laws, even of his own country; for it is certain, that *de Gourgues* was not legally intitled to sail upon the coast of *Florida*, far less to make such reprisals. It must, however, be acknowledged, that he undertook this expedition from very disinterested motives; for before he entered upon it, he knew that he had neither men to keep the forts, nor money to pay his men, and that it was impossible to procure them subsistence, even for money.

DE GOURGUES, therefore, satisfied with the glory of revenging the massacre of his countrymen upon a barbarous enemy, prepared to return to *Europe*; having demolished the three forts, and shipped their artillery on board his vessels. The savages seemed to be sorry to part with him, but he knew he durst not trust to their friendship, and they loaded him with the most extravagant praises for an action, which was so much in their own manner; but far exceeded their abilities to have performed. On the 3d of May, he set sail

MOD. HIST. VOL. XL.

E c

from

from *Florida*, and, on the 6th of *June*, arrived at *Rochelle* ³ having suffered a great deal on his voyage by storm and famine ; but all his loss, otherwise, consisted only of a few soldiers, and five volunteers. Before his arrival in *France*, the court of *Spain* had intelligence of his expedition, and had fitted out a squadron to intercept him, from which he very narrowly escaped. Upon his landing, he was received by his old friend, the marshal *de Montluc*, who highly extolled his valour and conduct, and advised him to go to court. It happened, fortunately for him, that the protestant party was then so powerful in *France*, that the government durst not provoke it by inflicting any unseasonable severity, which the court was inclined, and indeed entitled, to do upon *de Gourgues* ; add to this, that the *French* in general, Catholics as well as Protestants, applauded what he had done. On the other hand, the friendship of *Spain* happened, at this time, to be necessary to the *French* king and the catholic part of his government ; and a sum had been set upon *de Gourgues's* head at the court of *Madrid*, as being a pirate and a murderer. When he came to court, therefore, he was very ill received, and had

De Gourgues disgraced at his own court ;

secret intimations given him to withdraw, to avoid the fury of the queen-mother, and the *Spanish* faction, who had pressed the king to consent that he should be tried. *De Gourgues*, therefore, was obliged to fly to *Rouen*, where he was concealed by the president *de Marigny* ; and so reduced, at that time, were his circumstances, that he owed his daily subsistence to that magistrate's generosity. This persecution served only to encrease his fame, which, at last, made such an impression upon the *French* king, that he restored him, with great demonstrations of esteem and honour, to his favour. His countrymen pretend, but we cannot say upon what authority, that queen *Elizabeth* offered him a considerable post in her service, which he declined. We much question the truth of this report, as he always professed himself to be a

appointed
admiral of
the Portu-
guese fleet.
His death.

strict Roman Catholic. It is certain, however, that don Antonio offered him the command of the fleet he was then fitting out to recover the crown of *Portugal* from *Philip II.* of *Spain*. But while *de Gourgues* was going to take possession of that honourable commission, he fell sick and died at *Tours*.

THE *Spaniards*, by the evacuation of *de Gourgues*, for some years, had no competitors in *Florida*, and applied themselves to the fortifying and improving their new settlement at *St. Augustine*. As to that at *St. Matheo*, it was suffered to go to decay, and it now subsists under the name of *St. Juan* ;
the

the name which the *Spaniards* had given the river, on which it stands (Z). Upon queen *Elizabeth's* going to war against the *Spaniards*, she was advised to attack them in *America*. In consequence of this scheme, some private adventurers in *England*, in 1585, fitted out a fleet consisting of twenty sail of ships and pinnaces, with the number of 2300 sailors and landmen on board. The admiral in chief of this fleet was the famous Sir *Francis Drake*; his vice-admiral was *Martin Forbisher*; *Francis Knolles* was his rear-admiral; and lieutenant-general *Carlisle* commanded the land-forces. He attacked fort *St. Mattheo*, now called fort *St. Juan*, which being very weak, was abandoned by the *Spaniards*; and *Drake* found in it fourteen pieces of brass cannon, with about 2000 pounds in money. These seem to have been all the fruits of this attempt upon *Florida*; the rest of the *English* expeditions against it have been mentioned in other places.

C A R O L I N A.

THIS country was originally claimed by the *English*, in consequence of *Cabot's* having discovered it; then by the *Spaniards*, because it lay within the pope's grant to that crown; and then the *French*, as we have seen in the preceding article; pretended it was a part of their *Florida*, and even gave names to many places and rivers lying within it: but, as it is now indisputably the property of *Great Britain*, we shall not take up our reader's time by tracing all the fluctuations of property it experienced. We are, however, here to animadvert upon a gross mistake, which the *English* writers in general have fallen into, and indeed many considerable *French* ones; as if fort *Caroline*, which, we have already mentioned to have been in the *French* and *Spanish Florida*, had been built in the *English Carolina*. The truth is, both the *French* and *Spaniards*, in those days, had no objects but the mines of gold and silver to induce them to settle in any part of *America*; and, therefore, perceiving that the more northern parts of their *Florida* afforded no such mines, they abandoned the whole tract. We are told, that, in the year 1622, some *English* families, flying from being massacred by the *Indians* in *Virginia* and *New England*, settled in a province which they called *Mallica*, near the head of the river *May*, where

1622.

(Z) This practice of changing the names of rivers and settlements in *America* has been very frequent amongst the *European* nations, and occasions vast confusion in history, as well as geography.

E e 2

they

1653.

First settlement of Carolina.

they converted the inhabitants and the neighbouring *Apalaches*; and, that one *Brigstock*, an *Englishman*, in 1653 was received by his countrymen who were settled at *Apalacha*. The description^r, which we have of *Carolina* about this time is as follows. The nearest river of any note to *Virginia*, falling into the sea, is the *Jordan*, which lies in thirty-two degrees; from whence, about twenty leagues downwards to the south, is the promontory of *St. Helen*, near *Port Royal*, which the *French* chose for the best and surest place to begin their plantations. Between the river *Jordan* and *St. Helens*, are *Oristanum*, *Ostanum*, and *Cayagna*; *Oristanum* lying six leagues from *St. Helens*; *Ostanum* four leagues from *Oristanum*; and *Cayagna* eight leagues from *Ostanum*. From *St. Helens* to *Dos Baxos* haven is five leagues; from thence to the bay de *Asapo* three leagues, thence to *Cafanufium* three, to *Capula* five, to *Sanon* nine, to *St. Albany* fourteen, and to *St. Peter* twenty leagues; lying in thirty-one degrees of latitude. The next place is *San Mattheo*, five leagues from *St. Peter*. By this description, though the latitude is inaccurately laid down, it appears that the river *Congaree*, or *Santee*, was originally the boundary of *Carolina* towards the north; but, as to the other places here mentioned, it would perhaps be a difficult matter, at this time, to investigate them, though perhaps not absolutely impossible by the assistance of old maps. Be that as it will, conveniency, as well as the right of prior possession by *Cabot*, soon after the restoration of *Charles II.* induced numbers of *English* noblemen and gentlemen to throw their eyes upon this country, which was then, we are told, without inhabitants, or, if it contained any, they must have been *English*; as we cannot suppose that those first proprietors could have had their information from any other people. The king, accordingly, on the 24th of *March*, 1663, granted it by patent to *Edward*, earl of *Clarendon*, then lord high chancellor of *England*; *George*, duke of *Albermarle*; *William*, lord *Craven*; *John*, lord *Berkley*; *Anshony*, lord *Ashley*; Sir *George Carteret*; Sir *William Berkley*; and Sir *John Colliton*; who, to use the words of the grand charter, being excited with a laudable and pious zeal for the propagation of the gospel, begged a certain country in the parts of *America*, not yet cultivated and planted, and only inhabited by some barbarous people, who had no knowledge of God. Wherefore the king granted them all that territory in his dominions in *America*, from the north end of the island, called *Lucke Island*, which lies in the southern *Virginian* sea, and

1663.

Its patent.

^r British Empire in America, Vol. I. p. 459.

within

within thirty-six degrees of north latitude ; and to the west, as far as the *South Seas* ; and so southerly, as far as the river *San Matheo*, which borders on the coast of *Florida*, and is within thirty-one degrees of north latitude ; and so west, in a direct line, as far as the *South Seas* aforesaid. This patent was accompanied with the usual investitures of fisheries, mines, power of life and limb, with other requisites for territorial propriety.

THE state of *England*, at this time, happened to be extremely favourable for a settlement of this kind. The dissenters had undergone some hardships, episcopacy had been restored, and many sober well-meaning *Englishmen* were, by no means, satisfied with the intentions of the court in general. Some of the proprietaries themselves were, at best, but very moderate favourers of the act of uniformity ; and they very wisely obtained a clause of toleration in their charter, by which the king granted the proprietaries full and free licence, liberty, and authority, by such legal ways and means as they shall think fit, to give unto such person and persons, inhabiting and being within the said province, or any part thereof, who really, in their judgments and for conscience sake, cannot, or shall not, conform to the liturgy, form, and ceremonies of the church of *England*, and take and subscribe the oaths and articles, made and established in that behalf, or any of them, such indulgencies and dispensations in that behalf for and during such time and times, and with such limitations and restrictions, as they shall think fit.

THE original constitutions, of which there were an hundred and twenty articles, proceeded upon the same plan of toleration, which is very reasonably thought to have been suggested by the lord *Ashley*, afterwards earl of *Shaftsbury* ; for it seems to be certain, that they were penned by the great Mr. *Lock*, then an intimate friend to, if not a dependant upon, that nobleman. By the 96th, 101st, 102d, and 106th articles of those fundamental constitutions, it is provided, " that, since the natives of that place, who will be concerned in our plantations, are utterly strangers to Christianity, whose idolatry, ignorance, or mistake, give us no right to expel or use them ill ; and, that those who remove from other parts to plant there, will unavoidably be of different opinions concerning matters of religion, the liberty whereof they will expect to have allowed them ; and that it will not be reasonable for us, on this account, to keep them out. Therefore, that sure peace may be maintained, amidst the diversity of opinions, and our agreement and compact with all men may be duly and faithfully observed, the violation whereof, upon

what pretence soever, cannot be without great offence to Almighty God, and great scandal to the true religion, which we profess; and also that jews, heathens, and other dissenters from the purity of the Christian religion, may not be scared, and kept at distance from it; but, by having an opportunity of acquainting themselves with the truth and reasonableness of its doctrines, and the peaceableness and inoffensiveness of its professors, may, by good usage and persuasion, and all those convincing methods of gentleness and meekness, suitable to the rules and designs of the gospel, be won over to embrace, and unfeignedly receive, the truth. Therefore, the said constitutions provided for their liberty; but declared, that no person, above seventeen years of age, shall have any benefit or protection of the law, which is not a member of some church or profession, having his name recorded in some one religious record." Those constitutions, which were signed by the proprietaries, are declared by the last article to be the sacred and unalterable form and rule of government in *Carolina* for ever. But, having thus given the reader a sufficient idea of the religious part of those constitutions, we are now to proceed to the civil part of them.

*Alterations
therein.*

THE first article they contain provides, that a palatine shall be chosen out of the proprietaries, who shall continue during life, and be succeeded by the eldest of the other proprietaries. This palatine acted as a kind of a president to a court composed of himself, and three other proprietaries, and who were vested with the execution of all the powers of the charter; and it is called the palatine's court. Each member had a power of nominating a deputy, who acted for him, but according to his directions, in *Carolina*. The fundamental constitutions require that there should be three great hereditary landholders in every county, one called the landgrave, and the others called by the *Indian* name of caciques. Their great assembly, or what some call their parliament, was to consist of the governor, the proprietaries, or their deputies, and the commons, in imitation of kings, lords, and commons of *Great Britain*. The commoners were to be elective, like those of *England*, by the freeholders of every county; and this assembly was to sit in one house, once in every two years, and oftener if requisite; and the votes of all the members were to be of equal weight.

THE understanding reader will easily perceive that this plan of government was too unwieldly and impracticable for an infant, and indeed inconsiderable, colony, as that of *Carolina* then was, especially, as it was loaded with the great council, and the hundred courts, the palatine's court, the chief

chief justice's court, the high constable's court, the chancellor's court, the treasurer's court, the chamberlain's court, and the high-steward's court. But he will have a clearer idea of the impracticability of this government, which was intended to be the miniature of the old *Saxon* constitution, from the words of Mr. *Archdale*, an understanding man, and who, besides having a large property in the province, was governor of it. "The charter, says he, in his description of *Carolina*, generally, as in other charters, agrees on royal privileges and powers, but especially, at that time, it had an overplus power to grant liberty of conscience, though at home was a hot persecuting time; as also a power to create a nobility, yet not to have the same titles as here in *England*; and therefore they are here by patent, under the great seal of the province, called landgraves and caciques, in lieu of earls and lords, and are by their titles to sit with the lords proprietors deputies, and together make the upper house, the lower house being elected by the people. These landgraves are to have four baronies annexed to their dignities, of 6000 acres each barony; and the caciques two baronies, of 3000 each, and not to be divided by sale of any part. Only they have power to let out a third part for three lives, to raise portions for younger children."

To make this government still approach the nearer to the ancient feodal constitutions, the inhabitants and freemen from sixteen to sixty years old, if called upon by the sovereign power there, which was the grand council, were obliged to take the field with proper arms. Every planter, if he did not buy it off, was to pay annually one penny an acre quit-rent to his proprietary; and each county had a sheriff, and four justices of the peace. The proprietaries expended above 12000*l.* and single proprietors as much in transporting inhabitants and cattle thither, and it was long before either of them received any return from their estates. All free persons, who came over, were to have fifty acres of land for themselves, fifty for each man servant, and as many for each woman servant, who was marriageable, and forty for each of either sex, who was not marriageable, and every servant after the expiration of his or her servitude, was deemed to be free, and to have fifty acres, paying the quit-rent of one penny an acre. But the proprietaries in all their leases took care when, as a great number of them did, the colonists bought off their quit-rents, to except mines, minerals, and quarries of precious stones. About the year 1670, colonel *William Sayle* was appointed by the proprietaries to be governor of *Carolina*. At this time, the lands about *Altamaha* and *Port Royal* rivers, as

Expences of the proprietaries,

1670.

being most convenient for trade, were the most frequented; but experience soon taught the colonists, that pasturage and tillage were necessary for their establishment; so that *Ashley* and *Cooper* rivers drew thither such numbers, that their neighbourhood became the best inhabited parts of the colony. In 1671 captain *Halstead* arrived with a supply of provisions of all kinds, from the proprietaries in *England*, who created *James Carteret*, Sir *John Yeomans*, and *John Lock*, Esq; landgraves. About this time, some deviations were made from the original constitutions. It was found that the number of landgraves and caciques, required by the original constitution to constitute the upper house, were not to be found; and, therefore, a governor was named by the palatine, the council was to consist of seven deputies of the proprietaries, as many chose by the assembly, or, as it is called, the parliament, and as many of the eldest landgraves and caciques. To those were added (all of them nominated by the proprietaries) an admiral, a chamberlain, chancellor, chief justice, secretary, surveyor, treasurer, high-steward, high-constable, register of births, burials, and marriages, register of writings, and marshal of the admiralty. The quorum of the council was to consist of the governor and six of the members, three of whom were to be proprietary deputies; and the assembly or parliament was to be composed of, the governor, the deputies of the proprietors, ten members to be chosen by the freeholders of *Berkley* county, and ten by those of *Colliton* county; but the number of this representation was to be increased according to the encrease of the colony.

The duke of Albemarle and lord Craven first palatines. THE first Palatine of *Carolina* was the duke of *Albemarle*, but he dying, the earl of *Craven* succeeded him, and was Palatine in 1671, when the temporary laws were enacted. It appears at this time, that the proprietaries had conceived very sanguine expectations of their colony; for they ordered captain *Halstead* to sail up *Ashley* river, to make discoveries, and the model of a very magnificent town was sent over to be built as the metropolis of the province. Hitherto the bulk of the colonists was dissenters; but the promising appearances of the colony invited over to it many of the old cavalier stamp and others, whose irregular libertine manners gave vast scandal to the original planters, which, in time, produced a kind of a schism, or rather a civil war in the colony. Sir *John Yeomans* succeeded colonel *Sayle* as governor; but the disorders of the colony encreased so much, that the *Indians* were abused, and though, at that time, very numerous in *Carolina*, were provoked into a war, in which many were killed on both sides. Those imprudent steps must have proved fatal

fatal to the colony, had it not been for the prudence of the proprietaries; for their party, and that of the planters, besides having the natives on their hands, often came to blows; and one *Culpeper* was sent over prisoner to *England*, where he was tried for high-treason in *Westminster-hall*, for raising a rebellion in *Carolina*, but acquitted.

To remedy those disorders, the proprietaries appointed one colonel *West* to be their governor, and by what we can judge of his character or conduct, he was a man of wisdom, moderation, and courage. He found great licentiousness prevailing in the colony, when he came to the government, parties risen to a great height, and the *Indian* war not extinguished. Notwithstanding this, *West*, by taking the popular party, (for it must be allowed, that the proprietaries in the exercise of their power, had deviated from their original plan) he, in a great measure, cured the public divisions so much, that the colony united in repelling the *Westoes*, an *Indian* nation, who were very troublesome to the inhabitants. In 1682, he held a parliament in *Charles-town*, where several good laws passed, and particularly an act for highways, for suppressing drunkenness and profane swearing, for observation of the lord's day, and for settling the militia. Those, and other popular acts, were, at this time, displeasing to the chief proprietaries; and *West*, in 1683 (a time when parties ran very high in *England*) was removed from his government, and succeeded by *Joseph Moreton*, Esq;

1682.

ABOUT this time, the differences between the *Indians* and the colony still continuing, the proprietaries issued a commission to *Maurice Matthews*, *William Fuller*, *Jonathan Fitz*, and *John Boon*, Esqrs; to hear and determine all differences between the *English* and the *Indians* of *Carolina*. This commission did not long subsist; for the commissioners being accused of unfair practices in their decisions, it was dissolved. But notwithstanding all those discouraging disorders, the colony was so inviting, that it still thrived, and *Charles-town* was built and fortified in a very inviting situation, upon a neck of land between *Ashley* and *Cooper* rivers. Three counties, those of *Berkeley*, *Craven*, and *Colliton*, were laid out, and divided into squares of 12000 acres, proportioned to the shares held in them by the proprietaries, landgraves, and cacciques. All the while it is certain that the proprietaries found the same fault with the administration of *Carolina*, that the *French* court and council did with that of *Canada*; and that was the colonists trading with the *Indians*, a commerce which they wanted to engross to themselves. Though Mr. *Moreton*, when he entered upon his office, called a parliament,

in

Kyrle,

West,

Colliton
governors.

1687.

Quarry,
Southwell
Ludwell,
and Smith
governors.

Archdale.

in which several excellent acts passed for the benefit of individuals, as well as that of the colony, yet he was soon removed, and Sir *Richard Kyrle*, an *Irish* gentleman, was made governor in his stead. He lived but a few months after his nomination, upon which Mr. *West* was again appointed governor. As he still maintained a great reputation, his administration was of vast service to the colony, by bringing over many industrious planters, most of whom were dissenters. During the time of Mr. *West's* second government, lord *Cardross*, afterwards earl of *Buchan*, a *Scotch* nobleman, arrived in *Carolina* with ten families of his countrymen, and settled at *Port Royal*, but disagreeing with the government, he returned to *Scotland*, and the settlement came to nothing. Mr. *West* was succeeded in his government by *James Colliton*, Esq; a *Barbadoes* gentleman, a proprietary and landgrave of *Carolina*. Settling there he built a fine house on *Cooper* river. His government is said to have been so unpopular, that the people chose members to thwart every thing he should propose, even to the settling the militia, though their own safety depended on it. Disputes about their tenures and quietness still continuing, Mr. *Colliton*, in 1687, called a parliament, in which he and his party took upon them to alter the fundamental constitutions, and to substitute, in their place, other articles under the title of standing laws and temporary laws. This proceeding was equally disagreeable to the proprietaries, as to the planters, so that Mr. *Colliton* was not only driven from his government, but out of the province. A kind of interregnum seems then to have succeeded, or rather, the administration was put into the hands of gentlemen of the greatest interest in the colony, without any intention of their being continued. Mention is made of colonel *Quarry*, Mr. *Southwell*, colonel *Ludwell*, and Mr. *Smith*, who were successively governors. The last was a very worthy man, and finding it impossible to gratify the people in all their demands, he was so ingenuous in the year 1694, as to inform the proprietaries in *England*, that it was impossible to settle the country, except a proprietary himself was sent thither with full power to hear their grievances. Upon this, the lord *Ashley*, eldest son to the earl of *Shaftsbury*, was pitched upon by the proprietaries to go over as their governor. This lord was the famous and elegant author of the *Characteristics*; but his constitution not agreeing with the more active scenes of life, he declined accepting of the government, which was conferred on Mr. *Archdale*, to whose printed account of *Carolina*, the public is chiefly indebted for its information as to this province. Being furnished with very ample powers by the proprietaries

proprietaries, he arrived at *Carolina* in *August* 1695, and the first measure of his administration was to call a parliament for settling the divisions, and removing the discontents of the colony; and the members chose *Jonathan Anory*, Esq; for their speaker. 1695.

MR. ARCHDALE found he had a very difficult province to manage; but at last, with good management and patience, he succeeded so well, that the assembly voted him an address of thanks. There was, at this time, an intimate connection between the government of *Spain*, and that of *Great Britain*; but it was a common practice for the people of *Jamaica* and *Barbadoes* to buy for slaves, *Spanish Indians*, who had been taken prisoners by other savages. The *Tammasces* were a nation of *Indians* under the protection of the *English*, though they had been formerly under that of the *Spaniards*. They had taken some prisoners from an *Indian* nation belonging to *Spain*. Mr. Archdale, hearing of this, immediately ordered the king of the *Tammasces* to repair to *Charles-town* with his prisoners, which he did, and Mr. Archdale then commanded him to march with them to *St. Augustine*, where he was to present them with a letter from himself, to the *Spanish* governor; all which the *Indian* prince most punctually obeyed, and Archdale received a very polite letter from the governor in return. Soon after the *English Apalacheans*, killed three of the *Spanish Indians*, and the governor of *St. Augustine*, not to be behind his brother of *Carolina* in politeness, sent one of his *Indians* to complain of the injury, upon which orders were sent by the governor of *Carolina*, enjoining all the *English Indians* to live in strict friendship with those of *Spain*. Colonel Bull, one of the most considerable traders in *Carolina*, at the same time, persuaded the *Indians* about cape Fear to put themselves under the protection of the *English*. Those measures had so good an effect, that the *Spanish Indians* omitted no opportunity of shewing all kinds of respect and hospitality to the *English*, and fifty-two of the latter being shipwrecked near cape Fear were relieved with the utmost tenderness and humanity by those savages. Their king, hearing of their misfortune, invited them to his town, where, after hospitably entertaining them, he dispatched a party of his people to intimate their shipwreck to the governor of *Carolina*, who immediately sent off a sloop, which brought them safe to *Charles-town*. This prudent management prevented any quarrel among the *English Indians*, or between the *Carolineans* and them, during Mr. Archdale's administration.

HE was succeeded by *Joseph Blake*, Esq; a proprietary, and nephew to the famous admiral of that name. It was now experimentally found that many inconveniences accrued from a strict adherence to the letter of the fundamental constitutions; and Blake.

and therefore during Mr. *Blake's* government, a set of forty-one articles under the denomination of "the last fundamental constitutions," were sent from *England*. Those articles provided in as ample a manner as the former did for liberty of conscience, and were signed by *John* earl of *Bath*, Palatine; *Anthony* lord *Ashley*, the lord *Craven*, the lord *Carteret*, Sir *John* *Colliton*, *William* *Thornburgh*, merchant, and *Thomas* *Amy*, but they never were confirmed by the *Carolina* assembly. Mr. *Blake* was a man very well qualified for that administration; for though he was a dissenter, yet such was his moderation, that he prevailed with the assembly to settle one hundred and fifty pounds a year upon their church of *England* minister of *Charles-town* for ever, and likewise to furnish him with a good house, a glebe, and two servants. Upon Mr. *Blake's* death in 1700, the deputies of the proprietaries in *Carolina*, in consequence of their powers in such cases, chose for their governor the eldest landgrave, *Joseph* *Moreton*, Esq; who had been governor before. His election was objected to, as being injurious to the proprietaries, because he had accepted of a commission from king *William* to be judge of the admiralty, though he had before accepted of a like commission from the proprietaries. Though this was a most ridiculous objection, as it did not appear that any admiralty jurisdiction was expressed in the original patent, yet Mr. *Moor*, who was Mr. *Moreton's* antagonist, had interest enough to get his election set aside, and himself chosen in his room; nor did the colonists, who very possibly were upon *Moor's* side, give *Moreton* any redress.

THE earl of *Bath*, son to the late earl, was now palatine, and he happening to be, next to enthusiasm, a zealot for the church of *England*, his great ambition was to establish that worship in *Carolina*, exclusive of all others; the same doctrine being at that time enforced in *England* by the bill against occasional conformity. Mr. *Moor* was quite pliable to his views; but being himself in mean circumstances, he was, by the assembly, disappointed in an attempt he made to get the *Indian* trade into the hands of the government, and he therefore dissolved it. Towards the end of the year 1701, he called a new assembly, and according to the representation of his antagonists, "he so influenced the sheriff, that strangers, servants, aliens, nay, mulattoes and negroes, were polled and returned." Complaints of this, and many other abuses in his office, were sent to the palatine, especially by *Colliton* county, but no redress was obtained. In short, if we

* Case of the Dissenters in *Carolina*, p. 29, 30.

are to believe the representations of the dissenters, *Moor*, who is commonly called colonel *Moor*, was a monster of a governor; but it is plain that the charges against him were exaggerated in several respects.

UPON the accession of *Philip V.* to the crown of *Spain*, it was easily foreseen that a war between the *English* and the *Spaniards* must be soon inevitable, and the *Carolineans* had a strong notion that the *Spaniards* were little better than usurpers upon their original charter. This opinion was of great service to colonel *Moor*, in promoting a scheme he had for engrossing to his government and himself the profits of the slave trade, by selling the *Spanish Indians* in the *British* islands and plantations, at a less price than what they can be imported for from *Africa*. This, together with the hopes which the inferior planters entertained of the plunder from the *Floridan Spaniards*, who were reported to be immensely rich, encouraged *Moor*, that he might avoid all inquiries into his own conduct, to propose an expedition against *St. Augustine*. As war was not then declared against *Spain*, the more wealthy planters, who looked upon the project as chimerical, had interest enough to get this motion thrown out of the assembly. But though the opposition against *Moor's* government was very strong, yet he soon obtained a majority, and defeated all the attempts that were made for having the last fundamental constitutions recognized by the assembly. This produced fresh representations against his government; and in one of them it was said "that he granted commissions to *Anthony Dodsworth*, *Robert Mackoon*, and others, to set upon, assault, kill, destroy, and take as many *Indians* as they possibly could; the profit and produce of which *Indian* slaves were turned to his private use: whereas such undertakings, unjust and barbarous in themselves, will, in all probability, draw upon us an *Indian* war."

IT is probable that *Moor* could not have got the better of the dissenting interest within his government, had he not been befriended by the palatine and the proprietaries in *England*, and, by the war which soon after broke out with *Spain*, which gave him a handle for renewing his project against *St. Augustine*. It is almost incredible, that a government so lately settled as that of *Carolina* then was, and subject to such mismanagements, should undertake so unpromising an expedition, and be so near succeeding in it, as the *Carolinians* were. The wealthy planters in vain remonstrated against the inability of the province to undertake such an expedition, for so strongly was the majority of the assembly bent upon it, that, to carry it into execution, they voted 2000 *l.* to be raised; a sum so small, that

that it may well surprize a modern reader, who considers the importance of the service, that six hundred *English* and six hundred *Indians* were immediately raised, and that they had above three hundred miles to march between *Charles-town* and *St. Augustine*. Colonel *Daniel* was sent before hand up the river with a party with *peruaguas*, from which he was to make a descent upon the land side, while the governor was to attack it by sea. Every thing succeeded at first. *Daniel* defeated the *Spanish Indians*, and he and *Moor* together killed or took prisoners about six hundred of them. They then proceeded to the town of *St. Augustine*, which they took and plundered, as they had done all the open country; but the inhabitants, by this time, had retired with their best effects to the castle, which was well fortified, and contained provisions for four months. The *English* were unprovided with bombs and mortars, and the whole of their artillery was in other respects very inconsiderable; so that all they could do was to blockade the place till they could receive a supply of bombs and mortars from *Jamaica*. A sloop was dispatched thither for that purpose; but the commander of it trifling away his time, colonel *Daniel*, on whose personal abilities the success of the expedition seems wholly to have rested, undertook to go to *Jamaica*, which he actually did; and procured a supply of bombs.

DURING *Daniel's* absence two *Spanish* ships appeared in the offing of *St. Augustine*, which struck Mr. *Moor*, who had lain there near three months, with such a panic, that he broke up the siege, burnt his ships (though others say they fell into the hands of the *Spaniards*) and made his retreat with a precipitancy that did no honour to his martial abilities. *Daniel*, in the mean while, came back to *St. Augustine*, and; with great difficulty, escaped being taken. When the fright of the *Carolians* was over, it plainly appeared that *Moor* had abandoned a certain conquest; for the two *Spanish* men of war were only two frigates, one of twenty-two, and the other of sixteen guns; and if he had had the resolution to have continued the siege, or rather the blockade, a little longer, the place must have surrendered. *Moor*, in his return to *Carolina*, had a long and a fatiguing land march, which was conducted in a very unfoldier-like manner. One of his *Indian* associates *Arratommakav*, king of the *Yaniseaves*, knew the nature of the *Spaniards* too well to be alarmed by any reports of a pursuit, and therefore when he came to his *peruaguas* he there rested himself and his people very contentedly, telling the *English*, who pressed him to be gone, that though their governor left them he would not stir till he saw all his men before

before him. It is wonderful, that in this laborious expedition the *English* lost no more than two men. Colonel *Moor* being returned to *Charles-town*, found the *Carolínians* greatly dispirited by the bad success of their expedition, especially as it had entailed upon them a debt of 6000*l*. When the assembly met, the lower house, or the representatives of the people, passed a bill for the better regulating elections, which was disdainfully rejected by the governor and the council, who wanted to raise money to pay off the provincial debt. The members of the assembly were but thirty, and of them fifteen entered a protest (not very regularly perhaps) against the governor's proceeding. In short, both parties seem to have been in fault, the governor having got the lower people on his side, with some of his riotous friends, insulted the protesters in the most gross manner, and it is pretty plain that the latter wanted to evade the payment of the provincial debts. One Mr. *Asb*, who was a member of the assembly, and had been personally abused, was employed by the protesters, to draw up a representation of their case while the riot against the members of the assembly continued; but, though great applications were made to the governor, both for quelling and punishing the rioters, nothing of that kind was done.

At last, Sir *Nathaniel Johnson*, who had been governor of the leeward islands, in the reign of king *James*, and had, after that, retired to *Carolina*, was appointed governor; but he acted upon the principles of the late governor *Moor*, who was appointed attorney-general of the province, as one of his creatures, *Trott*, was chief justice of the common pleas, which was then a post of vast power in that province. But, notwithstanding the black colours in which the *English* dissenting writers have represented this governor *Moor*, it ought to be remembered, that the formation of the colony of *Georgia* was chiefly owing to him. In the year 1703, with the *Carolínians* of his party, he marched against the *Spanish Apalachians*, eight hundred of whom he killed or took prisoners, as he did don *Juan Mexia*, who commanded them. By his progress the whole province of *Apalachia*, submitted to the *English*, and he transported from thence to the country, now called *Georgia*, about 1400 of the *Apalachians*, who put themselves under the protection of the *English*. This did not prevent the *Carolínians* from vigorously prosecuting their complaints in *England*. They consisted of two heads; first, the riotous proceedings, which had been encouraged and abetted by the governors *Moor* and *Johnson*; and the second regarded

ROBERTS'S account of *Florida*, p. 89.

the

the illegal practices of those two governors, in procuring returns to be made to the house of representatives. Those complaints met with a very cold reception in *England*; and the assembly meeting in *Carolina*, a bill was brought in, in express violation of the fundamental charter, for the more effectual preservation of the government, by requiring all persons that shall hereafter be chosen members of the commons house of assembly, and sit in the same, to conform to the religious worship in this province, according to the church of *England*, and to receive the sacrament of the lord's supper, according to the rites and usage of the church of *England*. By this act, all dissenters were disqualified, though legally elected, from sitting in the assembly, and the candidate, who had the greatest number of voices, after the disqualified dissenter, was to be admitted. The passing of this bill, which to say the truth was illegal and oppressive, alarmed all the dissenters in the colony, who instructed Mr. *Ash*, their agent, to represent to the lord *Granville* their grievances, which he did in a printed paper; but *Ash* died before he saw any effect of his representations, and his lordship was far from being a man of such a temper and principles, as to give them relief.

A bill
passed
against
occasional
conformists.

THE dissenting *Carolineans* were thus left without all redress, and, to complete their grievances, a bill passed, which was signed by the governor and deputies for establishing religious worship in this province, according to the church of *England*; and for the erecting of churches for the public worship of God, and also for the maintenance of ministers, and the building convenient houses for them. The following commissioners were appointed to see this act put into execution, Sir *Nathaniel Johnson*, *Thomas Broughton*, Esq; colonel *James Moor*, *Nicholas Trott*, Esq; colonel *Robert Gibbes*, *Job How*, Esq; *Ralph Izard*, Esq; colonel *James Risbee*, colonel *George Logan*, lieutenant-colonel *William Rhett*, *William Smith*, Esq; Mr. *John Stroude*, Mr. *Thomas Hubbard*, *Richard Beresford*, Esq; Mr. *Robert Seabrook*, Mr. *Hugh Hicks*, *John Ashby*, Esq; captain *John Godfrey*, *James Serurier*, alias *Smith*, Esq; and Mr. *Thomas Barton*. In consequence of this act, many foolish, and some oppressive, things were done by the government of *Carolina* against the dissenters there, and, at last, it drew from the merchants trading thither a petition to the lord *Granville*, to have it repealed. A board of proprietaries was, with great difficulty, assembled; but, notwithstanding all the representations of Mr. *Archdale*, who was himself a proprietary, and Mr. *Boon*, agent for the dissenters, no redress could be obtained. The bill, however, was of such pernicious consequence to the colony, that the lower house

passed

passed a vote for repealing it; but the governor dissolved them for their unsteadiness. About the same time, the society for propagating the gospel in *America* and elsewhere, resolved not to send any missionaries to *Carolina*, till both the act and the lay commission attending it, were repealed. All those measures and representations signified nothing; but the colony every day gaining strength, many of the most eminent merchants in *London* abetted Mr. *Boon*, in his agency, and even carried an application into the house of lords for the relief of the *Carolynians*. There, the matter was fully debated, and an address was voted to the queen in behalf of the *Carolynians* in the following terms.

“ THE house having fully and maturely weighed the nature of these two acts, found themselves obliged in duty to your majesty, and in justice to your subjects in *Carolina* (who, by the express words of the charter of your royal uncle king *Charles II.* granted to the proprietors, are declared to be the liege people of the crown of *England*, and to have right to all the liberties, franchises, and privileges of *Englishmen*, as if they were born within this kingdom; and, who by the words of the same charter, are to be subject to no laws but such as are consonant to reason, and as near as may be to the laws and customs of *England*) to come to the following resolutions:

“ First, that it is the opinion of this house, that the act of the assembly of *Carolina* lately passed there, and since signed and settled by *John lord Granville* palatine, for himself, and for the lord *Carteret*, and the lord *Craven*, and Sir *John Colleton*, four of the proprietors of that province, in order to the ratifying, entitled, An act for the establishing religious worship in this province, according to the church of *England*, and for the erecting of churches for the public worship of God, and also for the maintenance of ministers, and building convenient houses for them; so far forth as the same relates to the establishing a commission for the displacing the rectors or ministers of the churches there, is not warranted by the charter granted to the proprietors of that colony, as being not consonant to reason, repugnant to the laws of this realm, and destructive to the constitution of the church of *England*.

“ Secondly, that it is the opinion of this house, that the act of the assembly of *Carolina*, entitled, An act for the more effectual preservation of the government of this province, by requiring all persons that shall hereafter be chosen members of the commons-house of assembly, and sit in the same, to take the oaths, and subscribe the declaration ap-

MOD. HIST. VOL. XL.

F f

pointed

pointed by this act, and to conform to the religious worship in this province, according to the rites and usage of the said church lately passed there, and signed and sealed by *John lord Granville*, palatine, for himself and the lord *Craven*, and also for the lord *Carteret*, and by Sir *John Colliton*, four of the proprietors of that province, in order to the ratifying of it, is founded upon falsity in matter of fact, is repugnant to the laws of *England*, contrary to the charter granted to the proprietors of that colony, is an encouragement to atheism and irreligion, destructive to trade, and tends to the depopulating and ruining the said province.

“MAY it please your majesty,

WE your majesty's most dutiful subjects, having thus humbly presented our opinion of these acts, we beseech your majesty to use the most effectual methods to deliver the said province from the arbitrary oppressions under which it now lies; and to order the authors thereof to be prosecuted according to law.”

To which her majesty was graciously pleased to answer;

“I THANK the house for laying these matters so plainly before me; I am very sensible of what great consequence the plantations are to *England*, and will do all that is in my power to relieve my subjects.”

*Their
charter
surrender-
ed.*

BESIDES this representation, the commissioners of trade and plantations, who were then the right honourable the lord *Dartmouth*, the honourable *Robert Cecil*, Esq; Sir *Philip Meadows*, *William Blathwayte*, Esq; *Matthew Prior*, Esq; and *John Pollexfen*, Esq; to whom the matter of the petition was referred, represented to her majesty on the 24th of *May*, 1706, that the making such laws is an abuse of the power granted to the proprietors by their charter, and had forfeited the same, and offering to her majesty, that she would be pleased to give directions for re-assuming the same into her majesty's hands by *scire facias*, in her majesty's court of queen's bench. On the 10th of *June* following her majesty approved of this representation, the laws complained of were declared to be null and void, and the attorney and solicitor-general were ordered to inform themselves about the most effectual method of proceeding against the charter of the colony by *quo warranto*. All this while, public business was almost at an entire stand in *Carolina*, where great abuses were committed in electing a new assembly; and on the 2d of *January* 1705, when the members met, their number was not sufficient for making a house, and chusing a speaker. At last, when their numbers were complete, they chose Mr. *Seabrook* for their speaker, who was approved of by the governor. Next day, when

1705.

when the house met, great debates arose about the qualifications of the members; but before a sufficient number were qualified they adjourned themselves. At their next meeting they waited upon the governor, who spoke to them in the following terms, "Gentlemen, you are building on a wrong foundation, and then the superstructure will never stand; for you have dissolved yourselves by adjourning before there was a competent number of members to adjourn, and I cannot dissolve you if I would, you not being a house. All this I know very well, as being myself many years a member of the house of commons in *England*; and therefore, as I am head, I would advise you to go back no more to the house, but go every man about his own business: for if you should persist in settling and making laws, besides the incurring the penalties of the act, the laws would be of no force." There was a great deal of truth in what the governor said, and the house accordingly was dissolved.

THE next assembly was chosen under vast circumstances of tumult; and not having heard of the blow which their palatine's government had received in *England*, they proceeded to very unwarrantable lengths: for they enacted their own continuance two years after the death of their then governor, and the accession of his successor. The preamble of this act is very remarkable, "Whereas the church of *England* has of late been so happily established among them, fearing by the succession of a new governor, the church may be either undermined or wholly subverted, to prevent that calamity befalling them, be it enacted." Colonel *Johnson* was succeeded in the government of *Carolina* by major *Tynte*; and he by a Major variety of other names, *Gibbes*, *Craven*, *Daniel*, *Johnson*, and *Tynte Moor*; of all whose governments, nothing falls under our cognizance. In the year 1718 *Francis Nicholson*, Esq; was 1718. governor, during whose time the province was terribly harassed by pirates; so that the planters fitted out at their expence two sloops under the command of captain *Rhett*, who took a pirate sloop of ten guns and seventy men; and *Johnson*, the late governor, took another, but of smaller dimensions. In the year 1722 four *Indian* nations sent deputies to make peace 1722. between their nations and the *English*. They were well received and cloathed, and in return they owned themselves subjects of *Great Britain*. In the year 1730, a dreadful plot was formed by the negroes of the province of *Carolina*, to massacre all the white people, and it might have succeeded had they not differed amongst themselves about their manner of proceeding. It was reckoned at this time that there were in this province about 28,000 negroes, men, women, and chil-

Middle-
ton gover-
nor.

children, and that 10,000 of them were capable of bearing arms. Nothing remarkable happened after this for some time, but an endeavour to deprive the *Carolínians* of their right to chuse juries by ballot; but it was confirmed to them by the *English* government against all the efforts of their proprietaries. At this time it appears, that there was a very bad understanding between them and their governor, *Middleton*, who, in the year 1730, treated the assembly with the following speech. "I cannot think but you must be thoroughly convinced of the necessity there is for granting immediate supplies for the paying the arrears due to the garrisons, the rangers, scouts and look-out: you will do well to consider the miserable circumstances of those poor people, who have now three years pay due to them. I would fain know, wherein consists the prudence and policy of deferring the payment of public debts year after year, till the burthen becomes heavy, and the country becomes bankrupt. I need not tell you the *Indians* are no longer our friends than you keep them in fear, and who will credit the public in time of danger; when they will pay nothing of what they owe in time of tranquillity? before I conclude, I must put you in mind, gentlemen, of humbly addressing his majesty with thanks, for purchasing the soil, and taking it under his immediate protection."

THE disagreement between the people and their governor, as usual, encouraged the *Indians* to rise against the *English*. It is very probable, that the savages were provoked to this by some oppressive practices of the *English*, and that they were abetted, both by the *French* and *Spaniards*. By this time the power and interest of the proprietaries in *Carolina* was dwindled to nothing; and so feeble was their administration, that the *Carolínians* were obliged to apply to the crown to take them under its protection; which the government of *England* pretended imply'd a resumption of their charter. Notwithstanding this, they made so good a head against the *Indians* and the *Spaniards*, that they carried on an offensive war against them in *Florida*, and, according to their own accounts, drove the *Spaniards* in that country to take refuge under the guns of *St. Augustine*, and they destroyed all their houses and cattle, with those of their allies in the open country. But the proprietaries found themselves unable to maintain, on their own bottom, any war against the *Indians*, when the latter were supported by such powerful allies. They therefore resolved to surrender their charter, which they accordingly did to *Edward Bertie*, *Samuel Horsey*, *Henry Smith*, and *Alexias Clayton*, Esqrs; in trust for the crown. The proprietaries then

then were *Henry*, duke of *Beaufort*, *William*, lord *Craven*, *James Bertie*, Esq; *Dadington Greville*, Esq; *Henry Bertie*, Esq; *Mary Danson*, *Elizabeth Moor*, *Sir John Colliton*, *John Cotton*, Esq; and *Joseph Blake*, Esq; Those noblemen and gentlemen possessed no more than seven eighths of the province; the other eighth being in lord *Carteret*, and they received from the crown for their cession 17,500*l.* together with 5000*l.* more due to them by the province on account of out-standing debts.

THIS surrender and payment was in the year 1728 confirmed by an act of the *British* parliament, entitled, an act for establishing an agreement with seven of the lords proprietaries of *Carolina*, for surrender of their title and interest in that province to his majesty. One clause of this act runs as follows, " Having and reserving always to *John lord Carteret*, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, all such estate, right and title to one eighth part of the share of the said provinces or territories, and to one eighth part of all arrears." After passing this act the government fell in good earnest to encourage this colony, which now appeared to be one of the most promising of any the *English* had in *North America*, and *Robert Johnson*, Esq; was appointed to be its governor. By the assistance which the province received from *England*, the *Indians* were expelled, and compelled to accept of equitable terms of peace; but it was now evident that a precarious peace was no other than an ill observed truce, and it therefore became necessary to endeavour to bring over the *Cherokees*, the *Indians* from whom the *Carolinians* had most to apprehend, to be cordial friends of the *English*. *Sir Alexander Cumming*, a *Scotch* gentleman, who happened to be in *America* at that time, undertook this arduous task, and set out upon a long and dangerous journey of four or five hundred miles, to persuade those savages to submit to the crown of *Great Britain*. On the 1st of *March* 1729 he came to *Kecabwee*, which is distant about three hundred miles from *Charles-town* from whence he set out. Meeting with an *English* trader he was informed that the lower *Creeks* had given the *Cherokees* an invitation to join the *French* interest. *Sir Alexander*, without loss of time, repaired to the house where about two hundred of the head *Cherokees* were assembled, and was by them received with the greatest marks of respect. He then issued dispatches for a general meeting of the nation, to confer with him at *Nequessee* on the 3d of *April* following. After this he travelled a vast way into their country, and was every where received with so many marks of distinction, that, if we are to believe some writers, several of the nations even offered

*Submission
of the Cherokeees to
the crown
of Great
Britain.*

him their chieftainship. One of their head men was *Moyty*; and, upon the return of *Sir Alexander* to *Nequessee*, he had honours performed to him next to a divinity. He then made a speech to the assembly, extolling the grandeur and virtues of king *George*, whom all of them swore in the most solemn manner to obey; and they made *Sir Alexander* the compliment of receiving from his hands, *Moyty*, as chief of all their nation. After this, *Sir Alexander* was presented with their sovereign diadem, together with five eagles tails, and four scalps of their enemies, with a request that he would be pleased to lay all at the feet of his *Britannic* majesty. Every thing being now prepared for his departure, *Moyty* would have attended him to *England* in person, had not his wife, of whom, it seems, he was very fond, been dangerously ill; but he insisted upon the head warrior of the *Tepetchees* with other chiefs attending him to *England*, which they did, and they arrived at *Dover* on the 5th of *June*.

THIS was undoubtedly a most important service performed by *Sir Alexander*, to the crown of *Great Britain*, and it ought to have been both better improved and rewarded than it was. The chiefs, it is true, were presented to the king, and saw all the magnificence of the *English* court; and at the same time they bore witness to the truth of *Sir Alexander's* speech, when he laid the *Cherokee* crown at his majesty's feet, and declared the submission of their nation to his authority. But when this idle pageantry was over, the savages soon forgot it; nor indeed do they seem to have the smallest idea of any grandeur of government without the verge of their own country. No benefit arose to them from their subjection, which undoubtedly was the motive of it; neither do we know of any care that was taken, after *Mr. Johnson's* government, to keep up the *British* interest among them, though it might have been done at a very trifling expence. *Mr. Johnson* arrived at his government in 1731, and in the first speech he made, said, "The king, our royal master, having been pleased to appoint me his governor of this his province, I took the first opportunity to repair hither, where, on my arrival, finding an assembly newly elected, which had never sat to do any business, considering how short a time there will be for a session, before the season of the year will make you desire to be at your several plantations, I chose rather to meet you now, than to wait for a new election. His majesty, out of his great goodness and fatherly care of you, and at the earnest request and sollicitation of yourselves, has been graciously pleased, at a great expence, to purchase seven eighths of the late lords proprietors charter, whereby you

are

are become under his immediate government, a blessing and security we have been long praying for, the good effects of which we only experience by the safety we enjoy, as well in our trade by the protection of our ships, as by land in an independent company, maintained partly for our safety and encouragement. The taking off the duty on rice is a peculiar favour."

MR. JOHNSON then recommended to the assembly, by his majesty's order, the encouragement of a public school in *Charles-town*, and the repairing the fortifications, and declared that he had brought over with him a considerable present for the chiefs of the *Cherokees*, to confirm them in their good dispositions towards the crown of *Great Britain*; and likewise he communicated a treaty with which he had been charged by the commissioners of trade and plantations to be entered into with those savages. This treaty was approved *Treaty* of by the assembly, and the heads of the *Cherokees* being in- *with the* vited to *Charles-town*, they were there received in a most brilliant manner, by the gentry of both sexes, and they ratified *Chero-* the treaty with the utmost cordiality. Unfortunately it happened, that the *Virginians* and the *Carolínians* pursued separate interests among the *Cherokees*, and the *Carolínian* traders often complained of their being undersold by the *Virginians*. Mr. Johnson omitted nothing that could remove all the grievances of his government. On the 25th of *August* 1732, he had an interview with *Mingobé Mingo*, a *Chickesaw* Indian, who was attended by eight men and two women, together with two *Natchee* Indians. This savage presented the governor, with whom were some of the principal inhabitants of the colony, with twenty-six *Indian* dressed deer skins; and in the speech he made the governor, whom he called father, he said, "he had undertaken a very long journey to see him; that he hoped the path between them would never be shut up; that he came from a great town in his nation of which he was king; and that in their way thither they lost one of their men, who was killed by one of the *Cherokee* Indians in friendship with the *English*. That he was sent down by the other head-men of his nation, to receive the talk from him, and that he would faithfully carry it back." The governor apologized in the best manner he could for the *Cherokees*, and understanding that the *Chickesaws* had some difference with the *Chactaws*, on account of the friendship of the former towards the *English*, he presented *Mingo* with twelve cags of gunpowder, and twenty-four bags of bullets, as he did the two *Natchee* Indians, as well as *Mingo* and his attendants, with a coat, gun, hat, and other apparel. He then dismissed them,

Settlement
of Georgia.

them, after recommending a good understanding between the *Natches* and the *Chickesaws*; and advised the latter to demand satisfaction of the *Cherokeses* in a friendly manner, in order to prevent a war. In this governor's time the province of *Georgia* was planned, and he published an advertisement in the *Carolina* gazette for receiving voluntary subscriptions towards its establishment. He and the people of *Charles-town* gave likewise a most hospitable reception to Mr. *Oglethorpe*, and his attendants, upon that gentleman's first arrival there, in his way to *Georgia*; and upon their departure, the general assembly, upon the governor's motion, voted, that Mr. *Oglethorpe* should be furnished at the public expence with one hundred and four head of breeding cattle, twenty-five hogs, and twenty barrels of good rice; that, besides small craft to carry them, the scout-boats, and captain *Macpherson*, with ten of the rangers, who are horsemen kept in pay to discover the motions of the *Indians*, should attend Mr. *Oglethorpe*, and obey his command, in order to protect the new settlers from any insults. He likewise would have attended Mr. *Oglethorpe* to *Georgia*, had not the assembly of *Carolina* been sitting; but, at his request, colonel *Bull*, who was extremely conversant in those affairs, went to *Georgia*, where he was very assisting to Mr. *Oglethorpe*; and the governor, at the same time, recommended the care of the infant colony to all the *Indians*, who were in friendship with the *Carolynians*.

War between the
Carolynians and
the Yamassees.

BEFORE this time, we perceive that there was war between the people of *Carolina*, and the *Yamasse Indians*. The *Carolynians* raised an hundred white men, and an hundred *Indians*, with whom they attacked the *Yamasse* village, and killed thirty-two of its inhabitants with a friar. After this, they drove both the *Spaniards*, who were settled there, and the *Yamassees* into *St. Augustine*, where the *English* for some time blockaded them. According to an article then published in the *Carolina* gazette, no fewer than three hundred shot were fired upon the *English* from the castle, but without any effect. At last, the governor of *St. Augustine* demanded what the claims of the *English* were, and received for answer that they required the *Yamasse Indians* to be delivered up to them. To this the governor replied, that the *Yamassees* being subjects of the crown of *Spain*, the demand could not be complied with, but that he would make good all the damage the *English* had sustained. Upon this, the *Carolynians* retreated, after lying three days before the town. This war with the *Indians* brought a considerable expence upon many individuals in the province, who very justly complained of the extravagant grants of 12, nay sometimes 24,000 acres, made by the proprietaries

proprietaries to the landgraves and the caciques, by which the complainants, who had defended the province against the *Spaniards* and the *Indians*, were prevented from making any advantageous settlements at the established quit-rents. This, upon examination, appeared to be a very great grievance; and the attorney and solicitor-general in *England* gave their opinion against the validity of those exorbitant grants. Two persons were taken into custody on account of this grievance; and the controversy, at last, was ended by an act of the assembly to remedy the same.

THE situation and fertility of *Carolina*, and the interest 1732.
which the crown now took in its prosperity, about the year *Settlement*
1732, rendered it a most flourishing province. We have al- of the
ready mentioned a small settlement, made by the *Scotch* lord *Swisses in*
Cardrosse, on the river *Savannah*, and which was abandoned *Carolina*.
because of its neighbourhood to the *Spaniards*; but, at the
time we now treat of, the intention of that plantation was
resumed. One Mr. *Purry*, a *Swiss* gentleman, born at
Neuchâtel, entered into a treaty with the *British* government
for planting the same spot with *Swisses*. A hundred and se-
venty-two of them accordingly settled there, and, in a few
months, they built upon the northern bank of the river *Sa-*
vannah a new town, called *Purrysburgh*, which soon con-
tained above three hundred *Swisses*. In 1734, Mr. *Purry*, 1734.
in consequence of a very laudable scheme, which he had
formed in concert with the assembly of *South Carolina*, for
raising a barrier of hardy industrious people on the southern
frontier of that province, carried over thither two hundred
and seventy more of his countrymen: so that above six hun-
dred *Swisses* were now settled in *Purrysburgh*. The assembly
voted him 400 l. for every hundred effective men he brought
over; and promised to find provisions and tools for three hun-
dred of them for one year. The fund for defraying this ex-
pence was the negro duty, which the crown had remitted to
the assembly for that purpose. A most noble scheme about
the same time for the benefit of the colony was recommend-
ed by his then majesty to the governor. It was proposed,
that eleven townships should be established, and the forty-
third article of the governor's instructions declared, "That
it is his majesty's will and pleasure, that each of these eleven
townships do consist of 20,000 acres of land to be laid out in
square plats of ground; that fifty acres (part of the above-
mentioned 20,000) shall be granted to every inhabitant at
their first settling; and, to the intent, that land near the
township may not be wanting for the conveniency of the in-
habitants as their substance shall increase, no person, except
the

the inhabitants, shall be allowed to take up any land, within six miles of the said township respectively, to which the said township shall be contiguous." At the same time, the property of 48,000 acres was granted to Mr. *Purry*, for the use of the six hundred *Swisses* he had imported. Some mismanagements, however, seem to have crept into the new *Swiss* plantation, which drew from the governor the following proclamation. "Whereas I have received information from colonel *Peter Purry*, that several persons at *Purrysburgh* have sold the lots and lands, to which they pretend right in that township, although they have obtained no grants for the same; and notwithstanding they have received the benefit and bounty of this province in provision, as also that they have attempted to sell their pretended lots, though they were never at *Purrysburgh*, which is contrary to the king's royal intention in settling the said township; for the preventing of which fraudulent practices, I here issue this my proclamation to inform the publick, that no grants will pass of any lands in any of the townships laid out in this province, but only to those, in whose names the original warrants were made out, and shall settle there."

1735.
Thomas
Broughton
governor.

SOON after this proclamation was published, governor *Johnson* died May 3, 1735, and was succeeded by *Thomas Broughton*, Esq; It must be allowed, that the government of *England*, at this period, was a little too negligent in their appointments of *American* governors, who, in general, were men that, having run out their estates in *Great Britain*, were sent to retrieve them in *America*. The state of the fortifications was in a deplorable condition, and the inhabitants in general, of this as well as the other provinces, gave themselves very little trouble about contributing to the public exigencies, while the legislature of *Great Britain*, being then in profound peace, both with *France* and *Spain*, neglected all the means of obliging them to contribute towards their own defence. But all those mismanagements did not damp the zeal of the protestant *Swisses* and the *Vaudois*, from endeavouring to make settlements in *Carolina*; and the latter, who, in their country, had been accustomed to the manufacture of silk, hearing that *Carolina* was proper for the culture of silk worms, still continued, as well as the *Swisses*, to flock to it; so that, in a few years, another foreign town, called *Wilton*, or *New London*, was built, and rivalled *Purrysburgh*. This competition was of some detriment to the colony, and the foreigners, in general, complained, that the terms upon which they transported themselves to the province were not fulfilled. By this time, the government of *England* had formed

formed a design of splitting the great *American* provinces into subdivisions, and the province of *Carolina* was divided into *South* and *North*, each under a separate governor. South and North Carolina.

NORTH CAROLINA was, at first, governed by captain *Hyde*, Sir *Richard Everard*, and captain *Burrington*; but the history of it is so barren of any events, that it can only be mentioned here. The governors, it is true, received their salaries; but so little care was taken concerning the police of the country, that no clergymen had settlements there, to the great scandal of the other colonists, even their marriages being performed by justices of the peace. Nothing farther occurs in the history of *Carolina*, till the government of Mr. *Glen*; excepting the common share that the province took in the war between *Great Britain* and *France* and *Spain*, an account of which is to be found in other parts of this work. In 1752, *South Carolina* was in so thriving a condition, that the following is an extract of the governor's speech. "There are, at present, in this harbour of *Charles-town*, two ships with upwards of eight hundred foreign protestants on board; and two others are hourly expected with a like number. If they are settled comfortably, they will not only by this means be kept here, and be a considerable addition to our strength, but will encourage many others to come: and even the settling of these in proper places may be made subservient to our security." Soon after this arrived at *South Carolina*, on the 26th of *May*, 1753, escorted by three troops of horse, by the governor's order, upwards of an hundred *Creek Indians*, with about twenty of their chieftains, or warriors, and their emperor *Malachti*, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. *Bosomworth*, and Mr. *Chatie*. This king, *Malachti*, was termed the *Red Coat* king; and he was attended by the *Wolf* king, the *Ottasse* king, with other chiefs and warriors, to whom his excellency the governor made a speech, entirely in their own manner, to persuade them to ratify all their treaties with the *English*, and likewise to make peace with the *Cherokees*. This last people, it seems, were then under the protection of the *English*, and had been attacked, and some of them murdered, even in the neighbourhood of *Charles-town*. The *Creeks*, on the other hand, complained that the *Cherokees* had encouraged the northern *Indians* to fall upon them; but the *Cherokees*, in reply, pleaded that those savages were generally so numerous, and so well armed, that they could not keep them back. The governor's speech ended with a desire that there might be a good understanding among all the savages who were in friendship with the *English*. After this, *Malachti*

1752.

Malachi made a present of skins to his excellency; and accounted for the conduct of his people towards the *Cherokees*, and the other *English Indians*, which, though of great consequence upon the spot, is too minute to have a place here. Upon the whole, *Malachi* promised every thing that the governor could require, excepting an alliance with the northern *Indians*, which he pretended to be a matter of so great consequence, that he and his nation must deliberate upon it. This interview seems to have had an excellent effect upon the *Cherokees*, as well as the *Creeks*, for, after the taking of *Oswego*, four hundred of them joined the *English* forces.

1739.
William
Henry
Lyttleton
governor.

WE have often, in the course of this history, observed the vast advantages, which the *French* government had over that of *England*, by a superior influence with the *Indians*. In the year 1739, when *William Henry Lyttleton, Esq;* was governor of *South Carolina*, the *French Louisianians* prevailed upon those savages to attack the *English*, and their *Indian* allies; many of whom they plundered, massacred, and scalped. Mr. *Lyttleton*, having undoubted intelligence of those outrages, with the consent and assistance of the assembly of his province, raised, with extraordinary dispatch, a very considerable body of troops, and marched, at their head, in the beginning of *October*, 1759, into the country of the *Cherokees*, who were under such consternation by so vigorous a measure, that they chose the famous *Atakullakulla* to be their deputy, and to treat with the governor; he being attended for that purpose by several head men and warriors, who met the governor at fort *Prince George*. The savages, instead of disputing the terms, received them from the governor, who was at the head of eight hundred militia, and 300 regulars. He had collected the militia at *Congrees*, about an hundred miles from *Charles-town*, which he had left in the beginning of *October*, and advanced two hundred miles farther to *Kewsee*, where the *Indians* made their submissions. The reader, in the note (A), will find the treaty, then concluded the while

1759.

(A) Treaty of peace and friendship, concluded by his excellency, *William Henry Lyttleton, Esq;* captain-general, and governor in chief of his majesty's province of *South Carolina*, with *Atakullakulla*, or the *Little Carpenter*, deputy of the whole *Cherokee* nation, and

other headmen and warriors thereof, at fort *Prince George*, December 26, 1759.

“ Art. 1. There shall be a firm peace and friendship between all his majesty's subjects of this province, and the nation of *Indians* called the *Cherokees*; and the said *Cherokees* shall preserve

whole expedition, not taking up above three months. It soon, however, appeared that the submission of the *Cherokees* was

serve peace with all his majesty's subjects whatsoever.

Art. 2. The articles of friendship and commerce, concluded by the lords commissioners for trade and plantations, with the deputies of the *Cherokees*, by his majesty's command at *Whitehall*, the 7th of September, 1730, shall be strictly observed for the time to come.

Art. 3. Whereas the *Cherokee Indians* have, at sundry times and places, since the 19th of November, 1758, slain divers of his majesty's good subjects of this province; and his excellency the governor having demanded that satisfaction should be given for the same, according to the tenor of the said articles of friendship and commerce afore-mentioned, in consequence whereof two *Cherokee Indians*, of the number of those who have been guilty of perpetrating the said murders, have already been delivered up, to be put to death, or otherwise disposed of, as his excellency the governor shall direct, it is hereby stipulated and agreed, that twenty-two other *Cherokee Indians*, guilty of the said murders, shall, as soon as possible, after the conclusion of this present treaty, in like manner be delivered up to such persons as his excellency the governor, or the commander in chief of this province for the time being, shall appoint to receive them, to be put to death, or otherwise disposed of, as the said governor and commander in chief shall direct.

Art. 4. The *Cherokee Indians* whose names are herein after mentioned, viz. *Chenobe, Ousanatab, Tallichama, Tallitabe, Qarrafattabe, Connaferatab, Kattatoui, Otassie of Watogo, Ousanoletab of Jore, Katsaletab of Cowetche, Chisquatalene, Skia-gusta of Sticoe, Tannaeslo, Wobatche, Wyeyah, Oucab, Chistanab, Nicholehe, Tony, Totaiab-boi, Shallilofke, Chistie*, shall remain as hostages for the due performance of the foregoing articles, in the custody of such persons, as his excellency the governor shall please to nominate for that purpose; and when any of the *Cherokee Indians*, guilty of the said murders, shall have been delivered up, as is expressed in the said articles, an equal number of said hostages shall forthwith be set at liberty.

Art. 5. Immediately after the conclusion of this present treaty, the licenced traders from this government, and all persons employed by them, shall have leave from his excellency the governor to return to their respective places of abode in the *Cherokee* nation, and to carry on their trade with the *Cherokee Indians*, in the usual manner, according to law.

Art. 6. During the continuance of the present war between his most sacred majesty and the *French* king, if any *Frenchman* shall presume to come into the *Cherokee* nation, the *Cherokees* shall use their utmost endeavours to put him to death, as one of his majesty's enemies; or,

His expedition against the Cherokees.

was only to avoid the storm that was ready to break upon them. The *Indian* hostages were lodged in fort *Prince George*, and, not being very strictly guarded, they had found means to enter into a conspiracy, with their countrymen without, for massacring the garrison, and getting possession of the fort. For this purpose, they had procured tomohawks, and other arms, and even a bottle of poison to taint the waters of the fort. About the same time, their warrior, *Ouconnostata*, attempted with twenty or thirty of his savages to enter the fort, on pretence of a conference, and mortally wounded an *English* officer, and wounded two others. This being known to ensign *Mills*, who commanded within the fort, the hostages were put in irons, but they made such a resistance, that one *Englishman* was killed, and another wounded; on which, it was found absolutely necessary to put them all to death. The savages without the fort, not knowing of this catastrophe, attacked it in the evening; and being repulsed, they revenged themselves upon the open part of *Carolina*, where they murdered great numbers of the *English*. Soon after, they assaulted fort *Ninety-six*, from whence

or, if taken alive, they shall deliver him up to his excellency the governor, or the commander in chief of this province for the time being, to be disposed of as he shall direct; and if any person whatsoever, either white man or *Indian*, shall at any time bring any messages from the *French* into the *Cherokee* nation, or hold any discourses there in favour of the *French*, or tending to set the *English* and *Cherokees* at variance, and interrupt the peace and friendship established by this present treaty, the *Cherokees* shall use their utmost endeavours to apprehend such person or persons, and detain him or them until they shall have given notice thereof to his excellency the governor, or to the commander in chief for the time being, and have received his directions therein.

Given under my hand and seal at fort *Prince George*, in the

province of *South Carolina*, this 26th day of *December*, 1759, in the 33d year of his majesty's reign.

William Henry Lyttleton (L. S.)

By his excellency's command,
William Drayton, Sec.

We whose names are underwritten, do agree to all and every of these articles, and do engage, for ourselves and our nation, that the same shall be well and faithfully performed. In testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals the day and year abovementioned.

Attakullakulla (L. S.)

Ouconnostata (L. S.)

Otaffite (L. S.)

Kitagusta (L. S.)

Oconoea (L. S.)

Killcannoka (L. S.)

Joseph Axson, *William Forster*,
sworn interpreters.

Witness, *Henry Vane*,
Adjutant-general."

they

they were repulsed likewise. It now appeared that this insurrection was more dangerous than it was imagined at first. The *Creeks*, hearing of the *Cherokee* hostilities, gave the *English* all the security that could be required for their fidelity, and a body of them took the field against the enemy, under one of their chiefs, called the *Long Warrior*, who crossed the *Savannah*, on the 22d of *March*, 1760. Seven hundred rangers were raised by the people of *Carolina*; and governor *Lyttleton*, understanding that the *Cherokees* would be supported by all the force the *French* could spare, wrote for assistance to general *Amherst*, who sent, on board transports, two hundred of the *Royal Scots*, and the first battalion of *Highlanders*, under the command of the honourable colonel *Montgomery*. About the same time, the *Chickesaws* brought to *Augusta* several *Cherokee* scalps; and many of the inhabitants of both the *Carolinas* associated themselves to act offensively against the enemy. There was the more reason for those precautions, as the *Cherokees* were, at this time, so powerful, that they could bring to the field, about 3000 warriors, and were headed by several *French* officers, disguised like savages; who had obtained a great many advantages over the *English* Indians.

1760.

COLONEL *Montgomery*, after his arrival at *Charles-town*, That of marched to fort *Ninety-six*, and from thence to *Twelve Mile* colonel river, which he passed in the beginning of *June*, without op- Montgo- position. Dispatch was the life of this expedition; and the mery. colonel, leaving his heavy baggage at fort *Prince George*, marched towards *Little Keowee*, and from thence to *Estatoe*, which was twenty-five miles distant. *Little Keowee* was attacked by a detachment of light infantry, who surprized it with their bayonets on the muzzles of their guns, and put to death all the men they found in it. It is probable, that the savages there had put those of *Estatoe* upon their guard; for, upon the arrival of the main body at the village, they found the bulk of the inhabitants had fled, so that only a few of them were put to the sword; but new and unexpected scenes every hour presented in this expedition. All the towns the *English* met with were delightfully situated; the houses commodiously built, and stored with every thing that could make savage, or even rural, life agreeable; nor were fire-arms and ammunition wanting. The town of *Estatoe*, consisting of two hundred houses, was plundered, and then reduced to ashes; many of the wretched inhabitants, who had sought to conceal themselves, perishing in the flames. A few hours after, *Sugar-town*, which was as large as *Estatoe*, shared the same fate; as did all the towns, villages, and houses, in the lower

lower nation. About eighty *Cherokees* were killed in this expedition, and forty women and children taken prisoners. None of the men received quarter, it being necessary to make severe examples. All the plunder, which was not inconsiderable, and which the soldiers could not carry off, was destroyed, and some money, with watches, fell into their hands. Colonel *Montgomery* then returned to fort *Prince George*. from whence he sent a messenger, one *Tiftowe*, to the *Cherokee* chiefs, particularly to *Attakullakulla*, informing them, that they might yet have peace upon their making proper submissions. *Attakullakulla* was one of the chiefs who had been brought, when young, to *England* by Sir *Alexander Cumming*, and had always pretended the greatest attachment to the *English* nation; but said, that he could, on this occasion, be of no service to them amongst his countrymen. Upon this, colonel *Montgomery* marched his army from their camp at *Mile Creek*, leaving all his tents, waggons, and unnecessary baggage, at fort *Prince George*; on the 22d, they crossed *Keowee* river, with six days provision per man, and took with them a drove of cattle, and four hundred pack-horses, laden with flour.

Who
chastises
them.

THE colonel pointed his march now to the middle settlements of the *Cherokees*, which consisted of twelve towns. When he was within five miles of *Etchae*, he was attacked by five hundred *Indians*, very advantageously posted, who killed captain *Morison*, who commanded the van of the *English*, captain *Williams*, captain *Peter Gordon*, an ensign, and several soldiers, besides wounding many, both officers and common men. The dispute lasted between four and five hours, but, at last, the *Indians* were driven into a swamp with the loss of fifty men. Notwithstanding this, when the army resumed their march, the firing on all quarters from the *Indians* proved extremely troublesome; and it then sufficiently appeared that they were under *French* commanders. The *English* arrived at the town of *Etchae*, which they found forsaken, and stripped of every thing, by the inhabitants, whose parties surrounded them on every side, and killed many of their horses, as well as men. They even attacked the piquet guards, and were with difficulty repulsed. The colonel now found himself reduced to the melancholy alternative of being obliged either to advance without provisions, or to leave his wounded behind him to the mercy of a provoked inhuman enemy, (they having taken particular aim at the horses) or to return. The last was judged the most expedient, and though during the last days of his march, he continued to be molested by the savages, yet, in the beginning of *July*, he reached

reached fort *Prince George*, after losing during the expedition, besides horses, seventy men killed or wounded, including five officers.

To revenge this invasion of their country, the *Cherokees* formed the blockade of fort *Loudon*, situated near the confines of *Virginia*, and commanded by captain *Demere*. This small post, lying in the midst of hostile savages, and at the distance of one hundred and fifty miles from *Charles-town*, was cut off from all communication with the *English*; so that, for some time, the garrison had subsisted without bread, upon horse-flesh, and was brought in the end to such misery, that many of the soldiers deserted, others submitted to the cruelties of the savages, and the remainder were so emaciated, that they could not do duty, but threatened to retire to the woods. This dreadful situation rendered it necessary to surrender the place, and a capitulation was agreed on, by which the garrison was to march out with powder and ball, and baggage, to be conducted to *Virginia*, or fort *Prince George*; the sick, lame, and wounded, to be kindly treated in the *Indian* towns, till they were in a condition to reach fort *Prince George*; and the *Indians* to furnish horses for the march of the garrison. The *Indians*, on this occasion, professed great friendship to the *English*, and a desire to renew their trade with them; but no sooner had the latter marched about fifteen miles from the fort, than they were surrounded by the savages, who slew twenty-five of the soldiers, made prisoners of the survivors, and murdered all the officers, except captain *Stuart*, who was saved at the earnest request of *Atakullakulla*. After this, the same savages besieged fort *Ninety-six*; but, upon the appearance of a party of provincials, they retired. We perceive, that, at this time, the province of *Carolina* was extremely apprehensive, that the numerous nations of the *Greeks* and *Chactaws* would join the *Cherokees*; for which reason they addressed their governor to prevail with colonel *Montgomery* to remain for some time longer among them, and with general *Amberst* to countermand the return of the regulars from thence. Upon this, eight companies of colonel *Vaughan's* regiment, two of the 17th, and two of the 22d, with an hundred and fifty *Mohawk* *Indians*, embarked for the province of *New York* the 20th of *December*, under the command of lieutenant-colonel *James Grant*, of the 40th regiment. Captain *Quintyne Kennedy*, of the light infantry of the 17th, commanded the *Indians*. About the same time, the forts, *Prince George* and *Ninety-six*, were seasonably re-
They take
the fort Loudon.
Their barbarity.

1761.

They are
reduced by
colonel
Grant.

It was not long, before colonel Grant was obliged to take the field. About the beginning of *July*, he began his march from fort *Prince George*, at the head of about 2600 regulars, rangers, and *Indians*; which the people of *Carolina* thought was a force too weak for the expedition he was to undertake. On the 10th of the same month, a body of the *Indians* attacked him; but, being soon repulsed, he reduced fifteen of their towns to ashes, besides smaller villages and houses, and destroyed about 14,000 acres of corn. This seasonable chastisement spread such consternation amongst the savages, that *Attakullakulla*, and another savage, one *Old Caesar*, used all their interest to prevent the continuance of hostilities. The colonel accordingly informed them of the terms on which he was willing to grant them peace, and *Atakullakulla* agreed to them all, excepting one, by which four *Cherokees* were to be put to death at the head of the army; but this demand being moderated, the treaty was actually drawn up, and formally concluded on the 10th of *December*, since which time nothing remarkable has happened in that province.

Descripti-
on of Ca-
rolina.

IT now remains that we give some account of its natural and commercial state, government, and products. *Carolina*, as has been already observed, contains all the north coast of *America*, between thirty-one and thirty-six degrees of north latitude; but, by the *English* description of it, its breadth is not to be ascertained, because king *Charles II.* in his patent, terminated it westward, only by the *South Seas*. According to some writers, it is the *American* land of *Canaan*, to which it lies parallel, being one of the most temperate, and therefore one of the most pleasant, climates in the world. The *French* comprehended it formerly in their *Florida*; but the claim of the *English* to it afterwards was established beyond all dispute. According to the *French* authors, but their authority seems to be somewhat suspicious, the settlement of *Carolina* was purely fortuitous. They tell us, that a ship on its return from the *East Indies* happened to be cast away there; some bags of rice being taken out of it, a trial was made of sowing them, and the experiment succeeding to admiration, the rice culture was improved so much, that one year with another 50,000 barrels of it, each weighing 400 lb. were sent from thence to *Europe*, which brought in 80,000 l. to the proprietors. Besides rice, the *Carolinians* cultivate some tobacco, but the chief article of their trade lies in provisions; for they supply *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, and the *Leeward Islands*, with beef, pork, grain, pease, butter, suet, raw hides, and leather. They likewise send to the same islands tar, turpentine, timber, masts, and furs; but the latter is

of

of an inferior kind. *Carolina*, likewise, produces prodigious quantities of honey, of which excellent mead is made. Maize or *Indian* corn, likewise, thrives here exceedingly; but in some other respects, the product has not been answerable to the expectations of the soil and climate. Though many parts of *Carolina*, especially on the sea-coast, abound with vines, yet no progress, worth mentioning, has been made in producing wine. Their manufactures of silk, notwithstanding the great quantities of mulberry trees they have, have been hitherto inconsiderable, and though cochineal is said to be found here, yet the inhabitants appear to neglect the profits arising from that insect; and for some years their attention has been chiefly turned towards making indigo.

Trade of
Carolina:

A FEW years ago, about forty vessels were annually sent to *Carolina* from *Great Britain*, laden with all kinds of woollen and linnen drapery, iron-ware, nails, strong-beer, cyder, raisins, potter's earth, tobacco pipes, paper, cover-lids, mattresses, hats, stockings, gloves, tin ware, powder and shot, gun-flints, cordage, looking-glasses, and glass-ware, thread, haberdashery, and small wares. Besides those vessels from *Great Britain*, it is computed that two hundred come from other places. Those from *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, and the *Leward Islands*, furnish the *Carolinians* with sugar, rum, molasses, cotton, chocolate, negroes, and silver. Those from *New England*, *New York*, and *Pennsylvania*, with wheat-flour, (wheat being very backward in *Carolina*) and hard-wares; and those from *Madetra*, and the other islands in the western ocean, with wine. The quantity of rice which *Carolina* produces is daily improving, as, indeed, are all the other branches of its commerce; so that it would be in vain to form any conjectures concerning the quantity of shipping this colony employs, or the benefit that it is of to its mother country. The price of manual labour in this country is remarkably dear. Some years ago, the paper currency of *South Carolina* amounted to 250,000 l. sterling, and that of *North Carolina* to 52,000. The *British* money that circulates amongst the *Carolinians* is very inconsiderable; but they have *French* and *Spanish* money in dollars, and pieces of eight.

CAROLINA, in general, is a plain country, though it is every where interspersed with gentle risings; and behind it lye the vast *Apalachean* mountains. *Albemarle* county, towards the north, was first settled upon what is called *Albemarle* river; but most of its planters removed, for convenience of trade, to *Ashley* river. This country is intersected with

G g 2

rivers;

Descrip-
tion of
Carolina.

rivers, the banks of which contain many *Indians*. South of *Albemarle* is *Clarendon* county; the *Indians* of which are reckoned the most barbarous of any in the province. Those two counties form what is properly called the government of *North Carolina*; and are in a way at present of being greatly improved, and of rivalling, if not exceeding, *South Carolina*. The tobacco, which *North Carolina* produces, is by the inhabitants sold to the *Virginians*, who send it to *England*. *Craven* county is inhabited, besides *English*, by a considerable number of *French* families. It lies upon the borders of *Congaree* or *Santee* river, which divides *South* from *North Carolina*. This little colony very gallantly beat off the *French*, who landed amongst them in 1706; and it sends ten members to the assembly. South of this, lies *Berkley* county, containing the two fine rivers of *Cooper* and *Ashley*. Upon a neck of land, between those two rivers, lies *Charles-town*, the capital of the province. *Ashley* river is navigable for ships twenty miles above the town, and for near forty for boats and perugas, or large canoes. *Charles-town* is the great mart of the province, but no ships of above two hundred tons can pass its bar. Its neighbourhood may vie for beauty with any country in the world, and a little expence would make its fortifications strong, ornamental, and useful. At present, it stands as fair as any city to become the capital of *North America*. Some of its houses are brick, others of wood, but all of them handsome and elegant; and the church is the most magnificent of any protestant one on the continent of *America*. The *French*, the presbyterians, and the quakers, have here places of worship, and the religious heats, that formerly prevailed among the inhabitants, are now said to have subsided. The town of *Charles-town* is the residence of the governor. Here the business of the province is transacted, the courts of judicature are held, and the assembly sits. *Dorchester* is another thriving town in this county.

SOUTH of *Berkley* county lies that of *Colliton*; the north-east parts of which are full of *Indians*. The two chief rivers of this county are *North Edisto* and *South Edisto*; the banks of both which are full of wealthy plantations, and on those of *North Edisto* lies *Wilton* or *New London*, built under the direction of a *Swiss* gentleman, called *Luberbuller*, and is said, at present, to rival *Purrysburgh*. *Granville* county is the most southerly of any in *Carolina*, and lies along the river *Savannah*. We have already mentioned the *Swiss* settlement at *Purrysburgh*, and the *Vaudois* who are among them, are assiduously applying themselves to the culture

culture of silk. This county, the most promising of any in *South Carolina*, has been the latest settled, which is owing to its neighbourhood to the *Spaniards*. In this county lies *Port Royal* river and harbour, which is one of the finest in all *America*.

G E O R G I A.

THE reasons why *Carolina* has been so lately planted were the same that prevented *Georgia* from being planted at all, till the reign of king *George II.* we mean the neighbourhood of the *Spaniards* of *St. Augustine* and *Florida*. In the year 1732, a number of public-spirited gentlemen, taking into consideration the vast benefit which might arise from the tract of land lying between the *Savannah* river, and the river *Alatamaha*, which is contained in king *Charles II.*'s charter, and undoubtedly belonged to *England*, formed a scheme of making it subservient to many noble purposes, by erecting it into a bulwark for our southern colonies against the *Spaniards*; of producing great benefits to the mother-country; but, above all, of giving employment to vast numbers of people, who were burthensome at home to their friends and parishes; and petitioned the king for a charter, which was accordingly granted them. This charter, which is dated the 9th of *June*, that year, constituted them a corporation, by the name of trustees for establishing a colony, by the name of *Georgia*, including all that country situated in *South Carolina*, which lies from the most northern stream of the *Savannah* river, along the coast, to the most southern stream of the *Alatamaha*, and west from the heads of the said rivers respectively, in direct lines to the *South Sea*. The charter empowered the corporation, which was to subsist for the term of twenty one years from its date, to appoint all such governors, and other officers, both by sea and land, as they thought fit, (the custom-house officers excepted) provided every such governor be approved by his majesty; and, that the militia of the country should be subject, in the mean time, to the governor of *South Carolina*; but that, after the expiration of the twenty-one years, the governor, and all officers, should be appointed by the crown.

1732.

History of the charter of Georgia.

THE trustees had a power to collect benefactions for fitting out the emigrants, and supporting them till their houses could be built, and their lands cleared. The names of the trustees were *Anthony*, earl of *Shaftsbury*; *John*, lord viscount *Percival*; *John*, lord viscount *Tyrconel*; *James*, lord viscount *Limerick*; *George*, lord *Carpenter*; *Edward Digby*, Esq;

G g 3

James

James Oglethorpe, Esq; George Heathcote, Esq; Thomas Tower, Esq; Robert More, Esq; Robert Hucks, Esq; William Sloper, Esq; Francis Eyles, Esq; John Laroche, Esq; James Vernon, Esq; Stephen Hales, A. M. Richard Chandler, Esq; Thomas Frederick, Esq; Henry L'Apostle, Esq; William Heathcote, Esq; John White, Esq; Robert Kendal, Esq; and Richard Bundy, D. D. Those gentlemen laid it down as a capital principle, that no negro should be employed in the colony. This resolution was founded on two reasons. The first was, that negro-work not being required in rearing the commodities expected from the colony, the planters themselves would, by such a prohibition, be inured to the habits of industry. The second reason was, that the introduction of negroes so near to a garrison of *Spaniards*, as *St. Augustine* was, would have facilitated the desertion of the *Carolinan* negroes to *Georgia*, and from thence to *St. Augustine*. The trustees, at the same time, in laying out their towns, resolved to assign to every inhabitant fifty acres of land, as near as possible to his town.

First settlement of the colony.

TOWARDS the end of *August*, Sir *Gilbert Heathcote* recommended, in the strongest manner, to the court of directors of the bank of *England*, the interests of the colony, and, among other particulars, observed, that the soil and climate were proper for raising raw silk. His speech had the desired effect, and the members of the court, after his example, contributed largely towards the undertaking, as did great numbers of the nobility, gentry, clergy, and others; and the parliament granted 10,000 l. Those liberalities had so good an effect, that, by the beginning of *November*, about an hundred and sixteen colonists had presented themselves, being most of them labouring people; and were furnished with working tools of all kinds, stores, and small arms. Their provisions on the voyage were plentiful, and of the best kinds, and nothing was wanting to make their lives comfortable. Among other precautions, care was taken to give them some instructions as to military discipline, which was very proper for their repelling the attacks either of the *Spaniards* or the *Indians*. To carry those promising appearances into execution, Mr. *Oglethorpe*, one of the trustees, a gentleman of an unbounded benevolence and public spirit, generously attended the first set of emigrants to *Carolina*, where they arrived in good health, on the 15th of *January* following. They were received by the governor of that province, and by the *Carolinians* in general, with great marks of affection and humanity. They made them a present of an hundred breeding cattle, besides hogs, and twenty barrels of rice, and furnished them with a party of horse and scout-boats, by the help

of

of which they reached the river *Savannah*, where Mr. *Oglethorpe*, ten miles up that river, pitched upon a spot for laying out their new town. His own description of this situation cannot fail to give both pleasure and satisfaction to the reader. "The river there forms a half moon, around the south side of which, the banks are about forty feet high, and on the top a flat, which they call a bluff. The plain high ground extends into the country five or six miles, and along the river about a mile, ships that draw ten or twelve feet water can ride within ten yards of the bank. Upon the river side, in the center of this plain, I have laid out the town. Opposite to it is an island of very rich pasturage. The river is pretty wide, the water fresh, and, from the key of the town, you see the whole course of the sea, with the island of *Tybee*, which forms the mouth of the river; and the other way, you see the river for about sixty miles up into the country. The landskip is very agreeable, the stream being wide, and bordered with high woods on both sides. The whole people arrived here the 1st of *February*, at night their tents were got up; till the 7th, they were taken up in unloading and making a crane, which I then could not get finished, so took off the hands, and set some to the fortification; and began to fell the woods, as I marked out the town and common: half of the former is already cleared, and the first house was begun yesterday in the afternoon, *February* the 9th; not being able to get negroes, I have taken ten of the independent company to work for us, for which I make them an allowance. A little *Indian* nation, the only one within fifty miles, is not only in amity, but desirous to be subjects to his majesty king *George*, to have lands given them among us, and to breed their children, at our schools. Their chief, and his beloved man, who is the second man in the nation, desire to be instructed in the Christian religion." This town was called, by the name of the river, *Savannah*, and was originally inhabited by a nation called *Yamacraw*; and its chief was *Tomo Chichi*. The situation of *Savannah* was not only pleasant, but healthful; and the new colonists were most generously assisted by the *Carelinians*, and their governor, colonel *Bull*, not only with their purses, but their labour, in raising and building the new town. Great numbers of pines were cut down, and some land was plowed up, which was sown with wheat.

THE *Lower Creek* nation, hearing of this new colony, sent a numerous deputation, making up about fifty persons, to treat of an alliance with it. Those *Creeks* consisted of eight tribes united in a kind of political confederacy, and all

G g 4

speaking

*Dealings
with the
Creek
Indians.*

speaking the same language, but under separate jurisdictions. Their deputation was composed of their kings, or micoes, and their warriors; and Mr. Oglethorpe gave them audience in one of the new houses. This meeting was a sufficient proof, that those savages were far from being so ignorant, as some *Europeans* imagine, of their natural rights. When the deputies were seated, *Oueekachumpa*, or the *Long King*, so called from his tallness, informed Mr. Oglethorpe, in the name of all the eight tribes of the *Lower Creek* nation, that they claimed all the lands from the *Savannah* river, as far as fort *St. Augustine*, and up *Piunt* river, which falls into the bay of *Mexico*. He then acknowledged the superiority of the *English* and the white men to them; and said, that they were persuaded that the great power, which dwelt in heaven, and all around, (and whose immensity he endeavoured to express by throwing abroad his hands, and lengthening his sounds) had sent the *English* thither for their good; and that therefore they were welcome to all the land they did not use themselves. He confirmed this speech by laying eight buckskins, the best things, he said, they had to bestow, before Mr. Oglethorpe; and thanked him for his kindness to *Tomo Chichi*, who, it seems, had been banished, with some of his friends, from his own nation, but, for his valour and wisdom, had been chosen mico by the *Yamacraws*, and had been very seasonably relieved by the *English*. This being ended, *Tomo Chichi* entered, and returned his thanks in person for the favours that had been shewn him; two *English* gentlemen interpreting all that passed. The articles of agreement were then drawn up. They contained, as usual, stipulations for their liberty of trade, reparations of injuries, and that the *English* should possess all the lands not used by them; but, that at the laying out every town, a certain portion should be allotted to the savages, and that all run-away negroes should be restored to the *English*, who were to pay them a stipulated reward for every head. This agreement being signed, Mr. Oglethorpe presented each of their micoes with a laced coat, a laced hat, and a shirt. To each of their chiefs, he gave a gun; and a mantle of duffil, and coarse cloth, with other things to their attendants.

*Their cha-
racter.*

MR. OGLETHORPE, soon after the conclusion of this treaty, set out for *Charles-town* on his return to *England*; but, in the mean time, he studied to make himself master of the character of the *Creeks*. According to him, they naturally were so moral, that nothing but a clergyman understanding their language was wanting for their conversion to Christianity. They punished murder and adultery with death; but

but so weak is the executive part of government among them, that, in cases of adultery, the offended party, and in those of murder, the next in blood, are both the judges and executioners. Revenge and drunkenness are their greatest weaknesses. Their eloquence, like that of the other *American* savages, is simple, manly, affecting, and highly emblematical, annexing to every figure of speech, the chief properties of the objects to which the figure alludes, or from which the metaphor is drawn. During Mr. *Oglethorpe's* absence, the same of the new colony reached the *Natchez*; of whom we have already spoken so much; and they likewise made an alliance with the *Georgians*, who, this year, reaped a very plentiful first crop of *Indian* corn. In the middle of *May*, a ship arrived at *Savannah*, with passengers and stores; and the captain received the prize that had been ordered to be bestowed on the first ship, which should be unloaded at that town. Soon after, fifty families were sent over in another ship; and, in *March*, 1734, it appeared from the general state of the trustees accounts, that they had received for the use of the charity, 14,822 l. 12s. 3d. and expended 8,202 l. 16s. 6d. but the reader is to observe, that, at this time, besides the colonists sent over by the charity, twenty-one masters, and an hundred and six servants had gone at their own expences; so that the whole of this embarkation amounted to six hundred and eighteen, whereof three hundred and twenty were men, one hundred and thirteen women, one hundred and two boys, and eighty-three girls.

IN 1734, Mr. *Oglethorpe* arrived in *England*, and brought over with him *Tomo Chichi*, his wife *Lenawki*, and his son *Toanahowi*. Along with them were a war captain, and five chiefs, with their interpreter. Being properly dressed, they were introduced to his majesty, then at *Kensington*, and *Tomo Chichi*, presenting him with some eagle's feathers, made the following speech, which we shall communicate to the reader, to justify the character we have given of the *Creek* eloquence.

"THIS day I see the majesty of your face, and greatness of your house, and the number of your people. I am come for the good of the whole nation called the *Creeks*, to renew the peace they had long ago with the *English*. I am come over in my old days, though I cannot live to see any advantage to myself; I am come for the good of the children of all the nations of the *Upper* and *Lower Creeks*, that they may be instructed in the knowledge of the *English*."

"These are the feathers of the eagle, which is the swiftest of birds, and who flieth all round our nations: these feathers are a sign of peace in our land, and we have brought them

Speech of
Tomo
Chichi
to the king
and queen.

them over to leave them with you, O great king, as a sign of everlasting peace.

“O GREAT king! whatsoever words you shall say unto me, I will tell them faithfully to all the kings of the *Creek* nation.”

His majesty returned a very gracious answer to this speech, and *Tomo Chichi* addressed her majesty in the following terms.

“I am glad to see this day, and to have the opportunity of seeing the mother of this great people. As our people are joined with your majesty's, we do humbly hope to find you the common mother and protectress of us and all our children.” During the residence of those savages in *England*, our court and nation omitted nothing that could strike them with the most respectful ideas of their power and magnificence. But whatever effects those are said to have produced, it seems to be certain that those savages can be but slightly impressed with any ideas that are not familiar to them. *Tomo Chichi*, however, while he was in *England*, gave uncommon proofs of his sagacity, and suggested to the *English* many particulars of great service to them, as well as the *Indians*. He desired that the weights, measure, prices, and qualities of the goods they were to purchase with their deer-skins, might be settled; and to prevent impositions, that there should be but one storehouse in every *Indian* town. Those and other particular requests were, by the trustees, thought so reasonable, that they were reduced into three acts, viz. 1. An act for maintaining the peace with the *Indians* in the province of *Georgia*. 2. An act to prevent the importation and use of rum and brandy in that province, or any kind of spirits or strong waters. 3. An act for rendering the colony more defensible, by prohibiting the importation of negroes. Those acts being laid before his majesty in council, were referred to the board of trade; and a favourable report of them being made from thence, they were ratified.

He returns
to Ameri-
ca.

1734.

DURING *Tomo Chichi*'s stay in *England*, his attendants gave daily proofs of their attachments to their own habits; and it was with difficulty that they were prevailed on to go to court with any other cloathing than a slight wrapper round their middle. On the 30th of *October* 1734, they embarked for their own country, having had an allowance, while they were in *London*, of twenty pounds a week, of which they spent but little, because they commonly eat and drank at the tables of persons of the highest distinction. Besides this allowance they received presents to a very considerable amount. Being conducted to *Gravesend*, they were embarked in a ship, which carried likewise over a number of *Saltzburghers*, being

ing German protestants. These, with others of their countrymen who followed, were settled in a town, which they called *Ebenezer* on the *Savannah*, and by their habits of industry and sobriety they soon became a considerable settlement. About this time, an alarm was spread, as if the *Spaniards* intended to attack the new settlement. *Tomo Chichi* professed great alacrity to have gone in person to oppose them, but his affairs not permitting him, three of his chiefs supplied his place. The intelligence proving groundless, the planters of *Georgia* made a most surprizing progress in clearing their lands and building their houses; and, as an encouragement the *British* parliament granted them a supply of 26,000*l.* which, with very great private donations, was expended upon strengthening the south part of *Georgia*. This being a necessary service for the colony, the trustees very properly pitched upon the highlanders of *Scotland*, one hundred and sixty of whom, all of them able men, went over in 1735, and settled themselves upon *Altamaha* river, sixteen miles by water from the island of *St. Simon*, and gave the name of *Darien* to a fort they built there, to which they afterwards added a small town called *New Inverness*. The fort was mounted with four pieces of cannon, and the same *Scotch* settlers built a guard-house, a storehouse, and a chapel, to complete their settlement in the beginning of the year 1736. In *February* that same year, Mr. *Oglethorpe*, with about three hundred passengers on board two ships, anchored in the road of *Savannah*. Of those passengers forty-seven were *English*, and settled on the island of *St. Simon*, to which Mr. *Oglethorpe* ordered the independent company there to march, and, at the same time, he set about building another town called *Frederica*. The *English*, however, found it necessary to treat with *Tomo Chichi* and the *Creek Indians*, about the property of this island, which was ceded to them, together with all the adjacent islands by the natives. Mr. *Oglethorpe* in this voyage forwarded the raising the beacon of *Tybee*, the building of a church, the erecting a wharf for landing goods, and providing men for clearing the roads and finishing the fortifications.

1735.

1736.

Mr. Oglethorpe arrives a second time at Georgia.

In *September* the same year it was stipulated between Mr. *Oglethorpe* and the *Spanish* governor of *St. Augustine*, that the *English* should evacuate the fort built upon the island of *St. George*, which lies near the influx of *St. John's* river, and the *Atlantic* ocean, forty miles north of *St. Augustine*; but at the same time it was agreed, that this evacuation should not injure his *Britannic* majesty's rights to the said island, or any other of his dominions, or claims upon the continent. By this time, a kind of a deputation of *Swiss* gentlemen from

Pur-

Purrysburgh waited upon Mr. *Oglethorpe*; in consequence of which, and another from *Ebenezer*, many regulations were made. The situation of *Ebenezer* was complained of by the inhabitants, who most earnestly requested to be moved nearer the mouth of the river. Mr. *Oglethorpe* went thither to examine the situation of the place, which he found in so good a condition, that he wanted the inhabitants to keep possession of it; but their importunities getting the better of his advice, he marked out a town for them upon the spot they desired.

Progress of the colony. He next turned his attention towards completing fort *Fredes-rica*, which, with proper out-works, formed a regular square with four bastions, and surrounded by a ditch. This fort was situated upon the isle of *St. Simon*, to which *Tomo Chichi* and his *Indians* brought as much venison as fed the *English* for several days. Mr. *Oglethorpe*, after this, went a kind of a progress with the *Indians* to survey their country, chiefly with a view of preventing them from falling upon the *Spaniards* with whom *Great Britain* was then at peace. During this progress he was carried to an island at the mouth of *Jekyll's* sound, where he marked out another fort, and gave the name of *Cumberland* to the island. After this, he visited another island about sixteen miles long, bearing oranges, myrtles, and vines, all wild, and to this island he gave the name of *Amelia*.

1737. IN the year 1737 a very bad understanding subsisted between the courts of *London* and *Madrid*, on account of the depredations which the *Spaniards* were daily committing by sea against the *English*. As this naturally portended a war, advice was sent from *South Carolina* to *London*, that the *Spaniards* at *St. Augustine* and the *Havannah* were making preparations for attacking the infant colony of *Georgia*. Upon this the *British* government, at the request of the trustees, sent thither a regiment of six hundred men, and, for the encouragement of those soldiers, a grant in trust was made to each of them, of five acres of land to be cultivated for the proprietor's use and benefit, during his continuance in that service. A resolution was taken at the same time at the board, that if any soldier was inclined, at the end of seven years, to quit the service, he should have a regular discharge, with a proper certificate, and be entitled to a grant of twenty acres of land. The parliament this year granted the colony another supply of 20,000*l.* which enabled the trustees to send over another embarkation of persecuted protestants. But it was now found by experience, that some fundamental errors mingled with the original constitution of the colony. A capital one was, the confining the tenure of the colonists lots to heirs male.

male. This was such a discouragement to industry as threw a damp upon the whole constitution of the colony; as no planter, even if he had sons, would chuse to labour for what could not descend to his daughters. The trustees, therefore, made an alteration in this article; and resolved, that in default of such issue, the legal possessor of any land might, by his last will, or other written deed, appoint his daughter, or any other female relation, his successor, provided the lot so granted and devised, should be personally claimed in the proper court in *Georgia*, within eighteen months after the death of the grantor or devisor.

THIS resolution being found not extensive enough to satisfy all the planters and their relations, in September 1739, an advertisement, by authority, was published in the *London gazette*, importing, "That the lands already, or hereafter, to be granted, should not only, on failure of male issue, descend to the daughters of such grantees; but if there were no issue, either male or female, the grantees might devise such lands; and that for want of such devise, such lands should descend to the heirs at law; provided that the possession of the person, who enjoyed such devise, should not be increased to more than five hundred acres; and that the widows of the grantees should hold and enjoy the dwelling-house, garden, and one moiety of the lands their husbands should be dispossessed of, for the term of their lives." At the same time it was resolved by the trustees, that no fee or reward should be taken, directly or indirectly, for entering such claim by any persons whatever. The inhabitants of *Frederica* town had by this time cut a road six miles from them to the soldier's fort, and *Tomo Chichi*, with four *Creek* kings, thirty warriors, and fifty attendants, offered to Mr. *Oglethorpe* to march 1000 *Creek* warriors against the *Spaniards*, to wherever he should command them. They likewise gave him an invitation to see their towns, and insisted upon his ordering them brass weights, and sealed measures, to be lodged with each of their kings to prevent frauds. Mr. *Oglethorpe*, who well knew the disposition of those savages, made them presents. They danced all night, and next morning set out on a journey of four hundred miles to their own townships. Mr. *Oglethorpe* next year made a progress of five hundred miles from *Frederica* fort, to possess himself with all the intelligence he could acquire of the savages in those parts. He arrived at the town of *Coweta*, where he conferred with the deputies of that town; and likewise with those of the *Chaetaws* and *Chikeseaus*, a kind of neutral *Indians*, lying between the *English* and *French* settlements. Those deputies, as a sign of their

Encourage-
ment given
to it.

1739.

Dealings
with the
savages.

their unanimity, drank black broth, a composition of their own, together, and “declared, *nem. con.* that they adhered in their ancient love to the king of *Great Britain*, and to the agreements made in the year 1733, with the trustees established for the colony of *Georgia*; and they farther declared, that all the dominions, territories, and lands, from the *Savannah* river to *St. John’s* river, and all the islands between them; and from *St. John’s* river to the bay of *Apalache*; and from thence to the mountains, doth by ancient right belong to the *Creek* nation, who have maintained possession of it against all opposers by war, and can shew the heaps of the bones of their enemies by them slain in defence of their lands. And the said estates further declared, that the said nation hath for ages enjoyed the protection of the kings and queens of *England*; and that the *Spaniards*, nor no other nation, have any right to any of the said lands; and that they will not suffer them or any other person, except the trustees of the colony of *Georgia*, to settle on the said lands. And they acknowledge the grant they have already made to the said trustees of all the lands upon the *Savannah* river as far as the river *Ogeeche*; and all the lands along the sea-coasts as far as *St. John’s* river, and as high as the tide flows, and all the islands as far as the said river, particularly the islands of *Frederica*, *Cumberland* and *America*, to which they have given the names of his *Britannic* majesty’s family, out of gratitude to him. But they declare, that they did and do reserve to the *Creek* nation all the land from *Pipemakers Bluff* to *Savannah*, and the islands of *St. Catharine*, *Offebaw*, and *Sappelo*: and they farther declare, that the said lands were held by the *Creek* nation, as tenants in common. And *Mr. Oglethorpe*, the commissioner for king *George II.* doth declare, that the *English* shall not enlarge or take up any lands, except those granted as above to the trustees by the *Creek* nation, and doth covenant, that he will punish any person that shall intrude upon the lands so reserved by that nation.”

1739.
Georgian
silk exhibi-
ted.

IN 1739 a specimen of *Georgian* raw silk was exhibited at *London*, and a *Swiss* gentleman deposed before a master in chancery, that he received it from *Mr. Thomas Jones* the trustees store-keeper at *Savannah*, and that it was the produce of *Georgia*. This specimen being shewn to two very eminent merchants, who deal in that commodity, they declared it to be as good as any raw silk that came from *Italy*, and that it was worth at least twenty shillings a pound. The same year the trustees rendered the daughter of any grantee, or any other person, capable of enjoying, by devise or inheritance, any number of acres, not exceeding 2000. About the same time, a license was granted to all the land-holders in *Georgia* to lease

lease out any part of their lots for any term, not exceeding three years, to any of the residents in that province. To prevent litigious prosecutions, and to render the residence and condition of the settlers as comfortable as possible, a general release was likewise passed, by which no advantage was to be taken against any of the land-holders of Georgia for any forfeiture incurred before *Christmas* 1740, on account of the tenure or cultivation of land. By the same release, a possessor of five hundred acres was not obliged to cultivate more than one hundred and twenty acres in twenty years, from the date of his grant, and those who possessed under five hundred acres, and above fifty acres in proportion.

UPON the breaking out of the war between *England* and *Georgia*, *Spain*, the province of *Georgia* became one of the chief objects against which the *Spaniards* directed their hostilities; and we have in another part of this work given the history of general *Oglethorpe's* attack upon *St. Augustine*. In 1742, 1742. about 5 or 6000 *Spaniards* and *Indians* invaded *Georgia* from *St. Augustine*, in about fifty vessels of all kinds, but were repulsed by general *Oglethorpe* at the head of the *English* forces, and a small body of *Indians* under *Tomo Chichi's* son. It is certain, that if this descent had proved successful, *Carolina*, and all the *English North America* must have been in imminent danger; and the general received congratulatory letters of thanks from the several *English* governors there, for the great and important services he had done them. It perhaps does not belong to us to investigate the secret causes why this promising colony did not answer the most sanguine expectations. It is certain, that, to the amazement of the public, it drooped and languished from the year 1742, till Mr. *Ellis* was appointed governor, and under his administration it became again of such importance, that his present majesty, upon removing him to another government, rewarded him with a handsome present in money for his administration of that of *Georgia*. It now rests for us to give some detail of the advantages arising to *Great Britain* from this infant settlement.

AN inspection of the map in a great measure answers that purpose, and shews the wisdom of filling up the vacuity between *Florida* and *Carolina*, which, more than probably, had it not been critically effected, would have been occupied by the *French*, who thereby must, in a manner, have shut up the *British American* settlements within their own. The town of *Savannah* is every day increasing, and a road has been marked out between that and *Ebenezer*, and the like roads have opened communications between *Georgia* and the neighbouring *Indians*, which have introduced a very considerable trade into the colony.

colony. *Augusta* fort, which lies upon the river *Savannah*, contains store-houses for the goods which the *Indians* want, and for the furs and other commodities they give for them in exchange, and which are sent two hundred and thirty miles down the river in boats, each about four ton and a half burthen. The *Salzburgers*, who are settled at *Ebenezer*, are a sober industrious people, and not only raise great numbers of cattle, but furnish corn and other provisions to the inhabitants of *Savannah*.

Account of
the islands
and forts
of Georgia.

THE islands and forts upon the coast of *Georgia*, as they lie from south to north, are as follow. First, *Amelia* island, lying seven leagues to the north of *St. Augustine*, about two miles broad, and thirteen long. Second, *Cumberland* island, about twenty miles south of *Frederica*. This island commands the inlet of *Amelia* sound, by means of a fort, called fort *William*; which is strongly pallisadoed, and mounts eight pieces of cannon. It likewise contains barracks for two hundred and twenty men, magazines for ammunition and provisions, and fine springs of water. Third, *St. Simon's* island, lying near the northern mouth of the river *Altamaha*. This island is said to be about three miles in breadth, and forty-five in length. It formerly was fortified towards the south end, and a battery erected upon it defended *Jekyll* sound. In the middle of it stands the town of *Frederica*, which is well fortified and provided with a regular magistracy. The soil of this island is good, and produces plenty of oak and hickory trees. Fourth, *New Inverness*, which is in the south part of the province, where the *Scotch Highlanders* are settled, is a fort lying on the river *Altamaha*, twenty miles from *Frederica*. After all, the late peace with *France* and *Spain*, has made so many alterations upon the face of this province, that any description, which can be given of its improved state, must be but short-lived and imperfect. We shall therefore finish the history of it, with some account of its original and natural state.

ACCORDING to the best accounts, the *Indian* natives of *Georgia* had some notion of an omnipotent Being; who formed man, and inhabited the sun, the clouds, and the clear sky. They likewise had some idea of his providence, and power over human race. It is even said, that they believed somewhat of a future state; and that the souls of bad men walk up and down the place where they died; but, that God, or, as they call him, the Beloved, chuses some from children, whom he takes care of, and resides in and teaches. But, though we have given our reader this account of the savage faith, we are far from being ourselves convinced that the

the ministers and missionaries, from whom it is collected, were not imposed upon, or wanted to impose upon others, and, particularly, in the doctrine of election and grace, which some seem to be so fond of, that they want to make it a part of uninstructed religion.

As to the natural productions of *Georgia*, though it is in general allowed to be a rich and a delicious country, yet the descriptions of them vary according to different parts of the colony, some being undoubtedly less proper for cultivation than others; it is, however, universally allowed that the soil produces *Indian* corn, wheat, oats and barley, potatoes, pumpkins, melons, cucumbers, green peas, and garden beans, with fallading of all kinds, through the whole year. Nectarines, plumbs, and peaches, grow here in great abundance, and might by cultivation be rendered equal, if not superior, to any in *Europe*. The grapes grow wild, and are ripe in *June*; and *English* apple and pear trees; and sometimes apricot trees, agree with the soil. The white and black mulberry trees send out leaves that are excellent nourishment to the silk worms, the propagation of which was one of the great inducements for settling the colony, and we hear is daily improving. Oranges and olives thrive, especially in the southern parts of *Georgia*, to the greatest perfection. Their chief timber trees are oaks, of which they have six or seven kinds, pines, hickory, cedar, cypress, walnut, sassafras, beach trees, and many others for which the *Europeans* have no name, besides a great variety of flowering shrubs.

GEORGIA produces variety of game from the beginning of *November* to *March*; such as a small kind of woodcocks and partridges, turkeys weighing from twenty to thirty pounds, turtle doves, wild-geese, ducks, teal, and widgeons, with great quantities of wild pigeons, not to mention other birds, little known in *Europe*. In the summer-time, the inhabitants kill deer and summer-ducks. They have likewise the possum, or, as they call it, the opossum, which shuts its young one up in a false belly, and are said to be excellent food, as are also the raccoons. Tygers are common in this country, as are bears, whose cubs eat like young pigs. Their woods abound with wild cattle, and wolves and snakes; but none of them, except the rattle-snake, are venomous; and, as in *Louisiana*, the natives have a ready and infallible cure for its bite. Their rivers are pestered with sharks and alligators; but, at the same time, their coasts are stored with trout, mullet, whiting, and a vast variety of other fish, which are both cheap and good. They have vast quantities of oysters, which are said to be not so good as those of *Eng-*

Mod. Hist. Vol. XL.

H h

land.

land. They have likewise clams, muscles, and very large prawns. To conclude, the greatest inconveniency which this settlement has hitherto laboured under, arises from the fewness of hands to improve its natural productions. There seems to be no doubt, that, if the same attention in cultivating it was applied to the soil of *Georgia* as to that of *England*, it may be rendered highly beneficial and profitable to the mother-country as well as to the inhabitants.

M A R Y L A N D.

Lord Baltimore **M**ARYLAND, to the west, is bounded by high mountains, by *Chesapeak Bay* and the *Northern Sea* to the east, by *Delaware Bay* to the north, and by *Potomack river* to the south, and lies between latitude $37^{\circ} 50''$ and 40° N. It was originally included in the patent of the *South Virginia* company, and considered as part of *Virginia*; but, in the year 1631, king *Charles I.* made a grant of it to *George Calvert*, lord *Baltimore*, upon the dissolution of that company, with a proprietary power in his government; and this was the greatest grant that was given by the crown, upon the resuming the *Virginian* charters into its own hands. When his majesty signed the patent, he gave the new province the name of *Maryland*, in honour of his queen, *Henrietta Maria*, daughter to *Henry the Great*, king of *France*. The lord *Baltimore* held it of the crown of *England* in common soccage, as of the honour of *Windsor*; paying yearly for ever at the said honour, a *reddendo* of two *Indian* arrows of those parts. As to the grant itself, its proprietary power is as independent as that of any of the *British* settlements.

THE lord *Baltimore*, who was of the *Roman catholic* religion, but a quiet, inoffensive, subject, and had obtained the grant to be an asylum to himself, and those of his persuasion, from the persecutions of the times, appointed his brother, *Lionel Calvert*, Esq; to go governor of his new colony, and joined in commission with him, *Jeremy Hawley* and *Thomas Cornwallis*, Esqrs: and the first plantation, consisting of about 200 colonists, was sent thither the 22d of *November*, in 1633. They were chiefly, if not wholly, *Roman catholics*, many of them gentlemen of fortune; and, like the protestants of *New England*, their settlement was founded upon a strong desire for the unmolested practice of their own religion. The chief of their names are as follow: *George Calvert*, brother to the governor; *Richard Gerard*, *Edward Winter*, *Frederick Winter*, and *Henry Wiseman*, Esqrs.; Mr. *John Saunders*, Mr. *Edward Cranfield*, Mr. *Henry Green*, Mr. *Nicholas Fairfax*, Mr. *John Baxter*, Mr.

Mr. *Thomas Dorres*, captain *John Hill*, Mr. *John Medcalf*, and Mr. *William Saire*. *George*, lord *Baltimore*, who had obtained the original patent, died before it could be expedited; but his plan was punctually followed by his eldest son, *Cecil*, lord *Baltimore*; and the first embarkation of colonists landed at *Point Comfort* in *Virginia*, in the beginning of the year 1634. Here, in consequence of recommendatory letters from the king, they met with all possible assistance from the governor of *Virginia*, and they proceeded on the 3d of *March* to *Patowmeck* river, which lies at the distance of about twenty-four leagues. They sailed fourteen leagues up this river, and Mr. *Calvert*, in the *Roman* catholic manner, took possession of several points and islands in the name of the king his master, particularly, the island of *St. Clement*. Proceeding in two pinnaces four leagues higher, he found the inhabitants had abandoned the south shore of the river through fear; and, sailing still nine leagues higher, he came to the town of *Patowmeck*, where the werowance, or chief, being an infant, the territory was governed by his uncle, who was very friendly to the *English*. Pursuing his voyage, he came to *Piscataway*, where he found an *Englishman*, one captain *Henry Fleet*, who had lived for several years in such credit with the inhabitants, that he prevailed with the werowance to go on board the governor's pinnacle. The werowance, on being asked the question, whether he was willing the *English* should settle in those parts, bade them do as they pleased, as he would neither consent to, nor oppose, their settlement. The werowance's subjects, being apprehensive for his safety, crowded in such numbers down to the sea-side, that it was thought proper that he should shew himself to appease them.

1634.

THE werowance's cautious, and perhaps wise, answer, together with the situation of the country, determined the governor to seek for a settlement farther down the river; and, taking captain *Fleet* along with him, he sailed down to within four or five leagues of the mouth of the *Patowmeck*, where he met with another river, which he called *St. George*; and, sailing four leagues up it, in his long boat, he came to the town of *Yamacoco*, where the situation was very inviting for a new settlement. Though the werowance gave him no great encouragement for that purpose, yet he received him with great kindness, and gave him his own bed to lie on. Mr. *Calvert* knew that the werowance's backwardness was owing to his not having consulted his head men, and he made them presents of *English* cloth, houghs, knives, and axes, and the like; which won them so much, that they offered to cede one part.

H h 2

of

of their town to the settlers, and to live in the other part till they could get in their harvest; after which they were to resign the whole to the *English*. It soon appeared, that the *Yomacoes*, for fear of the *Sasquehanocks*, a race of savages between *Chesapeake* bay and *Delaware* river, had resolved, for a twelvemonth before, to remove higher up the country, as many of them had actually done, and the rest of them would have followed, though the *English* had not appeared amongst them. Mr. *Calvert*, getting thus amicably in possession of the whole town, gave it the name of *St. Mary's*, and applied himself with great assiduity to the cultivation of his new colony. The ships and pinnaces were ordered to lie off the place, and struck the neighbouring savages with great terror. A guard and a storehouse were immediately erected; the ships were unladen, and their cargoes brought on shore; the soil was cultivated; and the governor was visited by several of the *Indian* werowances, before whom he made such a display of his state and power, that they advised the *Yomacoes*, who visited the *English* likewise on this occasion, to be careful of keeping the league they had made with the *English*; which implied that both people should live friendly together, and that all injuries should be satisfied by the offending nation. The governor, on his part, behaved so well, that the natives supplied his colony with corn, and all kind of provisions which the country afforded, in exchange for knives, beads, and other such trifles.

His settle-
ment in the
colony.

THE settling upon a spot where the land had been before cleared by the natives; was a piece of uncommon good fortune for the new colony, and, it is said, that the first settlement of it cost lord *Baltimore* above 40,000 l. so that, in a short time, it began to vie with *Virginia* itself. This raised a jealousy in some of the *Virginians*, who, at first, persuaded the neighbouring natives that the new settlers were not *Englishmen*, but *Spaniards*, and enemies to the *English*. This ridiculous suggestion was believed by the simple savages, and, all of a sudden, they withdrew their company from *St. Mary's*. The *English* were alarmed at this alteration of behaviour, and left off building houses, that they might erect a fort for their security; which they did in the space of six weeks, and then finished the houses they had laid out. In a short time, the *Indians* were disabused of their mistake, and resorted to the colony as formerly, while every day brought new accessions of inhabitants from *England*, which were more or less numerous, as the persecution of the *Roman* catholics there raged or abated. The country was now divided into shires or counties, of which five lay on the west side of the bay

bay of *Chesapeake*, and five on the east. The former were named *St. Mary's*, *Charles*, *Calvert*, *Ann Arundel*, and *Baltimore*, to which was afterwards added *Prince George* county. The latter shires were *Somerset*, *Dorchester*, *Talbot*, *Cecil*, and *Kent*. The governor likewise built a house in *St. Mary's* for himself and his successors. The government itself was likewise settled upon a plan resembling, as near as possible, that of *England*. The governor had his council; and the upper house consisted of them, and such lords of the manors, or others, who, from time to time, were called up thither by writs, by the lord proprietary or his lieutenant; and the lower house consisted of representatives from the different counties. The acts of both houses, the moment they were passed, became final, nor could they be repealed, but by the same power which passed them; a privilege which was peculiar to *Maryland*. But this original settlement has since met with many alterations, and is susceptible of more, as the affairs and population of the colony improve. The courts of justice have likewise a resemblance to those of *England*. The provincial court is the highest in matters of property, and the lieutenant, or governor, and council, are judges in it, and, subordinate to that, each county has its court, which can decide without appeal, in causes that are not capital, nor exceeding the stated value of 3000 lb. weight of tobacco. Those counties, in the year 1752, amounted to fourteen, viz. seven on each side of the bay of *Chesapeake*.

It was no wonder if so flourishing a colony, as that of *Maryland* was, under a *Roman catholic* proprietary, and consisting of *Roman catholics*, became obnoxious to the reigning powers, during the time of the great rebellion, who then assumed this government into their own hands. Upon the restoration, it reverted to the lord *Baltimore*, who, about the year 1662, sent over his son, *Charles Calvert*, Esq; to be his governor of the province, he having previously obtained a confirmation of the grant of 1631. This gentleman, who was afterwards himself lord *Baltimore*, was one of the best governors that any *English* plantation ever had in *America*. Though he was a *Roman catholic*, he passed an act of the assembly, by which all *Christians* (professing themselves such) and flour- of every denomination had liberty to settle in the province; rising and his administration was so mild, moderate, and impartial, state. that the *English* inhabitants of *Maryland*, so early as the year 1665, amounted to 16,000. Even the *Indian* nations submitted to his authority; and when a chief, one *Naacofco*, was chosen what they call emperor of *Piscataway*, his election was not thought to be valid, till it was confirmed by the go-

vernor of *Maryland*. In every other respect, he kept his promises of protection and encouragement to the protestants as well as the papists; nor is there, during all the time of his long government, (for he resided there twenty years) a single instance of an invasion upon the rights, properties, or privileges of any man.

1677. SIR *William Berkley*, a violent royalist, was, at this time, governor of *Virginia*, where many severe laws passed against the dissenters there; and he behaved with so much tyranny, that this son of the church of *England* drove great numbers of them into *Maryland*, where they were received with open arms, and kindly entertained by the popish proprietary there. In the year 1677, the *Indian* war in *Virginia* communicated itself, but in a very small degree, to *Maryland*, and tranquillity was soon restored all over that province by the proprietary's wisdom and moderation. The comprehensive maxims of lord *Baltimore* did not suit those of *James II.* when he mounted the throne of *England*. Though he had granted liberty of conscience to all the sectaries in *Great Britain*, that he might the more easily establish the *Roman catholic* religion there, yet his popish counsellors suggested to him, that such a toleration ought not to take place in a province where the bulk of the people were already *Roman catholics*. A resolution was therefore taken to deprive the lord *Baltimore* of the right to nominate a governor to his province of *Maryland*, and had not the revolution taken place, it is more than probable that it would have been carried into execution. The difference of court-religion made, in this respect, no difference in court-policy; and, notwithstanding the inoffensive behaviour of lord *Baltimore* and his family, the resolution of taking from him the right of nominating the governor of *Maryland* was still pursued. Advantage of the acts of parliament against papists was taken against him, but lord *Baltimore* had the spirit to dispute his rights inch by inch at the council-board; and though his lordship retained that of proprietary, he was deprived of that of naming a governor, or a council, both which have been ever since vested in the crown. King *William* appointed Sir *Edmund Andros*, whom we have mentioned in the history of *New England*, to the government of *Maryland*. This gentleman, though said to have been himself a papist, called together an assembly in 1692, who recognized the right of king *William* and queen *Mary* to the crown, and to prevent any inconveniencies arising from the alteration of the judicature in the province, an act was passed, confirming all law-proceedings, excepting where there was any error in process or pleas. When an act of parliament

Lord Baltimore deprived of the power of naming a governor.

1692.

parliament passed concerning the succession of declared papists to paternal inheritances, the *Baltimore* family very wisely declared themselves protestants, and have ever since been eminently attached to our present happy constitution in church and state.

SIR *Edmund Andros*, who died in a very advanced age at *London*, in 1714, was succeeded in the government of *Maryland* by colonel *Nicholson*. This gentleman is represented by some*, as far from being an unexceptionable governor, though we cannot see for what reason. Under him passed the act of confirmation above-mentioned; in which there is a proviso, that nothing in the act should justify Sir *Edmund Andros* in taking and disposing of the public revenues, or debar the assembly, or any other person, of their right or claims to the same. After this the proprietary enjoyed, as before, the revenues of the province, arising by grants from the assemblies, the exportation of tobacco, the sales of uncultivated and unpurchased lands, and various other articles; all which make up a very considerable income. In the mean while, *Maryland* still preserves the privilege of not submitting her laws to *Great Britain* for confirmation. In her government, there is, in effect, at present four negatives. All bills, before they are carried into acts, take their rise in the lower house, or house of representatives†. The proprietary himself has a negative; the governor has another; and another is lodged in the council, which consists of twelve, and are paid by the province. The lower house of representatives is composed of four from each of the fourteen counties, and two for *Annapolis*, for so the metropolis of the province is now called. It was natural for the government of *England*, after the revolution, and after the crown had appropriated to itself the appointment of the governor, to enquire more nearly into the state of *Maryland*, than into that of any other of the *American* colonies, both as to its ecclesiastical and civil constitution. In 1692, it was thought proper that the bishop of *London* should appoint a commissary in *Maryland*; and he made choice of the famous Dr. *Thomas Bray*, who went over thither to inspect the church affairs of the province, which he found in great disorder, through the influence of the papists on one hand, and that of the quakers on the other. An act of the assembly, that same year, divided the then counties into thirty parishes, sixteen of which were supplied with ministers, who were provided with livings. By the doctor's care, likewise, the people were furnished with many books of protestant

* DOUGLASS's Summary, Vol. II. p. 369.

† Ibid. p. 366.
practical

*Church of
England
ministers
settled.*

practical devotion, and several chapels were erected. The stipends allowed to the ministers were fixed by a perpetual law to be according to the taxables in each parish. Every Christian male of sixteen years old, and negroes, male and female, above that age, pay 40 lb. of tobacco yearly to the minister, which is levied by the sheriff, and thereby each minister, one with another, has an income of about 20,000 lb. weight of tobacco, which answers to about 100 l. sterling a year. This encouragement was greatly owing to colonel *Nicholson's* zeal; for before his time the people of the colony had never seen any divines of the church of *England*, excepting some itinerant preachers, whose morals were a reproach to their profession. This had given the papists, and the other sectaries, a great sway over the bulk of the people; but in a few years the latter were so well reconciled to the church of *England*, that it became the chief religion in the province; and their audiences were even crowded.

*Colonel
Nicholson
governor.*

*Names of
other go-
vernors.*

COLONEL NICHOLSON left his government with a good character, and was succeeded by colonel *Nathaniel Blakiston*. This gentleman promised to tread in the steps of his predecessors, but he was obliged to return to *England* for the recovery of his health, and in 1703 her majesty was pleased to appoint colonel *William Seymour* to be governor. This gentleman in his passage to *Maryland* in the *Dreadnought* man of war, was forced to put into *Barbadoes*, and, being afterwards driven off the coasts of *Maryland*, it was above eight months from his departure from *England* before he arrived at his government. He likewise had a good character, and the most remarkable of the succeeding governors were the colonels *Corbet* and *Hunt*, Mr. *Calvert*, Mr. *Bladen*, and Mr. *Ogle*, who was governor in 1752. The allowance of the governor's salary is, by agreement, with the proprietary, and therefore uncertain; but the value of the proprietary's own revenue is very considerable. His original quit-rent was two shillings sterling a year for every one hundred acres. In time he patented vacant lands for double that sum, and at last he endeavoured to raise the quit-rent to ten shillings for every one hundred acres; but failed in the attempt, though there is little room to doubt, that in the present flourishing state of *Maryland*, the quit-rents may rise to that sum. Some years ago the assembly, with the consent of the lord proprietary, granted him in lieu of his quit-rents for three years a revenue of 3s. 6d. sterling duty on every hoghead of tobacco, to be paid by the shipper. By this means the landed interest was eased of the burthen of quit-rents; but this scheme did not hold. The lord proprietary, by this new method of

co-

collection, received no more than 5000*l.* a year; and therefore, upon the expiration of the three years, he reverted to the revenue arising from his quit-rents. Besides those, he has large estates in many parts of the province, which he lets to farm.

THE situation of *Maryland*, which secures it in a great measure from the rapines and incursions of the *Indians*, has, at all times, preserved this province in a tolerable state of tranquillity; and consequently it affords but little subject for history; the natives having wisely applied themselves to the culture of their country. Their chief commodity is to-*Tobacco.* bacco, of which some time ago Dr. *Douglass*, in his Summary, tells us, *Maryland*, one year with another, exported upwards of 30,000 hogshheads, each hogshhead seven hundred pounds weight. This commodity forms the medium or currency of *Maryland*, being received in debts and taxes; and the inspector's notes for tobacco delivered to him are transferable. It is said that an industrious man can manage 6000 plants of tobacco, and four acres of *Indian* corn. The next commodity that we shall mention belonging to *Maryland*, is *Pork.* pork. The woods there contain vast droves of wild swine, which are generally small, but when salted and barrelled they make a very considerable article of exports. In 1733, one 1733. planter is said to have salted upwards of 3000 barrels of pork. The grain of *Maryland* is subject to the weevil, a small in-*Grain.* sect of the scarabeus kind, which often takes to the ear when growing. Good land in *Maryland* yields about fifteen bushels of wheat, an acre or thirty bushels of *Indian* corn. In 1751. 1751. the people of the uplands of *Maryland* sent into *Baltimore* town, which lies near the bottom of *Chesapeak* bay, sixty waggons loaden with flax seed, which is a demonstration that *Flax.* their soil is proper for that culture; and indeed they now raise great quantities, both of hemp and flax, which may be *Hemp.* manufactured to great advantage by the charity schools, which are every where establishing in that country. The mountains of *Maryland* contain great quantities of iron-ore, and *Iron-ore.* some furnaces are already erected there for running it into pigs and forges for refining it into iron. The *Maryland* oak *Timber.* is not greatly esteemed for building large ships, but is very proper for staves and small craft. Their black walnut is very proper for joiners work. They have likewise poplars, cedars, chefnut, and other woods, which are uncommon to other parts of *North America*.

. F. DOUGLASS'S Summary, Vol. 2. p. 372.

IN

Number of inhabitants, and of slaves annually imported. IN proportion as the land is cleared, and the country inhabited, the air of *Maryland*, which before was not very wholesome, must acquire a greater degree of salubrity, and the inhabitants, at present, are computed at near 70,000, exclusive of the negroes, though it is thought that the province is far from being well peopled: It is reckoned, that above 2000 negro slaves are annually imported into *Maryland*; some

planters having five hundred, and one Mr. Bennet is said to have had 1300 slaves at one time. No planter can plant more than 6000 plants of tobacco per negro, besides raising some barrels of corn. The weekly allowance to each negro is a peck of *Indian* corn, and some salt. The tobacco they raise, which is called the *Oroonoko*, is of a strong kind; and not so agreeable in the southern parts of *Europe*, as the mild kind, and therefore exported from *Great Britain* to the northern parts. With regard to other manufactures, the inhabitants apply but little to them; a kind of a woollen cloth is made in *Somerset* county; and a wax is extracted from the fruit of what they call the wax tree, being a kind of a myrtle; which, when mixed with tallow, makes candles. They likewise make excellent cyder for their own drinking; but they have vast quantities of grapes, that rot upon the ground in the woods, and which it is thought, if properly cultivated, might make a thin and wholesome wine. The inhabitants of *Maryland* have not yet greatly associated themselves in towns, which some people think is a detriment to the province. We are, however, to observe, that, secure as they are from the incursions of the *Indians*, they have not the same temptations, as others have, for flocking to great towns, especially, considering the vast conveniencies for water-carriage with which their country every where abounds:

Cydr.
Trade of Maryland. THE trade from *Maryland* is of incredible advantage to *Great Britain*. In 1736, it was computed, that *Maryland* employed above one hundred and thirty sail of ships, and that the neat product of tobacco exported from thence and *Virginia*, of which *Maryland* had the greatest share, amounted to 210,000*l*.; and, at present, it is computed, that their mother-country gains above 500,000*l*. annually from that trade. The inhabitants import their wines from *Madeira*, *Fyal*, and *France*, their rum from *Barbadoes*, and their malt and beer from *England*. Having few manufactures of their own, they likewise purchase from hence their linen, woollen, furniture, utensils of every kind, and, indeed, all the conveniencies and elegancies of life. But, notwithstanding what has been said, their living in detached habitations is, in many respects, a great check upon their industry. It makes the
reco-

recovery of their debts difficult, and renders the loading their ships very dilatory.

WE shall not take up our readers time in describing the *Chief* rivers of this country, and their situation, which may be *Towns.* known by the map; we shall therefore only mention some of the chief places in the province. *St. Mary's* was the original county and seat of government. In 1698, some medicinal wells were discovered there, and the government ordered they should be purchased with the land adjoining, and some houses built for the entertainment of the poor. Though the town of *St. Mary's* is now but inconsiderable, yet it still keeps up its privilege of being governed by a mayor, recorder, aldermen, and common council, and the general court is still held in the statehouse there, and the council for orphans is kept the first *Tuesday* in *September, November, January, March,* and *June*; and the place sends two representatives to the assembly. The parishes of *Bristol* and *Piscataway* are the chief in *Charles* county, which contains nothing in it remarkable; and prince *George* county was laid out so late as the year 1695. In *Calvert* county are three townships or parishes, *Harrington, Warrington,* and *Calverton*. *Ann* county contains *Annapolis*, formerly called *Severn*, but received its present name in 1694, when it was made a port town, and the residence of a collector and naval officer. The county-court was removed hither in 1699, and thenceforth it has always been the chief seat of justice, and held to be the capital of the province. Since that time a free-school was founded there, and after that other schools were erected, of which the archbishop of *Canterbury* was chancellor, and trustees were appointed for them under the denomination of rectors, governors, trustees, and visitors of the free-schools of *Maryland*. *Baltimore* county contains a straggling parish of the same name, and these are all the counties on the west side of the bay.

THOSE on the east side are *Cecil* county and *Kent* county, which contain nothing remarkable. *Talbot* county had for its capital *Oxford*, which name it lost by an act of assembly in 1695, when it was called *Williamstadt*, and made a port town. The inhabitants have a common pasture of one hundred acres of land adjacent to it, and the second school in the province was erected here. It is likewise the residence of a collector and naval officer, and the county contains besides the parishes of *St. Michael* and *Bolingbroke*. The chief town of *Dorchester* county, which is the next, is *Dorchester*, and here the county court was kept. An act of the assembly in 1698 declared the land lying here on the north side of *Nanicoke* river, beginning at the mouth of *Chittacoan* river, and so
up

up to the head of it, and from thence to the head of *Anderson's* branch, and so down unto the north-west fork to the mouth of the aforesaid *Chickacoan* river, to belong to two *Indian* chiefs, *Panquash* and *Annatouquem*, who, with their subjects, were to hold them under the lord proprietary, upon the *reddendo* of one beaver skin a year. This moderate and wise expedient no doubt has contributed to the tranquillity of this county, and indeed of the province in general. *Somerset* county has in it a parish of the same name. Besides those counties, new ones have been lately laid out; but though all of them are in a flourishing condition, they are too inconsiderable to claim a place here.

END of the FORTIETH VOLUME.

8

